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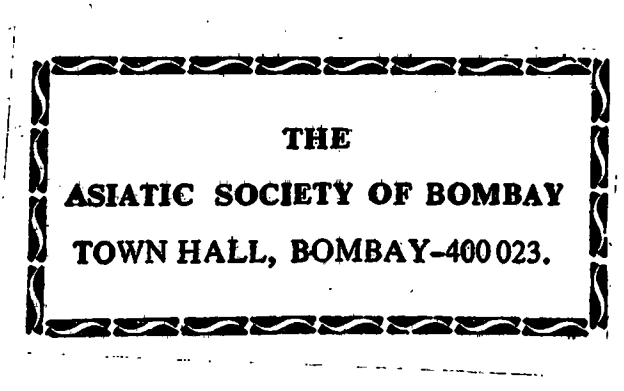

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THE

HISTORY

OF

Edward

ENGLAND.

Written in FRENCH by

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MAPS, GENEALOGICAL TABLES, and the HEADS and MONUMENTS of the KINGS.

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XV.

The reign of HENRY VIII. *containing the ſpace of thirty ſeven years and nine months.*

20. HENRY VIII.

HENRY VIII. ſon and ſucceſſor of Henry VII. came to the crown at the age of eighteen years, wanting a few months *. The lord Herbert, his hiſtorian, ſays, the king his father deſigned him at firſt for the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, becauſe, having an elder ſon, there was no likelihood that Henry would aſcend the throne. And therefore, continues he, care was taken to inſtruct him in all the parts of learning neceſſary for a prince that was one day to be a churchman. He would have ſpoken more juſtly, if he had only ſaid, that Henry VII. had ſuch a deſign when he firſt put him upon his ſtudies. But as the young prince was become his heir-apparent at the age of eleven years, it could not be with the ſame view, that he cauſed him to purſue the ſtudy of ſuch parts of learning as were proper for a clergyman. It is more likely, therefore, that the king his father kept him to his ſtudies, for fear his active and fiery ſpirit ſhould carry him

Henry VIII. 1509.

His education.

* He was born June 28, 1491, and came to the crown April 22, 1509.

1509. to more dangerous employments [b]. He was only ſon of queen Elizabeth, heireſs of the houſe of York. Conſequently he might have given the king his father ſome trouble, had he thought of aſſerting his right as heir to his mother. However, Henry having taken a reliſh for learning in his younger years, preſerved it ever after. He always delighted in peruſing good books, and converſing with the learned, even when the multitude of his affairs ſeemed to divert him from ſuch kind of employments. By that means he made advances in the ſciences very uncommon to great princes. Francis I. his cotemporary, ſtyled by the French hiſtorians, the father of the muſes, was in learning much his inferior. He ſpoke French and Latin very well and readily. He was perfectly ſkilled in muſick, as two entire maſſes compoſed by himſelf, and often ſung in his chapel, do abundantly witneſs. He was exerciſed in the moſt abſtruſe points of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, which alone was in vogue in thoſe days. But he applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of divinity, as it was then taught in the univerſities, all ſtuffed with uſeleſs queſtions. Thomas Aquinas's ſummary was his favourite book.

Herbert.

Hollingſh.

This knowledge, which was conſidered as a great accompliſhment in ordinary perſons, had upon the young prince an effect which is not unuſual. It gave him a good opinion of himſelf, which had but too much influence upon all the actions of his life. The exceſſive commendations beſtowed upon him by all, helped to confirm him in this conceit. When he was yet unexperienced in the affairs of the ſtate, he fancied himſelf very able; and this preſumption was the cauſe of his being often the dupe of thoſe princes with whom he was concerned, as will more amply appear in the courſe of his reign.

Henry has good conceit of himſelf.

He is impoſed upon.

But in remarking that this prince had a great deal of ſelf-conceit, I don't pretend to rob him of, or any ways leſſen, the noble qualities he had from nature or education. In his youth he was very handſome, and expert in all bodily exerciſes, as much as, or more than, any prince of his time. Accordingly, he was paſſionately fond of all thoſe diverſions, which gave him an opportunity to ſhew his activity. He was courageous without oſtentation, of a free and open temper, an enemy to fraud and inſincerity, ſcorn-

His good qualities.

[b] Burnet ſays, his father had given orders, that both his elder brother and he ſhould be well inſtructed in matters of knowledge, but with deſign to make him archbiſhop of Canterbury, for he had made ſmall progreſs when his brother died.

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ing to use indirect means to compass his ends. His liberality perhaps was as much too great as the king his [illegible]'s avarice. Henry VII. seemed to have been solicitous to accumulate riches, only to afford his son the pleasure to squander them away without any discretion. 1509.

As Henry VIII. when he mounted the throne, was little experienced in the affairs of the government, he made use at first of the king his father's ministers and counsellors. The principal were, William Warham archbishop of Canterbury, and lord chancellor of England (of whom honourable mention is made by Erasmus [c] somewhere in his writings); Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretary and lord privy seal, who had been employed in the late reign, in the nicest affairs; Thomas Howard earl of Surrey, lord treasurer of England, son of the duke of Norfolk, slain at Bosworth field, fighting for Richard III. George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, lord steward of the king's houshold; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of law; sir Edward Poynings, knight of the garter, controller, whose name is still famous for a statute enacted in Ireland in the former reign, whilst he had the government of that island; sir Charles Somerset, lord Herbert of Gower, Chepstow, and Ragland, lord chamberlain[d].

His first counsellors. Stow. Hollingsh. Herbert. Pol. Virg.

Henry VII.'s funeral was celebrated with great magnificence a few days after his death. His body was interred at Westminster in the chapel built by himself, and for the adorning whereof he had spared no cost. This chapel passed then for one of the statebest in Christendom. Henry VII. covetous as he was, laid out fourteen thousand, some say, twenty thousand pounds sterling, a very considerable sum in those days, when money was much scarcer in Europe than at present [e].

Henry VII's funeral. Hall. Hollingsh. Stow. Herbert.

[c] Erasmus of Rotterdam came over into England, in 1497, and studied some time in Oxford and Cambridge. His instructions mightily promoted the new learning, and particularly the knowledge of the Greek tongue.

[d] He note that this upon marrying a daughter of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke. He was natural son to Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerset, killed at Henham. To these counsellors the lord Herbert adds, sir Thomas Lovel, master of the wards, and constable of the Tower, sir Henry Wyat, sir Henry Marney, afterwards (1532) lord Marney, sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards (1511) lord Darcy. These he says were selected out of those his father most trusted, by the countess of Richmond his grandmother, and further observes, that this council was of scholars chiefly and of soldiers, without so much as one lawyer, which he wonderfully [illegible].

[e] His tomb, perfected by his executors [illegible], cost a thousand pounds, which at money went then, might be thought a sumptuous monument. Herbert, p. [illegible].

1509. Herbert.

While the obſequies were preparing, the new king privately retired from his palace of Richmond to the Tower of London, under colour of withdrawing on account of the king his father's death. But it was rather to ſettle with his miniſters ſome affairs which would not admit of delay. Whilſt he was thought in his retirement to be employed in devotion, he ordered Henry lord Stafford, brother of the duke of Buckingham, to be apprehended, probably upon ſome groundleſs ſuſpicion, which ſoon vaniſhed, ſince ſhortly after, he was created earl of Wiltſhire.

The lord Stafford ſent to the Tower. Hall.

Ruthal is made biſhop of Durham. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 256, 258.

The ſee of Durham, vacant by the tranſlation of Chriſtopher Bambridge, to the archbiſhoprick of York, was conferred on Thomas Ruthal, doctor of law, and one of the privy council [f].

General pardon. Proclamation to encourage the people to complain. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert. Pol. Virg.

A few days after, the king confirmed his father's general pardon granted before his death [g]. But all offenders had not the benefit thereof. A proclamation quickly appeared, wherein the king ſaid, that, being informed his good ſubjects had been oppreſſed under the ſpecious pretence of preſerving the prerogatives of the crown, he gave them leave to bring their complaints, and promiſed them ſatisfaction. The deſign of the proclamation was not to reſtore to his ſubjects the ſums unjuſtly extorted by the late king, but only to encourage them to exhibit their complaints againſt Empſon and Dudley, the inſtruments made uſe of by Henry VII. and to give them ſome ſort of ſatisfaction, by puniſhing theſe two miniſters.

When the proclamation was publiſhed, numberleſs petitions were preſented againſt them. This was what the court wanted, not only becauſe theſe men were odious to the whole nation, but moreover to ſhow the people, the new king intended to rule in a very different manner from the king his father. Upon all theſe petitions, Empſon and Dudley were called before the council, where they were briefly told the principal articles alledged againſt them.

Empſon and Dudley are called before the council.

[f] And pope Julius ſent him the form of the oath he was to take to the holy ſee, of which, the curious reader may ſee a copy in Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 256.—About this time, the king confirmed to John, earl of Oxford, the poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Colcheſter, granted to his anceſtor Alberic de Vere, by the empreſs Maud; and appointed ſir Edward Howard, ſtandard bearer, with a ſalary of forty pounds a year; and ſir Thomas Boleyn, warden of the exchange at Calais, with a ſalary of thirty pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence. Ibid. p. 251, 258.

[g] Out of which were excepted all perſons guilty of murder, felony, and treaſon. In the ſame pardon, all vagabonds and ſturdy beggars were ordered to depart out of London, and repair to the ſeveral places where they were born. Stow, p. 486.

Empſon

Empſon anſwered for both, "That the accuſation was of "a very new and ſtrange nature: that uſually men were "proſecuted for acting againſt the laws, or diſobeying their "ſovereign; but for their part, they were accuſed by the "people of executing the laws, of which they themſelves "were the authors: that, on the other hand, the king "called them to an account for obeying his father's ex-"preſs orders, unheard-of crime! the puniſhment whereof "would be apt to throw all his ſubjects into rebellion: "that if they muſt be puniſhed for ſuch offences, he de-"ſired it might not be divulged to foreign nations, leſt "they ſhould infer, that the final diſſolution of the Eng-"liſh government was approaching." To this it was briefly replied, "That he had ſpoke with great freedom; but "his eloquence was fruitleſs and unſeaſonable: that they "were not accuſed of executing the laws, or of obeying "the king, but of ſtretching the laws beyond their due "bounds, and exceeding their ſovereign's commiſſion, "which accuſations they had reaſon to fear were too "well proved." Then they were both committed to the Tower [h]. The king was reſolved to make them an example, in order to content the people who were extremely incenſed againſt them. Thus their condemnation was reſolved before their appearance, though it was not yet known on what to ground their proceſs. In any other country, an act of ſovereignty to ſend theſe two men to the gallows, would have been ſeen with joy. But it is not the ſame in England, where the greateſt criminals have privileges, of which they cannot be debarred, without giving the people occaſion to think, the court is forming deſigns againſt liberty. It was neceſſary therefore to ſearch for ſome expreſs law to condemn them. But upon examining the accuſation, already brought againſt them, great difficulties occurred. It appeared, that though they were accuſed of numberleſs offences, nothing could be proved but their mercileſs execution of the laws. But notwithſtanding they had ſtretched theſe ſame laws as far as the words would bear, it could not be charged to them as a crime, ſince they had the king's warrant, in whom the execution of the laws is lodged. It is true, Henry VII. contrary to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, had acted according to the utmoſt rigour of the ſtatutes. But he might

1509.

Empſon's defence. Herbert. Hall. Hollingſh. Pol. Virg.

Herbert.

They are ſent to the Tower. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert.

[h] Their promoters and inſtruments were also apprehended, and put in the pillory. Hall, fol. x. Stow, p. [illegible].

1509. do it; and if the former kings had done otherwiſe, it was more out of condeſcenſion than juſtice. Theſe two miniſters, therefore could not be tried for obeying him. Beſides, to condemn them for executing their maſter's orders, was publickly to diſhonour that prince's memory, and renew the remembrance of his ſeverities upon his ſubjects. It was reſolved therefore to put them to death upon a falſe accuſation, of intending to withdraw their allegiance from the king ſince his acceſſion to the throne. It is evident, the accuſation was entirely groundleſs. For how could two perſons, ſo odious to the whole nation, and deprived of all credit by the death of Henry VII. think of ſuch a deſign, and ſtill leſs put it in execution [i]! Mean while, it was not ſcrupled to take away their lives for a forged crime, becauſe they were believed worthy of death, though not condemned by the letter of the law. Upon this frivolous accuſation, they were brought before their proper judges, and found guilty, whether falſe witneſſes were ſuborned againſt them, or by a mental reſervation, hitherto unknown in England in judgments of this nature. Dudley was tried at London the 16th of July, but Empſon was not condemned till the 14th of October at Northampton. Henry, either out of ſcruple, or ſome other motive, ſuſpended their execution till the next year [k].

Slight accuſation againſt them. Herbert. Hollingſh. Stow.

They are condemned to die.

Hall.

Whilſt means were contriving to diſpatch theſe two miniſters, the king and the council had a much more important affair to take into conſideration. We have ſeen, in the former reign, prince Arthur's marriage with Catherine of Arragon: that prince's death without iſſue; the reaſons inducing king Henry VII. to deſire, that prince Henry, become his heir apparent, ſhould marry his brother's widow; the conſent of Ferdinand and Iſabella, father and mother of the princeſs; and pope Julius's diſpenſation for the marriage. The true reaſon why Henry VII. propoſed this match was, his unwillingneſs to reſtore the hundred thouſand crowns received in part of Catherine's dower. He was alſo afraid of loſing the other half, which remained to be paid. In ſhort, he foreſaw, that, after the receipt of the

Debate about the king's marriage with Catherine of Arragon. Herbert.

[i] They were accuſed, as appears in their indictments upon record, of a conſpiracy againſt the king and ſtate, of ſummoning, during the late king's ſickneſs, certain of their friends to be in arms at an hour's warning; and upon the king's death to haſten to London, from whence it was inferred by the jury, that they intended either to ſeize the king's perſon, or to deſtroy him. Herbert, p. 4.

[k] King Henry the VIIth's executors made reſtitution, this year, of great ſums of money extorted from many perſons by thoſe two oppreſſors. Hall. fol. .

whole,

whole, the princeſs his daughter-in-law would inſenſibly enjoy her ſettlement of the third part of the revenues of the principality of Wales, and the county of Cornwall. However, as it was not decent to urge ſuch a motive to the pope, to obtain a diſpenſation for ſo ſtrange a marriage, which could not but be deemed ſcandalous, it was pretended to be neceſſary to preſerve the peace between Henry VII. and the king and queen of Spain. That was the motive alledged to the pope, which he readily conſidered as ſufficient, though there was but too much reaſon to queſtion whether it was the true one. 1509.

In conſequence of the pope's diſpenſation, Henry and Catherine were ſolemnly affianced. Nevertheleſs, whether Henry VII. intended only to deceive Ferdinand, and get the remaining hundred thouſand crowns, or was moved by the remonſtrances of Warham archbiſhop of Canterbury, concerning the marriage, he ſo ordered it, that the prince, his ſon, on the very day he was fourteen years of age, made, in the preſence of certain witneſſes, a proteſtation in form againſt the conſent he had given. But the proteſtation was kept ſo ſecret, that it came not to the knowledge of the publick till it was neceſſary, many years after, to divulge it. Upon the news of Henry VII.'s death, Ferdinand ſent to the earl of Fuenſalida, his ambaſſador in England, a very ample power to renew the treaty of alliance made with the deceaſed king, ordering him withal, to demand the confirmation and execution of that which was concluded for Catherine's ſecond marriage with prince Henry, now become king of England.

Hall. Herbert. Burnet's Ref. T. I. p. 38. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 249. May 11.

The Spaniſh ambaſſador having preſented a memorial upon this occaſion, it was deliberated in council whether the king ſhould conſummate the marriage with Catherine. The affair was debated with great attention. Againſt the marriage it was alledged, that for a man to marry his brother's widow was a thing unheard of among chriſtians: that ſuch a marriage was contrary to the law of God, and therefore it was a queſtion, whether the pope had power to diſpenſe with it. This was the archbiſhop of Canterbury's opinion, who could not forbear conſidering the marriage as really inceſtuous. But Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, was of another mind. He ſtrenuously inſiſted upon the pope's diſpenſation, and the unlimited power of Chriſt's vicar. He affirmed, "That the pope's granting a diſpenſation, was a "certain proof that he had the power, and was ſufficient "to ſatisfy the king's conſcience: that no perſon upon earth could

Difficulties about the marriage. Burnet. Reaſons for and againſt it.

1509. "could limit, or ſo much as inquire into the papal autho-
"rity; and though ſuch a power ſhould be aſcribed to a
"general council, at leaſt the council of England could
"not pretend to it." To theſe arguments concerning conſcience, the biſhop added others drawn from reaſons of ſtate, and the king's particular intereſt. He ſaid, "that "probably, the king would have, during the courſe of his "reign, many diſputes with France, England's old enemy, "and whether he would attack or only defend, the al-"liance with Spain was abſolutely neceſſary: that in ſend-"ing back the princeſs Catherine after having affianced "her, he would affront king Ferdinand, which he would "certainly revenge by leaguing with France, and ſuch a "league could not but endanger England, or at leaſt be "extremely expenſive to the nation: that moreover, if the "king refuſed to conſummate his marriage with Catherine, "he muſt reſolve either to reſtore her dower, or ſuffer "her to enjoy her ſettlement; but by marrying her he "would ſave the hundred thouſand crowns received by "the king his father, gain another hundred thouſand, which "the king of Arragon was to pay, and avoid the great "charge of marrying another princeſs, and conducting "her into England. In fine, he enlarged upon the ſweet "and virtuous temper of the princeſs of Wales, capable
Pol. Virg. "of making a huſband perfectly happy." Adding, "there "was no room to doubt, that the princeſs was ſtill a "virgin, ſince ſhe herſelf affirmed it, offering even to "be tried by matrons, to ſhow that ſhe ſpoke the truth."

Henry reſolves to marry Catherine.

All theſe arguments, except the firſt, concerning the diſpenſation, were very ſtrong. As to that, it was ſo dangerous for a churchman to diſpute the pope's authority, eſpecially ſuch a pope as Julius II. who was ſtill in his vigour, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury durſt not perſiſt openly in his opinion. So, the king cloſing with the biſhop of Wincheſter's and almoſt the whole council's ſentiments, it was reſolved he ſhould conſummate his marri-
Act. Pub. XIII. p. 251. June 7. age. But firſt he required of the princeſs that ſhe ſhould renounce by a ſolemn act her dower of two hundred thouſand crowns, and conſent that the ſum ſhould belong to the king her ſpouſe, to be claimed again neither by herſelf nor heirs, nor by king Ferdinand her father, nor queen Joan her ſiſter, nor any perſon living, on any pre-
Ib. p. 253, 254. tence whatſoever. Two days after, the earl of Fuenſalida made the like renunciation in the name of king Ferdinand and queen Joan. Catherine's letters patents, where-

in

in ſhe ſtyles herſelf only princeſs of Wales, bearing date June the 7th, it is evident, the king married her not on the third of that month, as hiſtorians affirm, nor ſooner than the day theſe letters were ſigned. Their coronation was ſolemnized on the 24th of the ſame month, and five days after died Margaret counteſs of Richmond and Derby, the king's grandmother [1]. 1509. Hall, Death of the counteſs of Richmond. Hall. Stow.

In the beginning of his reign, Henry willingly left to his council and miniſters the care and management of his affairs. As he was in peace with all his neighbours, what paſſed in the kingdom could not keep him much employed. He thought only of ſuch pleaſures and diverſions, as were more ſuitable to his years, than application to buſineſs. But as he was naturally liberal, his entertainments at court were very expenſive. The ancient biſhop of Winchester, Henry VII.'s old miniſter, could not help murmuring to ſee the money laviſhed away without any neceſſity, which his deceaſed maſter had amaſſed with ſo much care, pains, and injuſtice, in which he had himſelf been employed. He threw all the blame upon the earl of Surrey, lord treaſurer, who was his rival in favour under the late king, and continued to be ſo ſtill under the preſent, by gaining the affection of his new maſter by a blind compliance to his will. During Henry's VII.'s life he was more cloſe, and harder to part with money than the king himſelf. How expreſs ſoever the orders were for payments, he always found difficulties, and by that means made his court admirably to his maſter. Being continued in his poſt in the preſent reign, he became quite another man. He not only paid, without examination, whatever was ordered, but alſo put the king upon ſpending extravagantly. This gained him the favour of the young prince, who was naturally addicted to prodigality. The biſhop of Wincheſter openly blamed this conduct, as highly prejudicial to the king's intereſt. But he was little regarded, in a court where every one was ſtriving to make an advantage of the ſovereign's liberal temper. Mean while, his diſcourſes exaſperated more and more the earl of Surrey and the young courtiers againſt him, who never ceaſed to do him ill offices with the king. Thus the biſhop, who was in ſo great credit in the late reign, gradually loſt it in this. His diſgrace, which ſat heavy upon his mind, threw him upon deviſing means to ſupplant his rival, by introducing at court Thomas Wolſey, whoſe

Henry gives himſelf up to his pleaſures. Hollingſh. Stow.

Quarrel between the biſhop of Wincheſter and the earl of Surrey. Surrey's character. Pol. Virg. Herbert.

Herbert. He introduces Wolſey at court.

[1] She was buried at Weſtminſter.

1509. whoſe qualifications he was no ſtanger to. Wolſey was a clergyman, already eminent for his merit, though he was but a butcher's ſon of Ipſwich. The biſhop of Wincheſter eaſily foreſaw, the king would ſoon be in want of perſons about him, fit and able to eaſe him; and as he knew Wolſey's genius, did not queſtion that when he was at court, he would render himſelf neceſſary to the king. To that end, he procured him the place of almoner. We ſhall ſee preſently that the biſhop was not miſtaken in his judgment, or rather that his foreſight was far ſhort of Wolſey's fortune [m].

Confirmation of the treaties with Scotland, Act. Pub. XIII. p. 257, 261, 267. and with the emperor. p. 260.

About the middle of the year, the treaties concluded between Henry VII. and the king of Scotland, were confirmed or renewed by the biſhop of Murray, who was ſent into England to congratulate Henry upon his acceſſion to the crown.

The emperor Maximilian ſent alſo an embaſſy to Henry, to congratulate him, and confirm the treaties made with Henry VII. in the year 1502.

Aug. 20. Bambridge archbiſhop of York ambaſſador at Rome. p. 264. Sept. 24.

Chriſtopher Bambridge, archbiſhop of York, being at Rome, where he was gone to have his election confirmed, received a commiſſion from the new king to act as his ambaſſador. We ſhall ſee preſently the reaſon, why the pope wanted to have an Engliſh ambaſſador reſide at his court, and why the king was deſirous to be particularly informed of what paſſed at Rome, and in all Italy.

[m] Thomas Wolſey was born at Ipſwich, in March 1471. He was ſent ſo early to Oxford, that he was bachelor of arts at fourteen years of age, and from thence called the boy bachelor. Soon after he was elected fellow of Magdalen college, and when maſter of arts, had the care of the ſchool adjoining to that college committed to him. Being charged with the education of the marquis of Dorſet's three ſons, his lordſhip preſented him to the rectory of Lymington, in Somerſetſhire, October 10, 1500. He had not long reſided at his living, before ſir Amias Powlet, a juſtice of peace, put him in the ſtocks for being drunk (as is ſaid,) and raiſing diſturbances at a fair in the neighbourhood. By the recommendation of ſir John Nafant, he was made one of the king's chaplains. In 1506, he was inſtituted to the rectory of Bedgrave, in the dioceſe of Norwich; having then, beſides the rectory of Lymington, the vicarage of Lyde, in Kent. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 217. Whilſt he was king's chaplain, he inſinuated himſelf into the favour of Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, and of ſir Thomas Lovel, who recommended him to the king as a fit perſon to be employed in negotiating the marriage between Henry VII. and Margaret, ducheſs of Savoy. He was diſpatched to the emperor her father, and returned with ſuch ſpeed, that the king ſeeing him, ſuppoſed he had not been gone. Having reported his embaſſy, he was made dean of Lincoln, February 8, 1508, and on the 20th of the ſame month, prebendary of Walton Brinhold, in that church. In theſe circumſtances he was when he was introduced at court by biſhop Fox, after Henry VII.'s death, where he ſoon found means to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of his ſon and ſucceſſor. Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. Fiddes.

Theſe

These were the most remarkable occurrences in England, during the first eight months of the reign of Henry VIII. They were for the most part domestick affairs of little importance, except the king's marriage which was attended with very great consequences. But there passed abroad matters of great moment, which became as it were the source of the troubles wherewith almost all Christendom was agitated for above fifty years, and wherein England was but too much engaged. For some time, the affairs of Europe had begun to have a new face, and what happened this year in Italy put them upon such a foot, as obliged almost every sovereign to be concerned therein. Henry VIII. unhappily entangled himself in the troubles of that country, which seem to have had no relation to him. This makes the knowledge of the affairs of Italy so absolutely necessary, that without it neither the events of this reign can be understood, nor the king's character fully known. It will therefore be proper to enlarge upon this subject, which concerns not only the history of England, but also those of France, Spain, Germany, Switzerland; the principal events whereof, for a long space of time, flowed properly from the affairs of Italy. It is true, most of the authors who have writ the histories of the states, supposed their readers to be acquainted with what passed in Italy at the same time. They have thereby much shortened their works; but withal rendered them very obscure to those who were not so fully instructed as they have supposed. For my part I intend another course. Since the affairs of Italy are the foundation of most of the occurrences in Europe and particularly in England, during almost one half of the sixteenth century, I think they ought to be spoken of something largely, which alone can clear the particular histories proceeding from thence. But to avoid tedious digressions, it is necessary to give first a distinct idea of the state of Italy, as well as of the character and interests of the several princes.

1509.

Necessity of knowing the affairs of Italy, for the full understanding the history of Henry VIII.

I have already related, in the foregoing reign, how Lewis XII. assisted by the Venetians, conquered the duchy of Milan upon Ludovico Sforza, pretending a right to it as grandson to Valentina Visconti, daughter of John Galeazzo I. duke of Milan. I have likewise had occasion to speak of the conquest of Naples by the united arms of Lewis XII. and Ferdinand, and of the means used by Ferdinand to remain sole master of that kingdom. I will therefore to add here, that though [illegible] conquest, he desisted not [illegible] waiting for a favourable

State of Italy, Milan, and Naples.

1509. vourable opportunity to aſſert them. I muſt now briefly ſpeak of the other ſtates of Italy, and firſt of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

Eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

Before the kings of France and Spain had ſet foot in Italy, the popes were as ſovereign arbiters of that country. But it was not ſo much by their temporal arms as their ſpiritual, of which they made frequent uſe. For ſome centuries paſt they had loſt great part of the demeſns formerly belonging to the church. About the end of the reign of Otho I. the eccleſiaſtical ſtate conſiſted of the city of Rome and its territory, with Tuſcany, the marquiſate of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, Ravenna, all La Romagna, and the whole country in general compriſed formerly under the exarchate [n]. But afterwards, during the wars of the Guelphs and Gibelins, the emperors wreſted from the popes all Tuſcany and ſeveral towns in other parts. Some of theſe towns had thought fit to withdraw their obedience from the church, and the popes themſelves had been forced to grant others in fee to lords who ſerved them, or from whom they expected aſſiſtance. At length, the emperor Rodolphus I. having ſold liberty to as many cities of Italy as would purchaſe it, there were ſeveral formerly belonging to the church that embraced the opportunity to ſhake off at the ſame time both the emperor's and the pope's yoke [o]. Hence there were quickly in Italy almoſt as many ſovereignties as cities. The ſtrongeſt ſubdued the weakeſt, and fell at laſt themſelves under the dominion, or rather the tyranny of ſome of their own citizens, who found means to ſeize the whole power. In this manner were formed in Italy ſeveral petty ſtates, out of the ruins of what the antient kings of Italy, the emperors, and the popes had formerly poſſeſſed.

In the pontificate of Alexander VI. the eccleſiaſtical ſtate was reduced within narrower bounds than before, though the popes had preſerved the ſovereignty of ſeveral cities, of which they were no longer proprietors. Of this number, were Ravenna, Bologna, Ferrara, Urbino, Faenzo, Rimini, Pezzaro, Imola, Ceſena, Peruſa. Notwithſtanding all theſe loſſes, they were ſtill very powerful, becauſe their ſpiritual

n So was this diſtrict formerly called, becauſe it was governed by the emperor of Conſtantinople's general in the weſt, named his exarch, who reſided at Ravenna. The firſt exarch was under Juſtin the young, in 567, after Beliſarius and Narſes had driven the barbarians out of Italy: the laſt was Eutychius, defeated by Aſtolphus, king of the Lombards, in 751. Pepin, king of France, turned him out of the exarchate, and made a preſent of it to the pope.

o As Florence, Genoa, Lucca, Bologna, &c.

arms

arms gave them great advantages over their neighbours; 1509.
Moreover, beſides the revenues of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, they had very conſiderable incomes from all Chriſtendom.

But when Lewis XII. took poſſeſſion of the duchy of Milan, and Ferdinand of the kingdom of Naples, the affairs of Italy had quite another face. Then the temporal power of the popes was nothing in compariſon of that of theſe two monarchs; who, beſides their dominions in Italy, had moreover at their command the forces of two large kingdoms. On the other hand, the Roman pontiffs met with much more oppoſition, when they had a mind to brandiſh their ſpiritual weapons, whoſe force was in proportion to the weakneſs of thoſe againſt whom they were darted. For that reaſon they ſought all ſorts of means to drive the foreigners out of Italy. But as they could not by their own ſtrength execute ſuch a deſign, they were forced to make uſe of one of theſe kings to deſtroy the other, in which their policy was often deceived. For, they could not humble one without giving the other a ſuperiority more deſtructive of their intereſts, than the equality which was between them before. This for many years was the occaſion of all the pope's intrigues, and withal an incumbrance they could never get clear of. Sometimes they joined with one to pull down the other; ſometimes ſetting them at variance, they remained ſpectators of the war; and ſometimes they called in foreigners to make the balance incline to the ſide they intended to favour. But whatever was the ſucceſs of theſe wars, the conqueror always became very formidable to the pope and all Italy. It is certain therefore that the conqueſts of Naples and Milan gave a mortal wound to the temporal power of the popes, and were alſo very prejudicial to their ſpiritual authority. As the popes from thenceforward had frequent occaſions of quarrel with the kings of France, now become their neighbours, they ſometimes uſed their ſpiritual arms, but not with the ſame ſucceſs as formerly againſt the ſovereigns of Italy. As they had to deal with princes who did not eaſily bend, they only gave them occaſion to examine the grounds of the papal authority; and this inquiry was not to the advantage of the popes.

Beſides the intereſt of their ſee, the Roman pontiffs had alſo that of their family, of which they were no leſs mindful. Each of them ſeeking to raiſe his nephews or other relations, all the cities formerly belonging to the church were ſo many objects that inflamed their deſires. Alexander VI. who of all the popes his predeceſſors was the leaſt ſcrupulous,

had

1509. had formed the deſign of making Cæſar Borgia his baſtard a great prince, by erecting him a ſtate out of ſeveral cities of La Romagna, which ſtill owned the pope's ſovereignty, and were under his protection. To execute this deſign it was, that Cæſar Borgia either by fraud or force became maſter of Peruſa, Urbino, Imola, Faenza, Rimini, Pezzaro, Ceſena, under colour that the poſſeſſors had not been punctual in paying the tribute or annual relief to the holy ſee. But Alexander VI. dying before his ſon was well ſettled in his conqueſts, it happened, during the ſhort pontificate of Pius III. and the interval between his death and the election of Julius II. that the former owners of theſe cities found means to recover them. This was chiefly by the aſſiſtance of the Venetians, who ſo their pains kept Faenza and Rimini.

Character and deſign of Julius II. Guicciard.

Julius II. who ſucceeded Pius III. formed for the houſe of la Rovere, of which he was, the ſame projects as Alexander VI. had formed for that of Borgia. He was no ſooner in the papal chair, but he begun the execution of his deſigns with imperiouſly acquainting the Venetians, that his intention was to reannex to the church whatever had been alienated, and therefore they muſt reſtore Faenza and Rimini. Upon their refuſal he demanded aid of the emperor Maximilian. This was properly the firſt riſe of the league of Cambray, mentioned in the foregoing reign, and of which I ſhall be obliged to ſpeak more fully hereafter.

The republick of Venice. Paruta. Doglioni. Sabellico. Bembo, &c.

The ſenate of Venice had long paſſed for the wiſeſt and moſt politick aſſembly in the world. By their prudence and abilities they had by degrees formed in terra firma [p] a ſtate, which being ſupported by a very ſtrong naval force, was inferior to none in Italy. This ſtate conſiſted of Friuli, Treviſo, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Bergamo, Breſcia, Crema, Cremona, Rovigo, and the whole Poleſin, Ravenna, Faenza, Rimini. Moſt of theſe cities with their territories were formerly part of the kingdom of Italy. After that, they fell under the dominion of the German emperors, who governed them by their vicars. At length, either theſe vicars were become ſovereigns, or being expelled, the cities had recovered their liberty, to fall again afterwards under the tyranny of ſome private perſons, who had uſurped an abſolute power. Of theſe it was that the Venetians had acquired them either by money or arms. But however it be, when

[p] The towns belonging to the republick of Venice are of two ſorts: thoſe in Lombardy, that compoſe terra firma, or the firm land ſtate; the reſt are maritime, and called the ſea ſtate.

they

they had made these acquisitions, it is certain, the authority of the emperors was seldom acknowledged. Mean while the emperors still preserved their pretensions to all these cities, as having been formerly parts of the empire, or rather of the kingdom of Italy, enjoyed by some of their predecessors. Friuli was conquered upon the church of Aquileia, to whom it was presented by Otho I. Ravenna, Faenza, Rimini, formerly belonged to the see of Rome. Rovigo and the Polesin were conquered upon the duke of Ferraro. Cremona and Gierradadda, appertained to the duchy of Milan, having been resigned by Lewis XII. Brescia was taken from the dukes of Milan, and Crema freely given up by duke Francis Sforza. They had still in the kingdom of Naples five maritime places, mortgaged to them by one of the kings. 1509.

Bologna [q] was a rich and powerful city, but not so considerable as formerly. Civil discords had at length compelled her upon certain terms to submit to the church. After that, the city was governed by the pope's legates, sent thither from time to time. But their dominion suffered frequent interruptions. The legates oppressing the people forced them often to shake off their yoke, and expel them the city. But it was only to fall again under the tyranny of the heads of faction, who by their oppressions forced them to have recourse to the pope and receive his legates again. This is what happened several times. In the year 1440, Hannibal Bentivoglio became so powerful, that he was little less than a sovereign. From that time to 1506 some one of the family of Bentivoglio held the government, though the pope's legates were still admitted and honoured, but without having any real power. At last Julius II. not content with this shadow of authority, demanded in 1506 aid of Lewis XII. to make himself master of Bologna. Though France had hitherto protected the Bentivoglios, Lewis however ordered the governor of Milan to send the pope troops. Whereupon John Bentivoglio, head of that house, seeing himself forsaken by the king of France, quitted Bologna with all his family, and retired to Milan, leaving the city to the pope. Bologna. Ghirard. Alberti.

The duchy of Ferrara [r] was a fief of the church, long possessed by the family of Este, who were invested by the pope, and paid a yearly relief in money. This petty state bordering upon the pope and the Venetians, and being very Farrara. Sardi.

q The second city of the ecclesiastical state, and the third of the four most considerable universities in the world, Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca, says [illegible]

r The [illegible] poet Ariosto, who has [illegible] epitaph in the benedictine church.

 convenient

1509. convenient for both, preſerved itſelf by their mutual jealouſy, but, however, the Venetians had taken from them Rovigo and the Poleſin. But Julius II. had greater views, and thought ſeriouſly of annexing the whole duchy to the church.

Modena and Reggio. G. Batt. Pigna.

Modena and Reggio were likewiſe under the dominion of the family of Eſte, not as belonging to the duchy of Ferrara, but as a diſtinct ſtate acquired by that family after being poſſeſſed of Ferrara. Julius II. had alſo pretenſions to theſe two cities, as having been formerly given to the church by Charles the Great, and perhaps on the ſole pretence that they belonged to the duke of Ferrara his vaſſal.

Urbino. Cimarelli.

Urbino * had formerly been of the church's demeſn. But the popes had not for many years challenged more than the right of ſovereignty. Cæſar Borgia had ſeized this city, and expelled duke Guidobaldi Ubaldini, who recovered it after the death of Alexander VI. As Guidobaldi had no children, Julius II. perſuaded him to adopt Francis Maria de la Rovere, nephew to both, ſon of the pope's brother and the duke's ſiſter. Shortly after, la Rovere became duke of Urbino, by the death of Guidobaldi his adoptive father.

Parma and Placentia. Alberti.

Parma and Placentia had been under the dominion of ſeveral lords or tyrants, till at laſt they became ſubject to the dukes of Milan. Lewis XII. took poſſeſſion of them after his conqueſt of the Milaneſe.

Florence. Machiavel.

Florence, a very potent city, and the chief of Tuſcany, was fallen at length under the dominion of the family of Medicis. But afterwards an oppoſite Faction prevailing, they were driven from thence, and were now in exile, attempting however from time to time to be reſtored to their country.

Piſa. Alberti.

Piſa had been formerly a very conſiderable city by reaſon of her naval forces, but at length becoming ſubject to the dukes of Milan, a baſtard of that family, to whom it was given, ſold it to the Florentines. The Piſani were againſt the ſale, and would have recovered their liberty, but were overcome. After that, Charles VIII. in his way to Naples reſtored Piſa to her liberty; but as ſoon as the Florentines had nothing more to fear from him, they beſieged Piſa, though aſſiſted by the Venetians, and the ſiege was ſtill carrying on at the time of the league of Cambray.

Genoa. Pizarre.

The city of Genoa, after ſundry revolutions cauſed by the factions of the Fregoſſas and the Adornos, was at length

* The birth place of the famous painter Raphael, and Polydore Virgil, who wrote the Engliſh hiſtory.

fallen into the hands of the French, in the reign of Charles VII. After that, Lewis XI. reſigned it to the duke of Milan; and Lewis XII. ſeized it after his conqueſt of the Milaneſe. 1509.

This ſurvey of the ſtates of Italy ſhows, that it was then divided between ſix powers, namely, pope Julius II. Lewis XII. king of France and duke of Milan, Ferdinand king of Arragon and Naples, the republicks of Venice and Florence, and the duke of Ferrara. To theſe ſix may be added, the emperor Maximilian, who without poſſeſſing a foot of land in Italy, had however pretenſions to whatever was formerly enjoyed by the emperors, and particularly to the firm land ſtate of the Venetians, whoſe ruin the other ſix were equally concerned to procure. The emperor pretended that all the Venetian dominions belonged to the empire; he paſſionately deſired to wreſt ſome place from them that would give him entrance into Italy, and an opportunity to re-eſtabliſh the imperial power in that country. Julius II. as I ſaid, had formed a project to annex to the church whatever had been alienated, and eſpecially the duchy of Ferrara and the towns of La Romagna. This deſign could be effected only by the deſtruction of the Venetians, ever attentive to oppoſe the growth of their neighbours. Beſides, the pope had a mind to begin with them, and wreſt from them Ravenna, Faenza, and Rimini. Lewis XII. repented of yielding to them Cremona and Gierradadda. He wanted to diſpoſſeſs them, and under that pretence to get poſſeſſion alſo of Crema, Bergamo, and Breſcia, and in general of whatever had belonged to the dukes of Milan. Ferdinand was deſirous to recover without money the five maritime towns of the kingdom of Naples, which had been mortgaged to them. Moreover, his intereſt required that there ſhould be always troubles in Italy, to hinder Lewis XII. from thinking of the conqueſt of Naples. The duke of Ferrara wiſhed to recover Rovigo and the Poleſin. Laſtly, the Florentines, obſtinately bent upon the ſiege of Piſa, protected and defended by the Venetians, could deſire nothing more advantageous than to ſee that republick unable to aſſiſt [illegible]

Motives of the league of Cambray againſt the Venetians.

Hiſt. della Legha di Cambray.

Such were the motives of the league formed against Venice, of which the pope, the emperor, and the king of France were the chief promoters. For the greater ſecrecy, they ſpread a report that the emperor, as guardian to Charles of Auſtria his grandſon, had agreed that [illegible] with the duke of Gueldres ſhould be amicably adjuſted. To that purpoſe, the city of Cambray was appointed for the place of

League of Cambray.

1509. congreſs, thereby to intimate, that the affairs only of Flanders would be conſidered. Here the famous league againſt the republick of Venice was concluded; and the better to deceive the ſpies, was ſigned at firſt a treaty of perpetual peace between the pope, the emperor, Lewis XII. and Ferdinand, which was indeed made publick. But a ſecond treaty, which care was taken not to divulge, contained a league offenſive and defenſive againſt the Venetians, the principal articles whereof were theſe:

Hiſt. della Legha di Cambray.

Treaty of the allies againſt Venice. Bembo.

In the firſt place it was ſet forth in the preamble, that the Turks having begun to make great progreſs in Europe, it was abſolutely neceſſary for the chriſtian princes to join their forces againſt them, but that the Venetians by their continual incroachments greatly obſtructed this union. From thence it was concluded, that they were to be diſpoſſeſſed of what they had uſurped. This was the pious motive of the league. And therefore it was agreed, that of their ſpoils, the pope ſhould have Ravenna, Faenza, and Rimini; the emperor, Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, and as duke of Auſtria, Treviſo, and Friuli: Lewis XII. as duke of Milan, Cremona, Gierradadda, Breſcia, Crema, and Bergamo: the king of Arragon, Manfredonia, Trani, Monopoli, Brindiſi, and Otranto in the kingdom of Naples: that the dukes of Ferrara and Savoy, and the marquis of Mantua ſhould be admitted into the league if they deſired it; the firſt to recover Rovigo, and the Poleſin; the ſecond to get the kingdom of Cyprus out of the hands of the Venetians? and the third, to obtain ſatisfaction concerning certain pretenſions he had upon Venice. Laſtly, that all who had any claim upon the Venetians, ſhould be received into the league as principals, if they declared themſelves within three months. Thus, in order to wage war againſt the Turks, no other means were found than to ſtrip the Venetians of all their firm land ſtate, and leave them only the ſingle city of Venice.

Projects of the allies. Guicciard. Mezerai.

To accompliſh this deſign, it was agreed, that the king of France in perſon ſhould enter the territories of the Venetians, the firſt of April, in the year 1509, with an army of forty thouſand men: that the pope ſhould ſend an army into la Romagna, and Ferdinand have another in Lombardy, with a fleet in the gulf, and the emperor attack the Venetians from the ſide of Germany. But as he had lately made a three years truce with them, an admirable expedient was deviſed to furniſh him with a pretence to break it, which was,

that

that the pope ſhould ſummon him as the church's advocate, to come and defend the patrimony. In fine, Julius II. engaged to thunder out all the eccleſiaſtical cenſures againſt Venice. This league was ſigned at Cambray, December 10th, 1508. 1509.

The time of executing the projects of the league being come, Lewis XII. departed from Milan the beginning of April 1509, at the head of forty thouſand men, whilſt the pope's army entered la Romagna, under the conduct of Francis Maria de la Rovere, duke of Urbino, and Raymond of Cardona, threw himſelf into Lombardy, with the king of Arragon's troops. At the ſame time, the duke of Ferrara, took the field in the Poleſin. But the emperor contented himſelf with ſtaying at Trent, and ſeeing the reſt of the allies act, in order to be ready to reap the fruit of their labours. Mean while, the Venetians, having firſt provided their towns with ammunition, raiſed an army, under the command of count Pitigliano their general, whoſe lieutenant was Barthelein d'Alviano. Campaign of the year 1509. Mezerai. Bembo.

The van of the French army commanded by Chaumont, paſſed the Adda, the 15th of April, and at the ſame time the pope excommunicated the Venetians, and put the city of Venice under an interdict. On the 14th of May, was fought the battle of Gierradadda or Agnadel [t], between the French and Venetians, contrary to the opinion of Pitigliano, though general in chief of the Venetians, and to all reaſon. For the Venetians having no refuge but their army, it was by no means proper to hazard a battle. But the heat of Alviano, prevailed over his general's prudence. The Venetian army was entirely routed, and Alviano taken priſoner. Whereupon the Venetians being no longer able to reſiſt their enemies, Lewis, in leſs than a fortnight became maſter of Cremona, Peſchiera, Crema, Breſcia, Bergamo, and of all the places in general, formerly belonging to the Milaneſe. Moreover Vicenza, Verona, and Padua, ſent him their keys. But as by the treaty of Cambray, theſe places were in the emperor's diviſion, he ſent their deputies to him. Maximilian was then at Trent, expecting the ſucceſs of the confederate arms. Upon the arrival of the deputies, he ordered his troops to advance towards the ſtate of Venice, and as theſe cities freely opened their gates, had nothing to do but to garriſon them. Treviſo alone refuſed him admittance, and remained firm to the Venetians, though reduced to the Battle of Agnadel. Bembo. Venetians loſe all their ſtate of terra firma.

[t] Called alſo the battle of Ringhera.

1509. laſt extremity. Friuli and the towns of Iſtria followed the ſtream, and ſubmitted to the emperor. On the other hand,
Sardi. the duke of Urbino, with the pope's army, took Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza, Rimini, whilſt the duke of Ferrara became maſter of Rovigo, and the marquis of Mantua of ſome caſtles which were convenient for him. Thus, in a moment, the Venetians ſaw all their dominions reduced to the ſingle city of Venice, with five places in the kingdom of Naples, which could not be of much ſervice to them. Mean while, they were not entirely diſcouraged amidſt ſo many calamities, though the ſenate and people were under the greateſt conſternation. Their chief care was to re-aſſemble their ſcattered troops, and uſe their endeavours to break ſo deſtructive a league.

Piſa ſurrenders to the Florentines. Guicciard. The misfortune befallen the Venetians occaſioned the loſs of Piſa. This city deſpairing of being relieved by Venice, or the king of France, who had deſerted her at laſt, ſurrendered to the Florentines, after having endured a long ſiege.

Lewis XII. returns to France. Mezerai. Guicciard. Lewis XII. having compaſſed his ends, returned into France, after he had detached a body of his troops, under the command of la Paliſſe, to join the emperor, who probably, had not men enough to ſupply his garriſons, and to keep an army in the field againſt the Venetians, who were drawing together again. Upon the king of France's departure, affairs began to have a new face. The Venetians took Padua by ſurprize, and kept it ever after. Moreover they found means to ſend into Friuli, an army which employed the greateſt part of the emperor's troops. In ſhort, they appeaſed the pope by their humble ſubmiſſion, and obtained his poſitive promiſe to give them abſolution, and take off the interdict upon certain conditions, which they could not refuſe him. On the other hand, Ferdinand, who had not yet reaped any benefit by the league, was eaſily gained by the offer of the five cities held by the Venetians, in the kingdom of Naples.

The Venetians retake Padua, Bembo. and appeaſe the pope.

The emperor beſieges Padua in vain. Whilſt the ſenate was labouring to draw off the pope and the king of Arragon from the league, Maximilian with his own and la Paliſſe's forces, laid ſiege to Padua, but after an unſucceſsful aſſault, raiſed it, and retired into Germany. At the ſame time, the French general alſo returned to Milan. By which means the Venetians had time to breathe a little, and continue with the pope negotiations, which made them hope the event of the war would not be ſo fatal as they had hitherto apprehended.

The

The union of the king of France with the emperor, made Julius II. extremely uneaſy. He beheld the French king ſo firmly ſettled in the duchy of Milan, that it ſeemed impoſſible to diſlodge him. On the other hand, the emperor could not but be formidable to him, ſince he had an entrance into Italy, by means of Verona and Vicenza. He did not know what to think of the powerful aid lent that prince by Lewis XII. to compleat the ruin of the Venetians, and he was not without fear, that theſe two monarchs had made a private treaty together to ſhare all Italy. Mean while, he hardly ſaw how theſe two formidable potentates could well be oppoſed. Venice was reduced to nothing. The Florentines were drained by the long Piſan war. As for the king of Arragon it was almoſt impoſſible to treat with him, without being liable to be deceived. He knew how to improve all the treaties, and ſcrupled not to forſake his allies, when it was for his intereſt. Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the pope formed the project of putting the affairs of Italy upon another foot, in order to execute his firſt deſigns. He reſolved therefore to agree and league with the Venetians, to take off Ferdinand from the league of Cambray, by inveſting him with Naples, to uſe his endeavours to ſet the emperor and king of France at variance; to bring a Swiſs army into the Milaneſe; in fine, to perſuade the new king of England to make a diverſion in France. Theſe were the pope's projects, the ſucceſs whereof we ſhall ſee hereafter. He began with making a peace with the Venetians upon three conditions. Firſt, that they ſhould deſiſt from all their pretenſions to the cities of la Romagna, lately taken from them. Secondly, that they ſhould renounce the right of placing in Ferrara, a certain magiſtrate called Biſdomina. Thirdly, that they ſhould leave the navigation of the gulf free to all the ſubjects of the church. In the preſent circumſtances of Venice, there were no other conditions to be impoſed upon her.

1509.

The pope's uneaſineſs. Mezerai. Guicciard.

He forms new projects.

He makes peace with the Venetians. Bembo.

After ſo long a digreſſion concerning the affairs of Italy, which however is not uſeleſs, as will appear in the ſequel, we muſt return to the affairs of England.

The parliament being aſſembled the 21ſt of January 1510, the commons repreſented to the king, that certain ſtatutes made in the former parliaments, had given occaſion to the king his father's miniſters, to oppreſs the people, by putting forced interpretations upon them; contrary to the natural meaning of the words: that therefore it was neceſſary to ſoften, or ſo explain them, as to prevent ſuch abuſes for the future.

1510.

The parliament meets. Herbert. Statutes ſoftened.

1510. futuſe [u]. Henry readily agreed to what was propoſed by the commons, not only becauſe the thing was juſt in itſelf, but chiefly becauſe it naturally led to his deſign of having Empſom and Dudley, attainted by the parliament. Though theſe men had been already condemned by their proper judges, the king had deferred the execution of the ſentence. He could not help having ſome ſcruple, for cauſing them to be accuſed of a crime of which he knew them not to be guilty. Nevertheleſs he wanted to ſacrifice them to the people, without incurring the imputation of a falſe accuſation, and withal to vindicate his father's memory, by intimating, that they had exceeded his orders. To reconcile theſe two things, he ſo managed it, that the parliament paſſed an act of attainder againſt them; that is, they were condemned to die by the authority of the king and parliament, without any particular mention of the crimes they had incurred, or of the proofs upon which their ſentence was founded. This method, which till then had been ſeldom practiſed, was but too frequently uſed in the ſequel of this reign, ſo dangerous is it to eſtabliſh ſuch precedents. Mean while, Henry having ſtill ſome difficulty to overcome his ſcruples, delayed their execution till the following Auguſt [w].

Act of attainder againſt Empſon and Dudley. Hall. Stow.

Whilſt the parliament was thus employed, Lewis XII. ſent ambaſſadors to England, to renew with the king the treaties made with Henry VII. As by the peace of Eſtaples,

New treaty of alliance between Lewis XII. and Henry VIII.

[u] The benefit of forfeitures for penal laws was alſo reduced to the term of three years next preceding. There was likewiſe a ſumptuary law againſt exceſs in apparel repealed, and a more decent one ſubrogated. Herbert, p. 6. ——It having been enacted in the 3d of Henry VII. That a coroner ſhould have for his fee, upon every inquiſition taken upon view of the body ſlain and murdered, thirteen ſhillings and four pence of the goods and chattels of the murderer; ſince the enacting of which, coroners would not perform their office without receiving the ſaid ſum of thirteen ſhillings and four pence, which was contrary to the common law, and the intent of the ſame ſtatute of Henry VII. It was therefore now enacted, that upon a request made to a coroner, to come and inquire upon the view of any perſon [illegible] otherwiſe dead by murder, the ſaid coroner diligently ſhall do his office upon the view of the body of every ſuch perſon or perſons, without taking any thing for it, upon pain, to every coroner that will not endeavour himſelf to do his office, or that taketh any thing for the doing of it, for every time, to forfeit forty ſhillings. Statut. 1 Hen. VIII. c. 7.

[w] They were both beheaded on Tower-hill, Auguſt 17. Hall, fol. 8. Dudley had, at the time of his death, in lands, fees, and offices, to the yearly value of eight hundred pounds; and twenty thouſand pounds in ready money, beſides jewels, plate, and rich furniture, &c. During his impriſonment in the Tower, he writ a book called Arbor Reipublicæ, dedicated to king Henry. By Elizabeth his wife, one of the daughters and coheirs of Edward Grey, viſcount Liſle, he left iſſue three ſons and one daughter. Stow. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 217.

after

after the death of one of the two kings of France or England, his ſucceſſor was to ſignify to the ſurvivor, whether he would continue the alliance, it was Henry's buſineſs to inform Lewis XII. of his intention. However, he had done nothing towards it. But as he was a lively young prince, and abounding in riches, Lewis thought doubtleſs it would be proper to prevent him, for fear he might engage in deſigns deſtructive of the welfare of France. His ambaſſadors therefore concluded with Henry a new treaty of alliance, wherein the former treaties were not mentioned. By this it was agreed, that the peace between the two kings ſhould laſt till the death of the ſhorteſt liver: that it ſhould be confirmed by the ſtates general of France, and the parliament of England: that each of the two kings ſhould take care to obtain the pope's approbation, with a previous ſentence of excommunication againſt the firſt violator. 1510. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 270, March 23. Du Tillet. Herbert. Stow.

There was nothing ſaid in the new treaty of the 745000 crowns that Charles VIII. had promiſed to pay to Henry VII. or his ſucceſſors, and for which Lewis XII. himſelf was engaged by a ſubſequent treaty, becauſe the buſineſs was only to renew the peace between the two preſent kings. However, Henry forgot not to ſecure the debt, by requiring of Lewis letters patents, wherein he promiſed to pay the arrears by twenty five thouſand livres every ſix months, till the whole was diſcharged. After which the peace was ratified and ſworn by both the kings. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 277—280, 287—293.

Julius II. was meditating great deſigns againſt Lewis XII. The ſucceſs of the league of Cambray, though he had turned it to his advantage, made him very uneaſy. He ſaw the French more firmly ſettled in Italy than ever, and Lewis XII. better able to protect the duke of Ferrara. To accompliſh his projects againſt France, he doubtleſs wanted aſſiſtance; and to that end, tried to excite all the ſtates of Europe againſt that kingdom, as will be ſeen preſently. So, to inſinuate himſelf into the king of England's favour, he ſent him this year the golden roſe, which the popes, after ſolemnly conſecrating it, were wont to preſent to ſome prince [x]. Probably alſo, the king of Arragon, in concert with the pope, began now to take meaſures to engage Henry his ſon-in-law, in a league againſt France. The pope ſends Henry a conſecrated roſe. Ib. p. 275. April 9. Burnet.

[x] It was dipped in chriſm and perfumed with muſk, and ſo ſent to archbiſhop Warham, with inſtructions to preſent it to the king at high maſs, with the pope's benediction. Julius's letter to Warham, in Rymer's collection is dated April 5, 1510.

The

1510. The ſucceſs of the laſt campaign made the king of Arragon, no leſs uneaſy than the pope. He was ſenſible, Lewis never loved him, nor had any reaſon to love him, and ſaw this enemy, ſince the ruin of the Venetians, in a condition to diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of Naples. On the other hand, the league of Cambray could not procure him any further advantages, whereas the offers made him to leave it were very conſiderable. The Venetians agreed to reſtore him the cities they poſſeſſed in the kingdom of Naples, and the pope was willing to depart from his claim of forty thouſand crowns, and give him the inveſtiture of that kingdom for a Spaniſh genet only. This was ſufficient to induce him to break his engagements at Cambray. In all appearance, ever ſince the end of the laſt year, he had taken meaſures with the pope to form a new league againſt France. But as he never acted openly, he deſired theſe meaſures to be kept private, in order to attack Lewis the more irreſiſtibly. To that purpoſe, on the 6th of January this year 1510, he commiſſioned Lewis de Caroz, of Villaragud, his ambaſſador at London, to treat with Henry VIII. about a ſtricter alliance than had yet been concluded between the crowns of England and Spain.

Ferdinand falls off from the league.

New treaty of alliance between Henry and Ferdinand. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 284.

Whether Henry could not ſo ſoon reſolve to conclude this new alliance with Ferdinand, or was willing firſt to finiſh his affairs with Lewis XII. it was not till the 24th of May, that the new treaty was ſigned. It was only a defenſive alliance between the two kings, with a promiſe of mutual aid upon occaſion. But Ferdinand, who had his views, cauſed theſe words to be inſerted: that in caſe one of the two kings was attacked by any prince whatſoever, the other ſhould be obliged to proclaim and wage war againſt the aggreſſor, though he ſhould be his ally: that if one was attacked by the king of France, the other ſhould be obliged to go againſt him in perſon with a powerful army. This treaty ſecured to Ferdinand the kingdom of Naples, becauſe if Lewis XII. had intended to undertake the conqueſt, the diverſion he would have been threatened with from England, would have infallibly kept him from his purpoſe. But it is hard to conceive what advantage Henry could reap from ſuch a treaty, ſince it was not likely, Lewis deſigned to attack him; ſo that all the advantage was on Ferdinand's ſide. It muſt be either that Henry's miniſters were not very clear ſighted, or he, from a motive of generoſity for a father-in-law, whom he did not yet ſufficiently know, was imprudently perſuaded

Remark on that treaty.

to

to this proceeding, the more ſtrange, as he had lately renewed the peace with France. 1510.

But it muſt not be thought that Henry was then a compleat politician. He was ſtill young, and minded his diverſions more than the publick affairs. There was nothing every day but tournaments, balls, entertainments, concerts of muſick, which conſumed by degrees the eighteen hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, found in the king his father's coffers [y]. He uſed likewiſe to play at tennis and dice with certain ſtrangers who cheated him of his money, which he diſcovered at laſt, and though a little too late, ſhamefully chaſed them from court. He was ſo paſſionately fond of muſick, that it devoured great part of his time; which, added to the hours he ſpent in his ſtudies and other diverſions, left him but little leiſure to apply himſelf to the affairs of the government, the management whereof he willingly left to his miniſters. And therefore it may be affirmed, that in matter of policy, never prince committed groſſer faults, or was more impoſed upon than himſelf, eſpecially, in the firſt years of his reign.

Henry minds only his diverſions. Herbert. Hall.

Whilſt Henry was wholly addicted to his pleaſures, there was a perſon gradually riſing at court, who was one day to have an abſolute power over him, and to manage all his affairs as well foreign as domeſtick. I mean Thomas Wolſey, who was made the king's almoner laſt year, and in the beginning of this dean of Lincoln [z]. It appears in the collection of the publick acts, that on the 30th of January, the king gave him a houſe in London [a], formerly Empſon's, no in-

Wolſey riſes at court.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 267, 269.

[y] The reader may ſee a large account of the king's juſts, pageants, and other coſtly devices, in Hall and Hollingſhead, who have many particulars worth peruſing, by ſuch as delight in ſuch matters.

[z] Burnet ſays, he not only ſerved the king in all his ſecret pleaſures, but was lewd and vicious himſelf; ſo that his having the French pox (which in thoſe days was a matter of great infamy) was ſo publick, that it was brought againſt him in parliament when he fell into diſgrace. He had alſo the art of attaching ſo effectually thoſe to his intereſts, in whoſe company the king did moſt delight, that they were always ready to forward his views. Being of a gay, facetious, and open temper, he would divert himſelf with them in ſuch exerciſes (ſays Polydore Virgil) as were moſt agreeable to the levity and paſſions of youth, and which did not perfectly ſuit with character of a dean in the church. He would deſcend to ſing, laugh, rally, and even dance with them, as if for the time he had quite laid aſide that ſeverity of behaviour which became his ſtation. Hiſt. Ref. vol. I. p. 8.

[a] A meſſuage, called the parſonage, [illegible] of St. Bride's, in [illegible] held by [illegible] ent of [illegible] tom. [illegible] him [illegible] a pre- [illegible]

[illegible] rable

1510. considerable present, since the patent mentions thirteen gardens belonging thereto. We must now return to the affairs of Italy, which will afford us matter for several years.

The pope's designs.

Julius II. had two grand designs in his head. The first was to seize the duchy of Ferrara; the second to expel the French and Germans out of Italy. His forces alone not being capable to execute these projects, it was necessary to use the assistance of some other princes, and try to engage them in his designs. His scheme was to league with the Venetians; to take off Ferdinand and Maximilian from the interests of France; to break the league of Cambray, to persuade the king of England to make a diversion in France; to excite the Switzers to invade the duchy of Milan. He executed all these projects, but not without encountering such difficulties, as would have discouraged any man less resolute than himself.

He absolves and leagues with the Venetians. Ib. p. 294.

First, he made a private league with the Venetians, after which, he solemnly gave them absolution the 24th of January. Then, he secretly agreed with Ferdinand, by promising him the investiture of Naples. That done, he quarrelled with

He quarrels with Lewis XII. Bembo.

Lewis XII. by filling a bishoprick in Provence, without asking his consent, contrary to his own promise. Lewis complained of it, the pope denied he had promised any such thing; and in short, they came at last to give one another the lie in form. This was precisely what the pope wanted, in order to have cause to break with him.

and with the duke of Ferrara. Sardi. Mezerai.

His league with the Venetians being publickly known, he imperiously commanded the duke of Ferrara to renounce the league of Cambray, and join his arms with those of the church. The duke not believing his being vassal to the holy see obliged him to be thus blindly devoted to all the pope's humours, refused to break his alliance with France, and so gave his holiness the pretence he had long been seeking. When the duke offered to pay him the tribute due to the church for the fief of Ferrara, the pope refused it, plainly intimating by that refusal, he intended to confiscate the duchy.

Ferdinand acts underhand to gain Henry. Herbert.

Mean while, Ferdinand was privately acting with Henry VIII. his son-in-law, to draw him into the pope's interest, which was become his own, in consequence of the projects they had formed in common. But his practices were so secret, that Lewis XII. never mistrusted him. On the contrary, he entirely confided in the assurances given him by his ambassador, that his design was to continue firmly attached to the league of Cambray.

On

On the other hand, Julius II. gained the biſhop of Sion [b], who having great credit among the Switzers, found means to ſet them at variance with France, by perſuading them to demand an augmentation of their penſions. Their alliance with that crown being about to expire, they required to renew it, that their penſions ſhould be increaſed. Lewis refuſing it, the biſhop of Sion effectually uſed that refuſal to ſtir them up againſt France, to which the king himſelf alſo contributed by making an alliance with the Griſons. He thereby ſo provoked the Switzers, that in a diet at Lucern they declared for the pope, and reſolved to ſend an army into the duchy of Milan. 1510. The pope ſets the Switzers at variance with France. Guicciard. Mezerai.

In fine, the pope forgot nothing that he thought capable of perſuading the Venetians to agree with the emperor at any rate, even to the adviſing them to deliver him Treviſo and Padua. He intimated to them, that the moſt effectual means to drive the French out of the Milaneſe, was to diſengage the emperor from their intereſts; and when once they were out of Italy, it would be eaſy to wreſt from the emperor not only Treviſo and Padua, but all his other conqueſts too. But the Venetians durſt not run ſuch a hazard. He tries to reconcile the Venetians to the emperor. Guicciard. Mezerai.

Such were the vaſt projects of the pope. He was ſo private in his negotiations, that Lewis XII. imagining he had no other deſign than to ſeize Ferrara, contented himſelf with ordering Chaumont, governor of Milan, to aid the duke in caſe he was attacked. But ſhortly after, a Venetian fleet and papal army commanded by Fabricius Colonna attempting, though unſucceſsfully, to ſurpriſe Genoa, Lewis had but too much reaſon to ſuſpect, there was ſome grand deſign formed againſt him, and therefore, ſent Chaumont orders to have an eye to the pope's proceedings. Lewis XII. begins to ſuſpect the pope. Mezerai. Guicciard.

Theſe orders came to Milan very ſeaſonably. Julius II. really intended to beſiege Ferrara, and for that purpoſe was come to Bologna, till an army, prepared on ſome pretence by Raymond of Cardona at Naples, was ready to join his and the Venetian troops. But Chaumont did not allow him time to execute his projects. Hearing the pope was arrived at Bologna, he departed from Milan at the head of an army, and made ſuch ſpeed that he would have ſurpriſed the pope there, had he not ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed with parleys. Whilſt he was treating with the pope's [illegible] Venetian troops in the neighbourhood [illegible] ſecured it Julius II. is like to be ſupriſed at Bologna.

[b] Or Valais, lying between Switzerland, the Alps, the valley of Aoſt, and Savoy.

from

1510. from the danger of being inſulted. Whereupon Chaumont being wholly unprepared for ſo important a ſiege, was obliged to retire.

He excommunicates the French generals, and tries to ſurpriſe Genoa. Bizarro. Mezerai.

Julius II. made great noiſe at this inſult of the French, and filled all Europe, and particularly the court of England, with his clamours. He excommunicated all the generals of the French army, and preſently after, his and the Venetian gallies made a ſecond attempt upon Genoa, but with no better ſucceſs than before.

The Switzers cannot enter the Milaneſe.

At the ſame time, twelve thouſand Switzers began their march in order to enter the Milaneſe, under the conduct of the biſhop of Sion. But he found the paſſages ſo well guarded, that they deſpaired of ſucceeding in their deſign. So, not receiving beſides from the pope the money promiſed them, they returned into their own country.

Lewis XII. joins in a league with the emperor.

War being thus proclaimed between Lewis XII. and the pope, Lewis thought himſelf under no farther reſtraint. He had done his utmoſt to be reconciled with him, even to the offering to abandon the duke of Ferrara. But the pope, depending upon Ferdinand, and expecting great matters from England, had evaded all his propoſals. Wherefore, to ſtop the fury of this impetuous old man, Lewis made a new league with the emperor, promiſing to put him in poſſeſſion of all Italy, except Genoa and Florence. Maximilian had the good fortune, that in all his leagues he had always great advantages, though he contributed the leaſt. On this occaſion, Lewis XII. could hardly proceed without him, becauſe it was abſolutely neceſſary to continue the war in the ſtate of Venice, otherwiſe the Venetians would have been able to give the pope too great an aſſiſtance. The league being concluded at Blois in Auguſt, Lewis called a ſynod at Tours, to conſult how he ought to behave to the pope. The ſynod were of opinion, that the king ſhould once more offer the pope a reaſonable agreement, and in caſe of refuſal, might with a ſafe conſcience wage even an offenſive war with him. Lewis wanted no more to juſtify his intended proceedings. Preſently after, he concluded with Maximilian a new treaty, whereby they agreed to cauſe a general council to be ſummoned to Piſa to depoſe Julius II. To that end, they gained nine cardinals, who readily undertook to call the council in their own name. Some of theſe cardinals were now with the pope, but found means to leave him under divers pretences, and when he would have recalled them refuſed to obey.

He calls a ſynod, which allows his going to war with the pope, Mezerai.

Treaty with Maximilian to ſummon a council at Piſa. Guicciard. Mezerai.

Such

Such was the ſituation of the affairs of Italy during the year 1510. I have ſaid nothing of the events of the war which continued all the while between the emperor aſſiſted by the French king, and the Venetians, becauſe theſe particulars are of little ſervice to this hiſtory. It will ſuffice to obſerve, that Chaumont ſeeing Genoa and Milan in danger, had withdrawn the French troops from the emperor's army to keep them at Milan. The departure of theſe troops gave the Venetians ſome reſpite, who thereby were enabled to repair ſome loſſes ſuſtained in the beginning of the campaign, and to aſſiſt the pope who ſtill deſigned to beſiege Ferrara. 1510. Chaumont retires to Milan.

Chaumont's attempt to ſurprize the pope in Bologna, afforded Raymond of Cardona, Viceroy of Naples, a pretence to march to the relief of his holineſs. The pope's troops and the Venetians were in December joined by the Spaniſh army near Modena, which Fabricius Colonna had taken in his return from his Genoa expedition. Though the ſeaſon was not very proper to enter upon action, the pope was abſolutely bent to beſiege Mirandola. That town belonged to the heirs of Joannes Picus of Miranda, with whom he had no quarrel. But as it ſay convenient to favour the ſiege of Ferrara, he would not leave it in his rear, but ordered it to be vigorouſly attacked. In ſpite of his age, and the rigour of the ſeaſon, he came himſelf to the ſiege to animate the troops by his preſence, and the town ſurrendering at laſt on the 20th of January, was pleaſed to enter through the breach. The pope's forces and Spaniards join. Siege of Mirandola. Guicciard.

Lewis XII. complained to Ferdinand of his aſſiſting the pope. But Ferdinand calling that a trifle, replied, that as vaſſal of the holy ſee he could not help defending his holineſs's perſon and ſtate: that beſides, he was not concerned in the quarrels of the pope and the king of France, but his intention was to keep to the articles of the league of Cambray.

Hitherto Henry does not ſeem to be concerned with the affairs of Italy, though the pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians had formed a deſign to engage him therein. He peaceably led a life of pleaſure, without much regarding what paſſed abroad. On the 1ſt of January 1511, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee his queen delivered of a prince, at whoſe birth there was great rejoicing over

all

1511. all the kingdom. But the joy laſted not long, ſince the young prince died before the end of February [c].

Birth of a prince; Herbert. and his death. Hall. Stow.

Mean while, Ferdinand was ſeeking means to engage Henry in the league he intended to make with the pope againſt France. Henry was rich and powerful, and conſequently his acceſſion to the league would be of great weight, and extremely incommode France. On the other hand, his youth and ſmall experience made his father-in-law hope, it would not be impracticable to engage him by degrees, into projects which a king of England ought not to concern himſelf with. It is certain, Ferdinand was now in agreement with the pope. All his proceedings render it ſo evident that it cannot be doubted. However, he uſed a profound diſſimulation in this reſpect. He feigned to intend only the peace of Europe, that all the princes of Chriſtendom might join together in a war againſt the Infidels. But as he wanted an army and fleet to execute his deſigns, he pretended to have very much at heart the continuance of the war he had undertaken againſt the Moors. He had ſent laſt year upon the coaſts of Africa a fleet commanded by Peter of Navarre. Shortly after, he reinforced it with ſome troops under the conduct of a ſon of the duke of Alva, who attempting to land at Gelves, was ſlain, and all his men cut in pieces. Ferdinand made uſe of this ill ſucceſs to cover his preparations againſt France. Under colour of being revenged on the Moors, he aſſembled an army and equipped a fleet, which he pretended to ſend into Africa, but was however deſigned for Italy. As it was not yet time to diſcover his intentions, he carried his diſſimulation ſo far, as to demand of the king his ſon-in-law a thouſand Engliſh archers to ſerve in the preſent expedition. Weak aid! to be ſent for ſo far, and at ſo great an expence, if he had really intended to uſe them. Henry not perceiving his deſigns readily complied with his requeſt, and appointed Sir Thomas Darcy, on whom, at the ſame time, he conferred the title of baron [d], to command that ſmall body [e]. We find in the collection of the publick

Designs of Ferdinand.

He demands aid of Henry for his pretended war with the Moors. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 294. March 8.

acts,

c He was born at Richmond, and chriſtened Henry. He was preſented to the king by his queen as a new year's gift, but died this ſame year, on February 22, and was buried at Weſtminſter. Herbert, p. 7. Hall, fol. 11.

d He was captain of the town and caſtle of Berwick. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 294.—Dugdale ſays, the title of baron, which had ceaſed (6 Hen. V.) in the daughters and heirs of Philip lord Darcy, was revived to this ſir Thomas, by writ of ſummons to parliament. (4 Hen. VIII.) Baron. vol. I. p. 374.

e There went over with him the lord Anthony Grey, brother of the marquis of Dorſet; Henry Guildford, Weſton, Brown, William Sydney, eſquires; ſir Robert Conſtable, ſir Roger

acts, Ferdinand's letter of thanks to Henry [f] for this aid, and for his advice not to hazard his perſon in the undertaking: advice, continued he, that he could not follow, becauſe religion was concerned. And yet it ſoon appeared, he had never intended any ſuch thing, ſince he employed againſt France the very forces which ſeemed to be deſigned againſt the Moors [g]. 1511. Ib. p. 297. June. Herbert. Hall. Stow.

They try to get Henry into the league againſt France.

Nothing more was wanting to conclude the projected league againſt Lewis XII. but to gain the king of England. This was ſtrenuouſly endeavoured during the beginning of the year 1511. The Venetians ſent him an ambaſſador under colour of thanking him for his care to reconcile them to the pope, deſiring him withal, in their credentials dated the 2d of March to give credit to what their ambaſſador ſhould impart to him, which could relate only to the intended league. About the ſame time it was that the pope conferred the dignity of cardinal upon Chriſtopher Bambridge archbiſhop of York, and ambaſſador at Rome, in a promotion the 11th of March at Ravenna. All the hiſtorians unanimouſly affirm, Bambridge was made cardinal purely for labouring to ſet Henry at variance with France. Matthew Skinner biſhop of Sion was promoted to the ſame honour for his paſt and future ſervices of the like nature. In thoſe days, it was neither learning nor virtue that raiſed clergymen to the cardinalate, but ſolely their abilities in temporal affairs, joined to an entire ſubmiſſion to the pope.

Bambridge made cardinal. Herbert.

Henry engages with the allies.

The endeavours that were uſed to engage Henry in the Italian league, had at length the expected ſucceſs. In all appearance, it was repreſented to him that he was highly concerned to oppoſe the progreſs of the king of France, who was already become too powerful by the conqueſt of the duchy of Milan, and the ruin of the Venetians. However this be, it appears that about the middle of the year

ger Haſtings, ſir Ralph Elderkare, &c. They embarked at Plymouth about the middle of May, and landed at Cadiz, June 1. Hall, fol. 11, 12. Sir Henry Guildford, and — Weſton, and — Brown, knights, were knighted by king Ferdinand, who gave ſir H. Guildford, a canton of Granada, and — Weſton, and — Brown, an eagle of Sicily, for the augmentation of their arms. This body of troops returned to England about Auguſt. Idem, fol. 13. Stow, p. 488.

[f] By this letter, (writ in a moſt religious ſtrain) it appears that all our hiſtorians, and Dugdale himſelf, is miſtaken in the number of the archers ſent into Spain, Ferdinand's letters calling them a thouſand, whereas they are ſaid to be in our hiſtories fifteen hundred. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 297.

[g] King Henry ſent alſo, in July this year, fifteen hundred men into Flanders, under the command of ſir Edward Poynings, to aſſiſt the duke of Burgundy, againſt the duke of Guelders. Ibid. p. 302. Hall, fol. 13, 14.

1511. Henry was now determined to follow the ſuggeſtions of the pope and Ferdinand. For in June he appointed commiſſioners to take care that the militia of the kingdom were provided with good arms, and ready to ſerve upon the firſt notice, which it was not cuſtomary to order, but when a war was foreſeen. The reaſon alledged by the king for theſe orders, plainly ſhew what was his deſign. He ſaid, though the kingdom was in perfect tranquillity, nevertheleſs, as the arms were commonly ſuffered to ruſt in time of peace, he wiſhed that his ſubjects would be in a readineſs to ſerve him as well againſt invaſions, if any were intended, as in defence of his allies. Theſe laſt words could reſpect only the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians, from whence it may be inferred, that the king had now given his word. But the ſequel will ſhow it ſtill more clearly.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 300.

He guards againſt Scotland.

The antient and ſtrict union between France and Scotland gave Henry juſt cauſe to fear, that as ſoon as the war with France was begun, the king of Scotland as ally of Lewis XII. would interpoſe in the quarrel. And therefore, to remove all pretence of rupture, he took care to appoint commiſſioners [h] with power to repair all the outrages committed ſince the late peace. But his precautions proved ineffectual. An accident this year afforded the king of Scotland that pretence of breach which Henry would have prevented.

Ib. p. 301.

Cauſe of quarrel between England and Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Hall. Stow.

Andrew Breton a Scotch merchant, complaining to the king of Scotland that the Portugueſe had killed his father and ſeized his ſhip, the king gave him letters of mart, after having in vain ſought redreſs from the court of Portugal. Whereupon, Breton equipped two ſtout ſhips, and found means to make himſelf ample amends for his loſſes, by falling upon all the Portugal ſhips trading to Flanders and England. The Portugal ambaſſador reſiding at London, complained to the council, and repreſented that ſince the king of England pretended to the ſovereignty of the narrow ſeas, it was but reaſonable he ſhould protect the foreign ſhips that came into the channel. Upon this complaint, the king equipped two large men of war, and appointed the two ſons of the earl of Surrey [i] to command them, with orders to take the Scotch pirate. Theſe two lords watched him ſo narrowly that they met with him at laſt, as he was returning from Flanders to Scotland. Breton fought deſperately,

h Sir Thomas Dacre, and ſir Robert Drury. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 301.

i Thomas and Edward, which laſt was lord admiral. Herbert, p. 7. Hall, fol. 15.

but was killed in the fight, and his two ſhips taken and brought into England [k]. The king of Scotland hearing of this, ſent and demanded the two ſhips, with ſpeedy reparation of the outrage committed againſt the peace. The ambaſſadors were told, that pirates were not included in the peace, and that to puniſh ſuch people according to their deſerts was no breach of treaty. Probably, Breton had made himſelf more than amends for the damage he had ſuſtained, as it too frequently happens on ſuch occaſions. But however king James not being able to obtain any thing from the court of England, proteſted againſt the injuſtice, being determined to reſent it the firſt opportunity. 1511. Hollingſh.

I left Julius II. afrer the taking of Mirandola, bent upon the ſiege of Ferrara, and only waiting the return of good weather. Though Lewis XII. was in part ignorant of what paſſed in Spain and England, he knew however enough not to doubt that the pope was endeavouring to raiſe him enemies on all ſides. He was even ſatisfied, that though he ſeemed to have no other deſign than to become maſter of Ferrara, yet that was only the firſt ſtep to ſome greater project. Mean while, he was very much embarraſſed. He had properly nothing to gain upon the pope, unleſs he would ſeize the church's patrimony. But he had a great deal to loſe, beſides the troubles which the obſtinate and haughty temper of the pope might create him. Wherefore he reſolved to try all poſſible ways to be reconciled with him. To that end, whilſt the pope was employed in the ſiege of Mirandola, he made him ſome overtures by Chaumont, but it was to no purpoſe. The pope would hearken to nothing, and continued the ſiege till he forced the town to capitulate. At laſt, Lewis ſeeing there was no hopes of a reconciliation, ordered Chaumont to regard him no longer, and at any rate to ſupport the duke of Ferrara. Chaumont receiving theſe orders takes the field in the midſt of winter. His army, joined by the duke of Ferrara, was not ſo numerous as the forces of the pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians, but compoſed of ſo good troops, that the allies durſt never hazard a battle, though it was offered them more than once. Mean while, the pope was greatly perplexed. Inſtead of quietly preparing for the ſiege of Ferrara, he was forced to keep the field during the winter, without knowing even how to ſave Modena, which was in danger of a ſiege. Ferdinand,

The pope rejects the French king's offers. Guicciard. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

Lewis reſolves to regard the pope no longer. Sardi.

k Though he was grievouſly wounded, he encouraged his men, with his whiſtle, even to his laſt breath. The king pardoned the men, and ſent them out of the kingdom. Herbert, ibid.

1511. who foreſaw what trouble that place would give the pope, had adviſed him to reſign it to the emperor. Nay, that affair had been negotiated but without ſucceſs, becauſe Maximilian would receive it only as a place held of the empire, to which the pope would not conſent. At laſt, upon Chaumont's approach to beſiege it, the pope was willing to deliver it as the emperor deſired, becauſe it was not to be ſaved without venturing a battle. The terms of the bargain are not preciſely known. But from thenceforward all the emperor's proceedings gave occaſion to ſuſpect, Modena was acquired upon conditions very prejudicial to the king of France his ally.

Julius II. gives up Modena to the emperor. Guicciard. Mezerai.

Ferdinand's diſſimulation.

The king of Arragon pretended to be in alliance with France. He would not declare againſt her till he had ſecured the king of England, with whom he was privately negotiating a treaty which required a long diſcuſſion. Indeed, his troops which were to ſerve the pope but three months, according to the terms of the inveſtiture of Naples, were ſtill joined with thoſe of the allies. But he pretended, the viceroy of Naples acted contrary to his orders, in remaining in the pope's army longer than he was commanded. Mean while, the army was preſſed by Chaumont and the duke of Ferrara, who followed them cloſe, and deavoured to provoke them to a battle. So, to gain time, Ferdinand, who would ſtill paſs for a neutral prince, and well affected to the repoſe of Italy, propoſed a congreſs at Mantua for a peace. The pope immediately accepted the overture. The emperor agreed to it likewiſe, and Lewis XII durſt not reject it, leſt he ſhould be charged with being the ſole author of the troubles of Italy. It is certain, if, in this juncture, inſtead of ſuffering himſelf to be amuſed by a negotiation, the ſole aim whereof was to rob him of the opportunity of puſhing his enemies, he had ordered his troops to advance, he would have over-run the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate; with ſo great a terror had his arms inſpired the allies. But he had to manage his ſubjects as well as his queen, who conſidered a war with the head of the church as a crime, though there was but too much provocation. He had himſelf likewiſe ſcruples upon that account, which he could not eaſily ſurmount. But however, he was willing to try once more, whether the propoſed congreſs of Mantua would produce ſome good effect. He hoped at leaſt, that the breaking off the negotiation, in caſe it was not ſucceſsful, would fully juſtify him. The congreſs produced the effect expected by the allies, that is, it

Congreſs of Mantua ineffectual. Guicciard.

cauſed

cauſed the French to loſe a great deal of time to no purpoſe. 1511.

A few days before the congreſs of Mantua, the biſhop of Gurck, who was to be there from the emperor, had a conference at Bologna with the pope, after which they pretended to part in great diſcontent. But what followed plainly ſhewed the contrary, ſince the emperor never after did any thing agreeable to his alliance with Lewis XII. He conſented however, that the council of Piſa ſhould be called in his name, and the ſummons ſet up at Modena, and ſeveral other places belonging to him, becauſe it was not yet time to declare himſelf. The ſummons ran, that Julius II. having refuſed to call a council, purſuant to the decree of Conſtance, the cardinals were empowered by the ſame decree to ſummon a council in their own name. And therefore with the conſent of the emperor and the king of France they ordered the council to meet on the 1ſt of September, in the city of Piſa, to endeavour the reformation of the church, in the head and members.

The emperor ſides privately with the pope. Guicciard.

A council ſummoned to Piſa in the emperor's and French king's name.

The biſhop of Gurck's conference with the pope, and the breaking up of the congreſs of Mantua, made the king of France greatly ſuſpect the emperor. On the other hand, he could not help fearing the king of Arragon, knowing by experience what was to be expected from him. He ſaw him making great preparations under colour of the African war, and knew withal, that notwithſtanding his daily aſſurances that he would not concern himſelf with the troubles of Italy, he was uſing his utmoſt endeavours to procure a peace between the emperor and the Venetians. That is, properly ſpeaking, he was labouring to diſengage Maximilian from the intereſt of France. In ſhort, Ferdinand ſent him brotherly admonitions to make his peace with the pope, and not draw on himſelf the juſt reproach of waging an unnatural war with the common father of Chriſtians. Lewis could not but conſider theſe remonſtrances as a ſort of proteſtation to aſſiſt the pope in caſe of need. At the ſame time, he could not believe he would engage in ſuch an undertaking without being ſecure of the emperor. Theſe things made him uneaſy, and apprehenſive that he ſhould at laſt be the dupe of the pope, the emperor, and Ferdinand, So, for fear of being prevented, he gave expreſs orders to Triulzi, who commanded his army in the room of Chaumont lately deceaſed, to take all the advantages of the allies that lay in his power.

Lewis ſuſpects the emperor and king of Aragon.

He orders Triulzi to puſh the war vigorouſly.

1511. Triulzi upon this order aſſaulted and took Concordia in the beginning of May, at the time the calling of the council of Piſa was every where poſted up. Then he endeavoured by ſeveral marches to oblige the allies to a battle, without being able to ſucceed. At laſt, he reſolved to approach Bologna; not that he believed himſelf in condition to beſiege the city, but to draw the allies from their advantageous poſts, and give the Bolonnois opportunity to riſe in favour of the Bentivoglios whom he brought with him. The pope had now done his utmoſt to perſuade the generals of the allies to hazard a battle without being able to prevail, ſo much did they dread engaging with the French. Wherefore, knowing how the army ſtood diſpoſed, and diſtruſting the Bolonnois, who loved him not, he retired to Ravenna, leaving in Bologna the cardinal of Pavia his prime miniſter. He was no ſooner gone, but a tumult aroſe in the city, during which the inhabitants called in their old maſters the Bentivoglios, and put them in poſſeſſion of the government. The cardinal of Pavia had taken to flight the moment he perceived their reſolution. On the other hand, the army of the allies advancing to one of the gates of Bologna, and hearing the Bentivoglios were admitted, and the legate withdrawn, ran away in confuſion, leaving in the camp their artillery, baggage, and ammunition. Whereupon the inhabitants ſallying out, and joining with the peaſants, completely ſtripped the ſcattered army, and rendered it entirely unſerviceable for ſeveral months. The duke of Ferrara improving the opportunity, very eaſily recovered the places lately taken from him by the allies.

Guicciard. Mezerai. Triulzi takes Concordia. He approaches Bologna.

The army of the allies takes to flight of their own accord.

Amidſt all theſe mortifications, the pope ſtill met with another which ſenſibly touched him. The cardinal of Pavia was ſtabbed by the duke of Urbino, who taxed him with being the cauſe of the loſs of Bologna. The pope's concern was the greater as he durſt not puniſh, in the perſon of his nephew, a crime he would have thought worthy of the ſevereſt treatment, had it been committed by any other hand. His army being diſperſed, and his deſigns upon Ferrara vaniſhed, he quitted Ravenna and retired to Rome. In his way, he had the frequent mortification to ſee the papers poſted up for the calling of the council of Piſa, wherein he was himſelf ſummoned to appear in perſon.

The cardinal of Pavia ſtabbed by the duke of Urbino. Guicciard.

The pope retires to Rome.

It was univerſally expected that Lewis XII. would purſue his ſucceſſes, and certainly in the then ſituation of Italy, it was his own fault that he was not maſter of Rome. The pope had no remedy ſpeedy enough to free himſelf from

Lewis orders his army to retire to Milan.

from his ſad condition. The king of Arragon was too remote. The Venetians were unable to lend him a ſufficient aid, and the emperor was not powerful enough to ſave him, had he been willing to attempt it. Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Milan, were in the hands of his enemies. But Lewis, either through ſcruple, or ſome other motive, inſtead of puſhing his point, ordered Triulzi to retire to Milan with the army, and diſband part of the troops. Probably, he was willing to deprive the pope of the pretence of exciting all chriſtendom againſt him, and publiſhing, that he intended to ſeize Rome and all Italy. He was juſtly apprehenſive of this from the pope, ſince it was in effect the foundation, or rather the pretence of the league formed ſome months after againſt France. Triulzi was no ſooner at Milan, but Ferdinand's fleet arrived at Naples, with about three thouſand men, who were ſoon to be followed by a more conſiderable body. 1511. Guicciard.

It was not difficult to perceive, that the king of Arragon had ſent his fleet to Naples to ſupport the pope's intereſts, and give jealouſy to the king of France. Julius II. who was better informed than any man, revived at the news, and the rather, as he rightly judged that Ferdinand would not have been altogether aſſured of the king of England. Since the loſs of Bologna, and the rout of his army, he had ſeemed willing to conſent to an agreement with France, and though he had made overtures more like a conqueror than one conquered, Lewis had accepted them on condition they were approved by the emperor. But when the pope found, the Spaniſh fleet was at Naples, and Ferdinand began to declare himſelf, he added new terms to thoſe he had already propoſed, and plainly ſhewed he was no longer for peace. This conduct put Lewis XII. beyond all patience. So, deſpairing to agree with ſo obſtinate an enemy, he ordered Triulzi to ſend ſupplies to Bentivoglio to guard Bologna, and ſome time after, took Bologna and the Bentivoglios under his protection. On the other hand, though he was not obliged to aſſiſt the emperor, unleſs he came into Italy in perſon, he added however to the German troops in the ſtate of Venice a ſtrong reinforcement commanded by la Paliſſe. Mean while, the pope having certain advice of the good inclination of the kings of Arragon and England in his favour, reſolved to ſummon a general council in oppoſition to that of Piſa. To that end, he publiſhed a bull, wherein, having firſt excuſed the neglect the ſchiſmatic cardinals laid to his charge, and inveighed

Julius II. offers to agree with Lewis XII.

He falls out again.

Lewis takes Bologna under his protection. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 303. June 30.

He aids the emperor.

The pope calls a council at the Lateran church. Guicciard.

1511. againſt their inſolence, he called a council to be held at the Lateran in Rome, the 19th of April 1512.

Since the biſhop of Gurck's conference with the pope, Maximilian's conduct was ſo doubtful, that it was difficult to judge certainly of it. He had agreed to the calling of the council of Piſa, which was done with his expreſs conſent. But he had not yet appointed ambaſſadors, neither was it known that any German biſhop was preparing to go thither. Moreover, he had promiſed to command in perſon in Italy, and led thither a ſtrong reinforcement. But he remained unactive at Inſpruck, without ſhewing any thoughts either of the council of Piſa, or the war of Italy. Mean while, the conqueſts that were expected to be made upon the Venetians were to be all his. Thus, in the preſent poſture of the affairs of Italy, Lewis XII. ſaw the burden of the war laid upon him alone, without his daring almoſt to complain to the emperor, for fear he ſhould join with his enemies. And indeed, Maximilian was ſtrongly ſollicited by the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians themſelves, who offered him a good ſum to induce him to deſiſt from his pretenſions to their dominions. Very probably, he was yet unreſolved, and knowing the league that was forming againſt France, was willing, according to cuſtom, to let the two parties proceed, in order to take afterwards that ſide which beſt ſuited with his intereſt. This doubtleſs was the reaſon of his preſerving a good underſtanding with Lewis XII. in conſenting to the calling of the council of Piſa, and withal, of reſerving a means to be reconciled to the pope, in ſending neither biſhops nor ambaſſadors to the council. Thus remaining almoſt equally ſuſpected by both parties, he waited till the ſucceſs of the war, or the offers from both ſides, ſhould engage him to declare for one or other.

Doubtful behaviour of the emperor.

Mean while, affairs continued ſtill in the ſame ſituation. The pope and the Venetians were alone in open war with France. The emperor ſeemed to float between both ſides. The king of Arragon had hitherto done nothing more than afforded hopes that he would join the league when concluded. But it was not ſo yet, every one fearing to engage in it unſeaſonably. Julius II. and Ferdinand knew one another too well to confide in each other. Each ſtrove to make the other ſubſervient to his deſigns, and was afraid at the ſame time of being deceived. Ferdinand had ſtill in France an ambaſſador, who endeavoured to perſuade the king, that the preparations in Spain concerned

Uncertainty of the affairs of Italy.

Guicciard.

cerned only the Moors. On the other hand, the pope had not ſo quarrelled with Lewis XII. but that he had ſtill left him ſome hopes, and continued a ſort of negotiation with him, by means of the biſhop of Murray the Scotch ambaſſador, who did the office of mediator. Ferdinand was afraid, in caſe the pope made a ſeparate peace with France, the kingdom of Naples would be in danger. The pope had no leſs reaſon to fear, that to ſecure the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples, Ferdinand would forſake the intereſts of the church, and leave him expoſed to the mercy of the king of France. In that caſe, the pope would have nothing to expect from England. Thus, affairs were come to that paſs, that it was neceſſary, either that each ſhould quickly make a ſeparate treaty, or both jointly declare themſelves, not to remain in this ſtate of uncertainty. And therefore, Ferdinand began at laſt to pull off the maſk a little more, by ſending to Naples, the troops he pretended to deſign for Africa, in order to hinder the pope from thinking of a ſeparate agreement with France. 1511.

Ferdinand ſends an army to Naples.

Whilſt the pope and the king of Arragon were thus ſounding each other, the cardinals, who had ſummoned the council to Piſa and were come to Milan, thought fit to open it by commiſſioners. But this was only for form's ſake, to keep to the day appointed. Never was general council ſo thin. The biſhops of France were not yet arrived, and there was no likelihood of any from Germany.

Opening of the council of Piſa. Guicciard.

The pope was enraged when he heard the council was opened at Piſa. In his paſſion with the Florentines, for ſuffering the council to meet in one of their towns, he excommunicated them as well as the Piſans, and put both the cities under an interdict. But the Florentines forced the prieſts to celebrate divine ſervice, leaving to private perſons the liberty to obſerve or reject the interdict.

The pope puts Piſa and Florence under an interdict. Guicciard. The Florentines make a jeſt of it.

It was difficult for Julius II. and Ferdinand, to continue long in their preſent ſituation, without cauſing mutual ſuſpicions, capable of changing the face of affairs. The reaſon which had hitherto with-held Ferdinand, namely, his uncertainty with reſpect to the king of England, was now vaniſhed. Henry, after long ſuſpence, had at laſt poſitively promiſed to enter into the league againſt France. Whereupon the negotiation of the league advanced more in one month than in a whole year before. It was a conſtant rule with Ferdinand, to cover all his deſigns with the cloke of religion, little caring, that after the execution, his artifices were diſcovered. The fleet and army he had prepared in Spain, had for pretence a war with the infidels.

Henry promiſes to enter into the league. Herbert. Pol. Virg.

When

1511. When he was going to declare openly againſt France, he failed not to uſe the pretence of protecting the church againſt the outrages of Lewis. As ſoon as he had gained the king of England, they jointly ſent ambaſſadors to Lewis, to require him to leave the pope unmoleſted, intimating that as chriſtian princes they could not diſpenſe with protecting the church, diſturbed by his ambition. Lewis ſaw plainly, that their meaſures being now taken, it would be too late to juſtify his conduct, and therefore choſe to return a haughty anſwer, which was preciſely what his enemies wanted.

Henry's and Ferdinand's embaſſy to Lewis XII.

Shortly after, on the 4th of October, the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians concluded a league at Rome, leaving a place for the king of England, who had ſhewn his deſire to be included. Indeed, Cardinal Bambridge was concerned in the negotiation as ambaſſador of England. But he was ordered not to ſign the treaty, becauſe Henry expected to make a private one, more agreeable to the intereſts of England than that which concerned Italy only. By this treaty the pope promiſed to find for the ſervice of the league ſix hundred men at arms, five hundred light horſe, ſix thouſand foot [1], and twenty thouſand ducats a month. The Venetians were to furniſh eight hundred men at arms, a thouſand light horſe, eight thouſand foot, and to pay monthly twenty thouſand ducats. Ferdinand was to provide twelve hundred men at arms, a thouſand light horſe, ten thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand ducats a month. It is true, neither the king of France, nor the duke of Ferrara, were named in the treaty as enemies of the allies. But it was eaſy to perceive it, ſince the intent of the league was to reſtore to the pope the city of Bologna, and whatever belonged to the holy ſee, and to make war upon all perſons that ſhould offer to hinder it. A place was left for the emperor in caſe he would enter into it, and Raymond of Cardona, Viceroy of Naples, was declared general of the league.

League againſt France concluded at Rome. Guicciard.

Articles of the league. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 747. Guicciard.

Whilſt the world was in expectation of the event of this league, the council of Piſa was ſolemnly opened in that

[1] In the treaty, as it ſtands in Rymer, it is only ſaid, that the pope was to furniſh ſix hundred men at arms, without any mention of light horſe and foot: neither is the number of troops that was to be ſent by the Venetians ſpecified, but it is ſaid, they were to find a fleet ſtrong enough to beat the enemy's; and on the day of the publication of the league, the pope and the Venetians were to pay eighty thouſand ducats of gold for two months wages for their forces. Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 367. See Guicciardin, l. 10.

city,

city, by the cardinals who had convened it, and ſome biſhops of France and Milan. The firſt ſeſſion was held the 4th of November, though the pope had excommunicated the cardinals, and deprived them of their dignity. The ſecond was held the 11th of the ſame month. But becauſe there was a commotion that day in the city, the cardinals and biſhops were ſo terrified, that on the morrow they removed the council to Milan, where they expected to be more out of danger. Indeed, the inhabitants of Piſa could not look with a good eye upon a council, which expoſed them to an excommunication and interdict, though it was not in their power to oppoſe the orders of the Florentines their ſovereigns. 1511.

A more ſolemn opening of the council of Piſa. Guicciard. The council removes to Milan.

I obſerved that the Switzers were at variance with Lewis XII. by the practices of the cardinal of Sion, or rather of the pope himſelf, who ſet him to work. Their firſt attempt to enter the Milaneſe proving unſucceſsful, they reſolved this year to levy ſixteen thouſand men, the cardinal of Sion having poſitively promiſed them money at their entrance into Italy, and that the army of the allies would employ the French in la Romagna. As this levy could not be ready till the beginning of the winter, they began their march in November, and penetrated as far as Vareſe. Gaſton de Foix, nephew of Lewis XII. governor of Milan, was ſo deſtitute of troops, that he knew not how to oppoſe their paſſage. However, with the few men he had, he took the field, to annoy them and obſtruct the march. But it was not poſſible for him to hinder them from coming to the very gates of Milan. The French had now begun to furniſh the caſtle with ammunition in order to quit the city, when ſuddenly the Switzers hearing no news of the pope, nor the army of the allies which they thought to be aſſembled in la Romagna, retired to their own country, after burning ſome villages. If the pope had not diſappointed them of the money he had promiſed, and if the army of the allies had acted in la Romagna, Milan, Bologna, and Ferrara, would have been in great danger, ſince the French were at that time very weak in thoſe parts. La Paliſſe was then in the emperor's army with a large detachment of the king's beſt troops.

The Switzers march into the Milaneſe. Guicciard.

They retire ſuddenly.

Nothing could be more advantageous to England, than to ſee the forces of France turned againſt Italy. The conqueſt of the duchy of Milan was leſs beneficial to Lewis XII. than to England. For it procured England a ſettled tranquillity, whereas it expoſed France to perpetual troubles,

Falſe policy of Henry VIII. to meddle with the affairs of Italy.

1511. bles, and an immenſe expence. It was therefore policy in Henry to ſuffer the French, Germans, Italians, and Spaniards to battle it in Italy, without involving himſelf in a war which could never procure him any advantage. To the time I am ſpeaking of, the kings of England, had taken care not to meddle with the affairs of Italy, if we except Henry III. who being unfortunately deſirous of making his ſecond ſon king of Sicily, ruined his own kingdom to execute that extravagant project. But he was not a prince to be imitated by his ſucceſſors. The advantages of this policy were ſo manifeſt to all the Engliſh, that it required no leſs than a Ferdinand, the ableſt and moſt ſubtle prince of his age, to make them ſwerve from it.

This prince had joined with the pope ever ſince the beginning of the year 1510, or perhaps the end of the foregoing, and yet had been near two years without declaring himſelf. This delay proceeded only from his deſire to ſecure England firſt, that Henry might make a diverſion in France, which would oblige Lewis XII. to neglect the affairs of Italy. This diverſion muſt have been advantageous to the king of Arragon, ſince it would remove from Italy, or at leaſt weaken, a very formidable rival. But it is hard to conceive wherein it could be ſerviceable to England. On the contrary, there ſeemed to be ſeveral very ſtrong reaſons to divert Henry from ſuch a deſign, without mentioning the peace he had lately renewed with France, and confirmed by a ſolemn oath. This probably was the cauſe of his ſo long deferring the concluſion of the league I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter. Indeed it was not poſſible, but that ſome of the king's council were clear ſighted enough to ſee that this league was no ways advantageous to England, what colour ſoever was given thereto.

The pope excommunicates all the adherents of the council of Piſa.

Whilſt the negotiation languiſhed in England, new occurrences put Ferdinand upon taking freſh meaſures, and contriving all ſorts of ways to ſucceed with Henry. Lewis XII. perſiſted in his deſign to hold the council of Piſa, as was ſaid, and that cauſed Julius II. to convene another at the Lateran, and excommunicate by the ſame bull all princes and others who adhered to the firſt. Among theſe princes, was John d'Albret, king of Navarre, who being allied to Lewis XII. blindly followed the directions of the court of France. The king of Navarre, had no ſooner declared for the council of Piſa, but Ferdinand upon that pretence, formed the deſign to ſeize his whole kingdom, and make Henry his ſon-in-law the inſtrument to execute it. To that end, he gave Henry

The king of Navarre is of the number.

Ferdinand deſigns to ſeize Navarre.

to

to underſtand, that a fair opportunity offered to recover Guienne, taken by France from one of his predeceſſors, ſince the league that was going to be concluded in Italy would find Lewis XII. ſo much employment, that probably, he would not be able to defend his own country. But as the diſtance of Guienne might deter Henry from attempting that conqueſt, Ferdinand out of affection, very willingly promiſed to ſupply him with troops, tranſport ſhips, artillery, proviſions, ammunition, without ſtipulating any thing for himſelf, but the ſole pleaſure of procuring his ſon-in-law ſo great an advantage. This offer opened the eyes of Henry and his council [m]. The acquiſition of Guienne ſeemed to them a thing ſo advantageous, and withal, ſo glorious in the beginning of this reign, that the king, without any farther difficulty, entered into the league propoſed by the pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians. Such was the real motive [n] that induced the court of England to break the peace lately renewed with France, without alledging other reaſon than the protection granted by Lewis to the Bentivoglios, and the calling of the unlawful aſſembly at Piſa. As if England was concerned to help the pope to Bologna, and oppoſe with arms a council, conſiſting of a ſcore of French biſhops, without power and credit even in the very place where they were aſſembled. We ſhall ſee preſently, how Henry was the dupe of his affectionate father-in-law, and how Ferdinand politickly made uſe of him to ſerve his own ends, without giving himſelf the leaſt trouble about his ſon-in-law's affairs.

1511.

He makes a cautious propoſal to Henry.

Henry reſolves upon carrying war into Guienne. Herbert. Hall.

When Ferdinand had gained Henry, he concluded at Rome, with the pope and the Venetians, the fore-mentioned league. In this treaty of Rome, it was expreſly ſaid that all the articles were negotiated and ſettled with the king of England's knowledge, the cardinal of York acting for him, and daily expecting orders to ſign it, but that for certain reaſons the concluſion of it could be no longer delayed.

m The lord Herbert ſays, ſome of the council who more ſeriouſly weighed the buſineſs, were againſt a war with France, and more particularly for a reaſon which England ſhould never forget. 'Let us therefore (ſays one of the council) leave off our attempts againſt the terra firma.. The natural ſituation of iſlands ſeems not to ſort with conqueſts in that kind. England alone is a juſt empire: or when we would enlarge ourſelves, let it be that way we can; and to which it ſeems the eternal providence hath deſtined us; and that is by ſea. Herbert, p. 8.

n Another inducement to Henry was the pope's promiſe to take away the title of moſt chriſtian from the king of France, and confer it on him. Which he thought would be a perpetual glory to the nation. Ibid.

About

1511. About ſix weeks after, Henry and Ferdinand concluded at London, a private league for the conqueſt of Guienne °. This was a conſequence of the firſt, on the ſuppoſition that the depriving the king of France of that province was a good means to ſerve and protect the church of God, the great and principal aim of the allies. If ever God's holy name was openly and ſhameleſly taken in vain, it is in the preambles of theſe two treaties. In the firſt, the pope proteſted that his ſole aim in deſiring Bologna, and the other ſtates which belonged to the church, was, to reſtore Italy to her former tranquillity, that all chriſtians might join their forces againſt the infidels, as he had ever wiſhed, and ſtill did wiſh moſt ſincerely. Thus, to make war upon the infidels, it was neceſſary that Italy ſhould be free from troubles, which could not be hoped till the pope had executed his ambitious projects, without which Italy was not to expect to enjoy any quiet.

League between Henry and Ferdinand for the conqueſt of Guienne. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 311. Nov. 17. Falſe motives of the league of Rome.

In the ſecond treaty, Henry and Ferdinand ſet forth, "That they had made alliances with all chriſtian princes, "ſolely to be enabled to wage war with the enemies of "Chriſt; and for that purpoſe, were now employed in pre- "paring powerful armies by land and ſea; but that ſud- "denly, when they leaſt expected it, they were told, the "king of France's troops were beſieging Bologna, where "the pope, old and infirm, lay ſeized with a grievous diſ- "temper, and attended by all his cardinals: that being ex- "tremely afflicted at this news, they had beſought the king "of France by letters and ambaſſadors, to give over his de- "ſign: that the pope had offered him the pardon of all his "ſins, provided only he would abſtain from the patrimony "of the church, ceaſe to inflame the ſchiſm, and adhere to "the council of Lateran: but that all this had been to no "purpoſe. On the contrary, he had made himſelf maſter "of Bologna, by the treachery of ſome of the inhabitants; "twice routed the army of the holy church of Rome, and "in contempt of the holy ſee, called a council, after having "bribed ſome of the cardinals. That ſince, the pope had "ſent a legate to him to demand only that he would forbear "to attack the church. That the legate not prevailing, "the kings of England and Spain had ſent ambaſſadors to "adviſe him amicably to deſiſt from his attempts and be "reconciled with the pope, or elſe they could do no leſs

Articles of the league of London between Henry and Ferdinand.

° The Engliſh commiſſioners were, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, and George Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 312.

"than

" than undertake the protection of the church; but that their 1511.
" advice had been ſlighted. That upon all theſe conſidera-
" tions, the two kings perfectly knowing how detrimental
" ſuch an ambition might prove to the catholick faith, the
" church of God, and the welfare of Chriſtendom, had
" thought proper to agree upon the following articles, to
" the praiſe and glory of almighty God, our lord Jeſus
" Chriſt, and the whole triumphant court of heaven, for
" the defence, exaltation, increaſe of the catholick faith,
" the chriſtian religion, the holy Roman church, which was
" unjuſtly oppreſſed, and upon the frequent inſtances, exhor-
" tations, and admonitions of the pope, the head thereof."
The ſubſtance of this pious treaty was as follows:

I. The two kings took upon them the defence and protection of the holy Roman church, againſt all perſons that ſhould attack her [p].

II. Ferdinand, as catholick king, and to diſcharge his duty to God and the church, promiſed to take up arms in her defence in Italy.

In the IIId article it was ſaid, that the pope and the ſacred college of cardinals had judged, that in order to deliver the church from the oppreſſion ſhe groaned under, it was neceſſary to wage war upon the king of France, not only in Italy, but in ſuch of his provinces alſo as bordered upon the two allies. And therefore it was agreed, that they ſhould carry their arms into Guienne, and conquer that province for the crown of England, and that Henry, in aſſiſting the church, might at the ſame time recover what belonged to him. To that purpoſe, as ſoon as Ferdinand ſhould have actually declared againſt the kingdom of France, and taken up arms in defence of the church, Henry, at a proper ſeaſon, ſhould proclaim war againſt the ſame prince in defence of the ſame church.

To perform this article, Henry promiſed to ſend into Guienne ſome time in April 1512, ſix thouſand foot [q] commanded by a good general: to maintain them at his own expence, and not recall them without the conſent of the king of Arragon. Ferdinand bound himſelf, on his part, to find five hundred men at arms, fifteen hundred light horſe, and

p —Contra omnes illam invadentes ſeu oppugnantes. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 313.

q By an additional article, dated March 16, it was agreed, that Henry ſhould ſend five hundred men more; and Ferdinand find in all two thouſand men at arms, and three thouſand light horſe. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 324.

four

1511. four thouſand foot, on the ſame terms. Moreover, he engaged to furniſh the Engliſh troops with proviſions and ammunition at a moderate price. It was farther agreed, that each of the two kings ſhould ſend a fleet to ſea with three thouſand good ſoldiers, for ſix months beſides the mariners, and that neither ſhould recall his fleet without the other's conſent.

IV. That Ferdinand ſhould find forty ſhips, at a reaſonable rate, to tranſport the Engliſh forces.

V. That in caſe the allies ſhould take any places in Guienne and elſewhere, they ſhould be delivered to him of the two kings, who had a prior title to the ſame.

VI. That if either of the two kings ſhould be attacked out of Guienne, they ſhould jointly take care of the defence of the country, of him who wanted aſſiſtance, ſincerely and with all their power.

VII. That the two kings conſidering that the pope had called at Rome a council, which all chriſtian princes ought to obey, and ſend ambaſſadors to, and it was affirmed that the king of France perſiſted in his deſign to continue the council ſummoned to Piſa, they agreed to adhere to whatever ſhould be decreed by the council of Lateran, and oppoſe that of Piſa, with all its favourers and adherents.

VIII. That neither of the two kings ſhould make peace or truce without a mutual conſent.

IX. That by this, the former treaties ſhould not be deemed void, but, on the contrary, remain in full force.

X. That it ſhould be ratified within four months by Henry, and Ferdinand, in his own and the name of queen Jane his daughter.

Imprudence of Henry and his council.

Henry and his council thought, without doubt, they had made a very advantageous treaty, ſince it was to procure them the duchy of Guienne, and Ferdinand demanded nothing for himſelf, as if he had acted purely from a motive of religion, and out of affection to his ſon-in-law, though in reality, he had conſulted only his own intereſt. As for the pope's affairs, about which both kings ſeemed to be ſo greatly concerned, it may be affirmed, they did not ſo much as think of them, as it afterwards appeared. But they wanted that pretence to dazzle the publick, though, in all appearance, the world was not ſo blind, as to imagine that two great kings ſhould take up arms on purpoſe to diſſolve a council which called itſelf general, compoſed of a ſmall number of biſhops, of one nation only, and ſo little regarded, that

that even at Milan, where it was removed, the government was forced to make uſe of their whole authority to procure its reception. 1511.

During theſe tranſactions, the emperor gave the king of France ſo much cauſe to ſuſpect his ſincerity, that neceſſity only obliged him to feign any further confidence in him. There was no German biſhop come to the council, and when the emperor was preſſed upon that ſubject, he replied, it was neceſſary firſt to have the approbation of the diet of the empire, which he did not doubt of obtaining: that though he ſhould ſend biſhops from his hereditary dominions to Piſa, it would be more prejudicial than advantageous to the council, ſince it would give occaſion to imagine, he deſpaired to obtain the diet's conſent. On the other hand, inſtead of commanding in perſon his army in the ſtate of Venice, as he had promiſed, he left all to the French troops, who were come to his aid. In ſhort, whilſt he liſtened to the offers of the pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians, he told the French ambaſſador, he was ready to march to Rome, at the head of an army, provided his maſter would ſend him a ſtrong reinforcement, and a ſum of money, proportionable to the greatneſs of the undertaking. Amidſt theſe uncertainties, Lewis knew not what to truſt to. He could not look upon Maximilian but as an ally ready to abandon him, if he found it more for his intereſt to join with his enemies. In that caſe, all the emperor's conqueſts upon the Venetians would be ſo many loſſes to France. Mean while, the ſupplies he lent him were very expenſive, and yet, he durſt not afford him a pretence to change ſides. Thus Lewis ſaw himſelf upon the point of being attacked by all the forces of the pope, the king of Spain, and the Venetians, without any hope of aſſiſtance from the emperor. As for England, though he was yet ignorant of the treaty of London, and Henry's ambaſſador poſitively denied that his maſter intended to be concerned, all Henry's proceedings were plain indications that he would ſoon declare againſt him.

Lewis's ſuſpicions of the emperor. Guicciard.

Lewis ſuſpects Henry.

Mean while, the pope, who had ever in view the taking of Bologna and Ferrara, was very preſſing with the viceroy of Naples to advance with his troops, and take the command of the confederate army. But notwithſtanding all his ſolicitations, the junction could not be till the middle of December, and even then, the Naples artillery not being yet arrived, the army could be only employed in ſome trifling expeditions in la Romagna, with which ended the year 1511. It is time now to return to the affairs of England.

The king of Arragon's army joins the pope and Venetians. Guicciard.

1511. Though Henry had not yet proclaimed war with France, Lewis XII. knew what he was to expect. He had good intelligence by means of one Buonviſo, a merchant of Lucca, who being a bankrupt, was retired into England, where he had obtained ſo much favour from the pope as to be made a kind of agent [r]. This man being corrupted by France, diſcovered to Lewis the ſecrets, the pope was ſometimes forced to truſt him with; and hence it was that the court of France was informed of many things which the Engliſh would have concealed from them. It was probably by this means that the king of France had the firſt notice of the league concluded at London, though it was made a great ſecret. But ſhortly after, he had no more occaſion for ſpies to know Henry's intentions.

Hall. Herbert. Hollingſh.

Lewis has notice of the league of London.

1512. The parliament being met the fourth of February [s], the king communicated his deſign of making war with France. He proteſted, his ſole aim was to free the pope from the king of France's oppreſſion, and eſpecially to cauſe the ſchiſmatical council of Piſa, now removed to Milan, to be diſſolved. Though this war, undertaken as the king himſelf affirmed, ſolely to oblige the pope, was little agreeable to the intereſt of England, the parliament however gave the king a large ſubſidy [t]. In all appearance, the leading members of the houſe of commons being informed of the true reaſons, ſo ordered it, that the reſt came into their opinion. Otherwiſe, it would have been difficult to make them perceive the neceſſity of England's engaging in a war with France, to reſtore Bologna to the pope, and diſſolve a council ſo inconſiderable as that of Piſa. Before the parliament broke up, the king was pleaſed to reſtore John Dudley, ſon of Edmund Dudley, to the rank and honours his family had been deprived of by the father's attainder. From that time, he had always an

Henry acquaints the parliament with his deſign, and obtains an aid of money. Herbert. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

John Dudley ſon of Edmund Dudley reſtored. Herbert.

[r] His collector and proctor in England, ſays Hall, fol. 16.

[s] Hall ſays, it met January 15. fol. 16; and Hollingſhead, the 25th, p. 812.

[t] Two fifteenths from the commons, and two tenths from the clergy. Hall, fol. 16. Stow, p. 490——The moſt remarkable ſtatutes enacted in this parliament were theſe: 1. That every captain ſhall have his whole and perfect number of men and ſoldiers, and give them their full wages, upon pain of impriſonment, and forfeiting all his goods and chattels. 2. That no cloth ſhall be exported out of the realm, till it is barbed, rowed, and ſhorn, upon pain of forfeiting the ſame. 3. Several ignorant pretenders and quacks having taken upon them to practiſe phyſick, it was now ordained, that no perſon ſhould take upon him to exerciſe the profeſſion of a phyſician and ſurgeon, unleſs he is firſt examined and approved by the biſhop of the diocefe where he reſides, or his vicar general, upon pain of forfeiting ſix pounds a month. See Statut.

affection

affection for him, and at length, towards the end of his reign, made him lord admiral of England. 1512.

The war Henry intended to undertake againſt France, having for pretence the diſſolving of the council of Piſa, he could not diſpenſe with acknowledging that of Lateran, and ſending thither ambaſſadors. He made choice of Silveſter, biſhop of Worceſter, with ſir Robert Wingfield, and commiſſioned them to agree in his name to whatever ſhould be deemed neceſſary for the reformation of the church, as well in the head as in the members. This clauſe was only to caſt a miſt before people's eyes, ſince nothing certainly was farther from the pope's thoughts, than to endeavour in this council, either his own or the church's reformation. Henry ſends ambaſſadors to the council of Lateran. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 325. February 9. Herbert.

The time being come to execute the projects agreed by Henry and Ferdinand in the treaty of London, Henry gave the command of his fleet to ſir Edward Howard, ſon and heir to the earl of Surrey [u], and of his army, which was to act on land, to Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorſet [w]. All the troops that were to ſerve in the Guienne expedition, being embarked about the middle of May, in Spaniſh veſſels, arrived the 8th of June, at Paſſage, in the province of Guipuſcoa, where the marquis of Dorſet landed thoſe he was to command. The lord Herbert ſays, theſe troops conſiſted of ten thouſand men, but probably, he included in that number the three thouſand that were to ſerve at ſea according to the treaty [x]. The marquis of Dorſet ſends an army into Spain. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 329. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingſh.

The admiral having convoyed the marquiſs of Dorſet to Spain, put to ſea again, and arriving on the coaſt of Bretagne, landed ſome troops, and plundered the country [y]. Henry hearing, the king of France was preparing a great naval armament, ſent a reinforcement [z] to his admiral, Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Pol. Virg.

u The king, by an indenture dated April 8, granted ſir Edward the following allowance. For his own maintenance, diet, wages, and rewards, ten ſhillings a day. For each of the captains, for their diet, wages, and rewards, eighteen pence a-day. For every ſoldier, mariner, and gunner, five ſhillings a month for his wages, and five ſhillings for his victuals, reckoning twenty eight days in the month. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 327.

w He was accompanied by his three brothers, John, Anthony, and Leonard; and by the lords Brooke, Willoughby, Ferrers, the baron of Burford, ſir Richard Cornwall, ſir Maurice Barkley, ſir William Sandes, &c. Hall, fol. 17.

x He ſays farther, that it appears by the Spaniſh hiſtory, that there were among them five thouſand archers, who carried, beſides their bows, halberts, which they pitched in the ground till their arrows were ſhot, and then took up again to do execution on the enemy. An excellent part (ſays he) of military diſcipline, and yet not remarked by our Engliſh chronicles, p. 9.

y About Conquet, and Breſt. Hall, fol. 20.

z Of twenty five ſhips which the king came and viewed at Portſmouth. Idem. fol. 21.

1512. which enabled him to make head againſt the French. The two fleets meeting the 10th of Auguſt, came to a furious engagement, which ended in great loſs on both ſides. The regent a firſt rate ſhip [a] and the Cordeliere, commanded by Primauget [b], being grappled, were both blown up, with loſs of all their men. This accident happened by the deſperate courage of Primauget, who finding he could not ſave his ſhip, ſet fire to the powder [c].

Ferdinand's private deſign to conquer Navarre.

The treaty of league concluded at London, ſeemed to be made only to pave the way for Henry to the conqueſt of Guienne. But Ferdinand had never any ſuch thought. His ſole aim was to conquer Navarre for himſelf, and employ to that end the Engliſh troops he had ſent for into Spain. But as it was by no means proper to inform Henry of ſuch a project, he had been obliged to allure him with the hopes of recovering Guienne, in order to induce him to ſend his troops. This is the true reaſon why Ferdinand ſhowed in the treaty ſo much diſintereſtedneſs, that all the advantage ſeemed to be on the ſide of England. But the performance was very far from anſwering the engagement.

His many artifices to compaſs his ends. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The marquiſs of Dorſet being arrived in Guipuſcoa, found a commiſſioner of the king, who paid him great reſpect, and told him, the duke d'Alva was taking the field, in order to join him. And indeed, the duke immediately put himſelf at the head of the Spaniſh army. But inſtead of joining the Engliſh who were encamped near Fontarabia with deſign to beſiege with him the city of Bayonne, as was reſolved, he kept at Logrogno on the borders of Navarre. He intimated to the Engliſh general, that the king of Navarre being in alliance with France, it would be very dangerous to attack Bayonne with Navarre behind them: that whilſt they ſhould be employed in the ſiege, the king of Navarre might introduce the French into his dominions, join with them, and by encamping

a Commanded by ſir Thomas Knevet, maſter of the king's horſe. The other captains of note were, ſir John Carew, ſir Charles Brandon, ſir Henry Guildford. This engagement happened in Auguſt. Ibid.

b Barbarouſly called by our chronicles, ſir Piers Morgan, ſays my lord Herbert, p. 11. In this ſea fight the Engliſh had forty five, and the French thirty nine ſhips. Hall, and Hollingſhead, give a large deſcription of the battle, fol. 21. 22. p. 815.

c Upon the loſs of the regent, the king built a ſhip the greateſt ever known before, and called it Henry grace de Dieu. Hall, fol. 22. Though Buchanan, and Leſle ſay, he imitated James IV. king of Scotland, in one he had made, but built it ſo, that they could not make it ſteer. Herbert, p. 11.

between

between the mountains of Navarre and the ſea, cut off the proviſions which ſhould be brought to the camp before Bayonne, without being obliged to give battle, if he thought proper: that therefore it was neceſſary, before they engaged in the ſiege, to try to gain the king of Navarre to the intereſts of their maſters. 1512.

Theſe reaſons were ſo plauſible, that the marquiſs of Dorſet was eaſily perſuaded to ſend an Engliſh officer to the king of Navarre, to require him to join with the allies. Ferdinand ſummoned him likewiſe, but more haughtily, to forſake the king of France, and come into the league [d]. The king of Navarre replied, he was reſolved to ſtand neutral. But the Engliſh and Spaniards not being ſatisfied with this anſwer, jointly preſſed him to declare himſelf, or deliver four of his towns for their ſecurity, which that prince would not grant. During theſe negotiations, a French army commanded by the duke of Longueville, approached the frontiers of Bearn. Whereupon the marquiſs of Dorſet complained to Ferdinand, that the time loſt in ſolliciting the king of Navarre, had ſerved only to give the French opportunity to come and defend their borders, and withall preſſed him to declare, whether he would attack Guienne purſuant to the treaty of London. Ferdinand anſwered, prudence would not ſuffer him to ſend his army to Fontarabia to beſiege Bayonne, and leave his dominions expoſed to the invaſions of the French and Navarrois: that it was much more convenient to paſs through Navarre, and ſecure three or four places, in order to hinder his enemies from making uſe of that kingdom againſt him: that therefore he wiſhed the Engliſh would join the duke of Alva, and his army ſhould make the vanguard, to be expoſed to the firſt dangers: that however the ſiege of Bayonne would not be retarded, becauſe there was no queſtion, the king of Navarre would be glad to be preſſed, in order to juſtify himſelf to the king of France, when he ſhould enter into the league. The marquiſs of Dorſet, who did not yet ſee into his deſigns, having held a council of war replied, that by his inſtructions he could undertake nothing againſt the king of Navarre; but if the duke of Alva would paſs through that kingdom, he might if he pleaſed, but for his part, being already near Bayonne, he could not think of taking ſo great a compaſs to join him.

[d] It was called the Holy League. Herbert, p. 9.

1512. Ferdinand was not content with this anſwer. He ſtrongly inſiſted upon what he had propoſed, that the Engliſh troops ſhould come and join his army, and in the mean while, gave orders to the duke of Alva to beſiege Pampeluna, metropolis of Navarre. During the ſiege, he continually amuſed the marquiſs of Dorſet with poſitive promiſes, that immediately after the taking of Pampeluna, the duke of Alva ſhould join him to beſiege Bayonne. Mean while, the king of Navarre being unable to defend himſelf, was retired into France, where he made a treaty with Lewis XII. for their common defence. But it coſt him the town of Salvatierra, and all Bearn, which he was forced to deliver to the French.

The duke of Alva beſieges Pampeluna. Guicciard. Hall. Herbert.

The king of Navarre retires to France.

Pampeluna having ſurrendered by capitulation the 25th of July, Ferdinand, according to his promiſe ſhould have ordered the duke of Alva to join the Engliſh. But the reſt of the fortified towns in Navarre ſerved him for pretence to delay the junction. So the duke of Alva continued his conqueſts, whilſt the Engliſh troops, though without ſtirring from their camp, ſerved as a countenance to his deſigns. And indeed, though the French, who daily received freſh ſupplies, ſaw themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong to withſtand the duke of Alva, they never dared to enter Navarre, for fear of coming between the Engliſh and Spaniards. Wherefore, being contented to remain encamped between Bayonne and Salvatierra, they gave the duke of Alva all the leiſure he wanted to ſubdue almoſt all Navarre.

Pampeluna taken.

Ferdinand goes on with his artifices.

The duke of Alva overruns Navarre.

Then it was that the marquiſs of Dorſet plainly perceived the king of Arragon acted with inſincerity, and that his deſign from the very firſt was not to invade Guienne, but conquer Navarre. Ferdinand was very ſenſible, his artifice would at laſt be diſcovered. So, to prevent the complaints the Engliſh general might make to the king his maſter, he ſends an expreſs to England, to give Henry an account, after his manner, of the affairs of that country, and to deſire him to order his general to act in concert with him. Henry who had received nothing to the contrary from the marquiſs, readily ſent Windſor herald with the deſired orders to the general.

The marquis of Dorſet perceives Ferdinand's artifices. Ferdinand gets an order for the marquis to obey him. Hall. Herbert. Hollingſh.

Whilſt the Herald was on his journey, the duke of Alva became maſter of St. Juan de Pie del Puerto. Preſently after the taking of that place, Ferdinand acquainted the marquiſs of Dorſet, that his army was ready to march into Guienne, and deſired him to join the duke of Alva without delay.

He has a mind to attack Bearn. Herbert.

delay. But the marquiſs was no longer willing to be deceived. He knew, the French army was intrenched between Bayonne and Salvatierra, with the river Bidaſſoa in front, which muſt be paſſed within view, and beſides Bayonne was ſo well provided, that there was no likelihood of beſieging it. What Ferdinand therefore propoſed was impracticable, and only a continuation of his artifices. From St. Juan de Pie del Puerto, the right-hand road led into Bearn, and the left to Bayonne, ſo the duke of Alva's intent was to engage the Engliſh to enter Bearn with him, under colour there was no other way to draw the enemies from their advantageous poſt, or at leaſt to beſiege Salvatierra. But the Engliſh general having no orders to make war upon the king of Navarre, either in Bearn or elſewhere, refuſed to join the Spaniards. Ferdinand reaped this advantage from his refuſal, that he caſt the whole blame upon him, of their not invading Guienne according to the treaty. After that the duke of Alva turning back, laid ſiege to Eſtella, the only place that remained to the king of Navarre. 1512. The marquis refuſes to help him.

The marquiſs of Dorſet, full of indignation at theſe proceedings, and conſidering that his army was daily weakned by ſickneſs and want of proviſions, which were grown ſcarce ſince the war in Navarre, deſired Ferdinand to furniſh him with ſhips for his return. It was with great difficulty that he obtained his requeſt, Ferdinand ſtill proteſting againſt his departure, as directly contrary to the treaty. Mean while, he was not ſorry for it, ſince the Engliſh were almoſt become uſeleſs, after the conqueſt of Navarre. In the mean while, the Marquiſs of Dorſet falling ſick, the lord Thomas Howard took the command of the army. At the ſame time, as the troops were going to embark, the herald arrived from England, with poſitive orders to the general, to obey the commands of king Ferdinand [e]. But the army mutinying it was impoſſible to detain the ſoldiers any longer in Spain, and the embarkation being made, they arrived in England in November [f]. Henry was at firſt very angry with his general, but being informed of all particulars during the campaign, plainly ſaw, Ferdinand had deceived him, and that his affected diſintereſtedneſs in the treaty of league, was only to draw him more eaſily into

He prepares to return to England. Hall. Herbert. Hollingſh.

He arrives in England.

Henry perceives he had been impoſed upon.

[e] King Henry promiſed at the ſame time to ſend a new ſupply of troops, under the command of the lord Herbert, his chamberlain. Hall, fol. 20, Herbert, p. 10.

[f] In the beginning of December. Hall, fol. 20.

1512. the ſnare. He thought proper however to diſſemble, for fear of giving Ferdinand a pretence to join with France, and leave him embarraſſed.

Before the year was expired, Ferdinand ſaw himſelf in
" had full poſſeſſion of Navarre, though the king of France uſed ſome endeavours to wreſt that conqueſt out of his hands. In December, the king of Navarre, and Francis duke of Angoulême beſieged Pampeluna; but not being able to take the place, were forced to abandon the reſt of the kingdom to the Spaniards. After Ferdinand was in poſſeſſion of Navarre, he ſought pretences to keep it, but found no better than a bull of pope Julius II. who excommunicated John d'Albret king of Navarre, and gave his kingdom in prey to the conqueror. Mezerai affirms, this bull never appeared, but the lord Herbert ſays, it was dated March 1. 1512.

Ferdinand keeps Navarre.

Affairs of Italy. Guicciard. Bembo.

We muſt now ſee what paſſed in Italy whilſt Ferdinand was conquerring Navarre. The confederate army of the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians, under the command of the viceroy of Naples, taking the field in December, the pope cauſed the viceroy to be continually preſſed by cardinal John de Medici, his legate to beſiege Bologna. At length, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the viceroy, and the Venetian general, who foreſaw great difficulties in the execution of that deſign, the pope's inſtances were to be complied with, and the ſiege of Bologna being reſolved, the army of the allies [g] appeared before the city. But Gaſton de Foix duke of Nemours, and governor of Milan, coming to its relief, compelled the allies to raiſe the ſiege. Some days after, he defeated a Venetian army at Breſcia, and ſlew eight thouſand men. At laſt, on the 11th of April finding means to give the allies battle near Ravenna, he put them to rout, and took the legate priſoner; but was himſelf ſlain after the battle, in too warmly purſuing a body of Spaniards, who were retreating in good order. After that prince's death, la Paliſſe took the command of the army, and the next day became maſter of Ravenna. Whereupon all the towns of la Romagna, taken by the pope after the battle of Agnadel, voluntarily ſurrendered to the cardinal of St. Severin, who was in the French army as legate of the council of Piſa, transferred to Milan.

Siege of Bologna,

raiſed by Gaſton de Foix. Bembo.

He routs the allies, but is killed himſelf.

La Paliſſe is maſter of all la Romagna. Guicciard.

g It conſiſted of eighteen hundred men at arms, and about ten thouſand foot, Guicciard, l. 10.

The

The conſternation at Rome was ſo great, that the cardinals went into a body to petition the pope to make peace with France. But Julius II. had reſources unknown perhaps to the cardinals. So, all they could obtain was to engage him to make ſome feigned advances, in order to gain time, and hinder the French from marching to Rome, as they might eaſily have done, without fear of meeting any obſtacle. 1512. The pope tries to gain time.

Whilſt Lewis's affairs ſeemed to be in the moſt flouriſhing condition, they were in reality upon the decline. The Switzers, encouraged by the cardinal of Sion, preparing to exert their utmoſt to invade the duchy of Milan, la Paliſſe thought it more for his maſter's intereſt to relieve that country which was deſtitute of troops, than make conqueſts in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. So, leaving the cardinal of St. Severin in la Romagna, with five or ſix thouſand men, he haſtily marched into Milan. The retreat of the French, when it lay in their power to march to Rome, inſpired Julius II. with freſh courage. From thenceforward he would no more hear of peace, though Lewis XII offered him the ſame terms as before his victory. At this juncture it was that the council of Lateran was opened the 3d of May, which had been delayed by reaſon of the battle of Ravenna. Lewis's affairs decline. The Switzers march to Milan. La Paliſſe relieves it. Guicciard. The pope refuſes a peace. Opening of the council of Lateran.

All hope of peace vaniſhing, the pope excommunicated Lewis XII. and put France under an interdict [h]. He uſed for pretence the captivity of his legate, who was detained at Milan, where, though a priſoner, he performed however the functions of the pope's legate, the inhabitants of Milan refuſing to own the authority of the council held in their city. It was a great mortification to Lewis, to ſee his council contemned by his own ſubjects, but this was only a ſmall part of the misfortunes to which he was expoſed the ſame year. After la Paliſſe had quitted la Romagna, all the towns of that country ſubmitted to the pope. At the ſame time, Ferdinand became maſter of Navarre, and Lewis was forced to ſend an army into Bearn to hinder the Engliſh and Spaniards from invading Guienne. On the other hand, the emperor concluded a truce with Venice, and ſecretly promiſed to withdraw from the French army a body of German troops, lent the king for the defence of Lewis XII. is excommunicated. Bembo. Guicciard. The council is contemned at Milan. La Romagna returns to the pope. The emperor's truce with the Venetians. Bembo.

[h] It is ſaid, Lewis cauſed ſeveral medals to be coined with this inſcription, Perdam Babylonem, I will deſtroy Babylon. Which if true, ſhews that Rome was not called Babylon firſt by proteſtants.

the

1512. the Milaneſe. And yet upon the aſſurance of this aid it was that Lewis recalled from Milan part of his own troops, not doubting that with thoſe he left there, and the Germans ſent him by the emperor, he ſhould be able to reſiſt his enemies. Thus, the French finding themſelves weak in the duchy of Milan, la Paliſſe was obliged to recall the cardinal of St. Severin, with his troops, which was the cauſe of the loſs of la Romagna.

The emperor lets the Switzers paſs through Trent. Guicciard.

Mean while, the Switzers, to the number of ſixteen thouſand, began their march about the End of Auguſt, or the beginning of September. But inſtead of taking the direct road to the Milaneſe, the paſſes whereof, they did not queſtion, were ſtrongly guarded, they marched to Trent, with Maximilian's permiſſion. Though this, if any, was an enemy's act, he was ſtill deſirous to hide his intentions, by telling the French ambaſſador, that his alliance with the Switzers ſuffered him not to refuſe them a paſſage through his dominions, as if his treaty with Lewis XII. was to be leſs obſerved. The Switzers having paſſed unmoleſted through Trent, proceeded to Verona, and joining the Venetians, they marched together towards Milan. Whereupon the French entirely diſconcerted, and not having above ten thouſand men, reſolved to retire into the fortified towns, in order to waſte the enemy's army by ſieges, till the king ſent them ſupplies, or the approaching winter ſtopped the progreſs of the allies. But they were ſoon deprived of this refuge, by the emperor's orders for his troops to retire immediately. Theſe orders being punctually obeyed, la Paliſſe found himſelf ſo weak, that deſpairing to ſave the Milaneſe, he reſolved to repaſs the mountains, and return into France. The prelates of the council ſeeing Milan was going to be abandoned, by a ſudden decree, removed the council to Lyons, and followed the French troops. They would have carried the cardinal de Medici with them, but went away in ſuch confuſion, that his friends found means to ſecure him. After the French were retired, all the towns of the dutchy readily ſurrendered to the Switzers and Venetians, except Parma, Placentia, and Reggio, which ſubmitted to the pope. On the other hand, Alexander Bentivoglio, not thinking himſelf ſafe in Bologna, departed from thence with all his family, leaving the city to the pope's mercy. Thus Julius II. who, about a month before, ſaw himſelf in a very ill ſituation, was arrived at the height of his wiſhes by this ſurprizing revolution, which reſtored him Ravenna, Bologna, all la Romagna, and drove the French out of Italy.

They approach Milan.

The emperor withdraws his troops from the French, Guicciard. who return home.

The council removed to Lyons.

Cardinal de Medici makes his eſcape.

Bologna left to the pope's mercy. Guicciard.

There

There remained ſtill four things to do to complete the pope's happineſs, namely, to diſpoſſeſs the duke of Ferrara, to reſtore the Sforzas to Milan, and the Medici to Florence, and laſtly, to expel the Germans and Spaniards out of Italy. As for the duke of Ferrara, he voluntarily delivered himſelf to the pope, upon the faith of a ſafe conduct. An imprudence which would have coſt him dear, had he not been freed by Fabricius Colonna his friend, who forced the guard, ſet at the gates of Rome to hinder his departure. 1512. The duke of Ferrara goes to Rome, and eſcapes. Guicciard.

The French were no ſooner out of Italy, than the allies began to diſcover their different ends in acting againſt France. Upon this occaſion they judged proper to meet at Mantua, where they could agree but upon two articles, namely, that Maximilian Sforza eldeſt ſon of Lodovico the Moor, ſhould be reſtored to Milan, and the Houſe of de Medici to Florence. In conſequence of this laſt reſolution, the army of the allies approaching Florence compelled the Florentines to conſent to a treaty, whereby the Medici were reſtored to their country as citizens only, and not as governors. But the cardinal de Medici entering the city by virtue of the treaty, whilſt the army of the allies was at the gates, found means to introduce many officers and ſoldiers, and raiſe a ſedition which made him maſter of the city. Whereupon, the government was ſettled upon the ſame foot, as before the baniſhment of the Medici. Congreſs of Mantua between the allies. Ibid. Florence ſubmits to the Medici. Guicciard.

It was a great matter for the pope to have reſtored the Medici to Florence, and Sforza to Milan. But this did not ſuffice to content him. The duke of Ferrara was ſtill maſter of his duchy, and the council of Piſa ſitting at Lyons. The allies therefore muſt be brought to turn their arms againſt Ferrara, and procure a peace between the emperor and the Venetians, that the emperor might without difficulty abandon his council. To that purpoſe, the pope obtained a ſecond meeting at Rome, where he could gain nothing with reſpect to Ferrara, becauſe the duke was protected by the king of Arragon. Beſides, the Venetians could not agree to find men and money to render the pope maſter of that duchy. As for the peace between the emperor and Venice, he found ſtill greater difficulties, though he paſſionately wiſhed to accompliſh that project, for fear one or other of the two powers ſhould recall the French into Italy. But the intolerable terms propoſed by the emperor to the Venetians hindered him from ſucceeding. In ſhort, the pope ſeeing his Another congreſs at Rome. Guicciard.

1512. labour was in vain, and desiring at any rate to dissolve the council of Pisa, and prevent the return of the French into Italy, concluded with the emperor a league offensive and defensive against Venice. By this treaty, the emperor engaged to become a principal party in the league of Rome, and agreed, that the pope should keep Parma, Placentia, and Reggio, saving however the rights of the empire. He promised to renounce the council of Pisa, and forsake the duke of Ferrara and the Bentivoglios. The pope engaged on his part to aid the emperor with all his power, thunder his censures against the Venetians, declare them excluded out of the league of Rome, and drop the prosecution of the Colonnas for aiding the duke of Ferrara to make his escape. The treaty being signed and ratified, the bishop of Gurck, as the emperor's lieutenant renounced in the next session of the council of Lateran the assembly of Pisa, and revoked whatever had been done by the emperor towards the calling and supporting it.

The pope's league with the emperor against Venice. Guicciard. Articles of the league.

The emperor renounces the council of Pisa. Guicciard.

Sforza is put in possession of Milan.

About the end of December, Maximilian Sforza, eldest son of Lodovico the Moor, was put in possession of the duchy of Milan, pursuant to the agreement of the allies at Mantua.

Remarks on the year 1512.

I have now run over the occurrences of the year 1512, a year very remarkable for the several changes in the affairs of Italy, and still more, for the conduct of the princes concerned, which discovers their different characters. Lewis XII. was the dupe of his scruples, which made him lose the opportunity of disabling the pope to hurt him, and in the end occasioned the loss of the Milanese. Julius II. made religion subservient to his immoderate ambition, by using the glory of God and the good of the church for a cloak to gratify his passions. Having formed a league to restore the Venetians to their dominions, to the glory of God and exaltation of the christian faith, he concluded another, on the same pretence, to dispossess them of all they had recovered. Ferdinand drew Henry VIII. into a war for the pope's defence, and to procure Guienne for the crown of England, but artfully made it subservient to the conquest of Navarre for himself. The emperor Maximilian acted with no more sincerity. His conduct was the more extraordinary, as he was solely indebted to Lewis XII. for all he had conquered in Italy after the league of Cambray. Nay, the very preservation of his conquests was wholly owing to that prince's continual supplies. And yet, he no sooner saw him upon the decline, but he most ungratefully helped to hurl him down the

the precipice. It is ſaid he had a book wherein he marked in red letters the injuries received from the king of France. But I do not know in what colour Lewis XII. ſhould have writ in his book the wrong done him by Maximilian on this occaſion. As for Henry VIII. he was certainly the dupe of the king of Arragon and the pope. But what is more ſtrange, after Ferdinand and Julius II. by their artifices had engaged that prince in a league againſt France, as ſoon as affairs had taken ſuch a turn that they no longer wanted his aſſiſtance, they thought no more of him than if there had been no ſuch perſon in the world. In all the negotiations between the allies, whether at Mantua or Rome, after the retreat of the French, cardinal Bambridge was never called to them, neither was there any mention of the king of England. The pope and the king of Arragon, ſatisfied with expelling the French, forſook Henry without troubling themſelves about his concerns. It even appears that he was not informed of theſe negotiations. We ſee in the collection of the publick acts, that the 10th of November he ſtill gave full powers to his ambaſſadors [1] at ſeveral courts, to treat of a league in favour of the pope, at the very time the pope was entirely neglecting the intereſts of England. About the ſame time, Henry ſigned letters patents, declaring he entered into the league concluded at Rome a year before, though ſince that Julius II. was in poſſeſſion of Ravenna, all la Romagna, Parma, Placentia, Reggio, and his deſires had been accompliſhed by Lewis's loſs of Genoa and Milan, and by the emperor's renouncing the aſſembly of Piſa. Thus, he was evidently the dupe of all theſe intrigues. He lent, without knowing it, his troops to Ferdinand to conquer Navarre. On the other hand, the terror of his arms was greatly ſubſervient to the pope's deſigns, as it hindered Lewis XII. from keeping in Italy troops, which he believed neceſſary for the defence of his kingdom againſt the Engliſh. This was the real aim of Julius and Ferdinand, and Henry was ſo blind as to engage, without neceſſity, in a war with France for their intereſt, imagining he was acting for his own.

1512.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 341.

Ib. p. 342.

Who would not have thought that Henry's experience ſhould have rendered him wiſer and more circumſpect? And yet, he was farther amuſed by theſe very princes, who told him that having nothing more to fear in Italy, they were going to join all their forces to invade France, and if he

Henry ſuffers himſelf to be farther impoſed upon.

[1] Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, and George Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 341.

would

1512. would likewiſe act, he might eaſily recover Guienne and Normandy. Henry being perſuaded of their ſincerity, immediately ſent ambaſſadors to Bruſſels [k], to conclude a league againſt France with the pope, the emperor, the king of Arragon, Charles of Auſtria ſovereign of the Low Countries, and Margaret ducheſs dowager of Savoy his aunt, who governed his dominions during his minority. Henry reckoned that the execution of the treaty would immediately follow the concluſion. But it will hereafter be ſeen, that if they concluded the league, it was only to draw money from him, and leave him to make war all alone. He was young and unexperienced, but withal ſo ſelf-conceited as to think himſelf wiſer than his council. Beſides, he had plenty of ready money in his coffers. What could perſons ſo ſubtle as Julius, Maximilian, and Ferdinand, deſire better than to have to deal with ſuch a prince as Henry? We have already ſeen this year 1512, how artfully they improved ſo favourable a diſpoſition, and we ſhall ſee in the following years, how very little he himſelf profited by what he might have learnt by experience, during the courſe of the preſent. However this be, being reſolved to carry war into France, he aſſembled a parliament the 4th of November, to demand an aid of money. Shortly after, the commons, without examining too cloſely the reaſons which induced him to take up arms, granted him a ſubſidy [l], and a poll tax [m] upon all his ſubjects, for the expences of the war [n].

Ib. p. 344.

The parliament gives the king money. Herbert. Stow. Hollingſh.

During the ſeſſion of the parliament, Henry received a bull from the pope, who to encourage him to puſh the war

[k] Sir Edward Poynings, controller of the houſhold, ſir Thomas Boleyn, ſir Richard Wingfield, and John Yonge, doctor of laws, and maſter of the rolls. Ibid. p. 344.

[l] Two fifteenths and four demies. A fifteenth or quinzime, is a tax of money laid upon a city, borough, or other town through the realm, and ſo called, becauſe it amounted to a fifteenth part of that which the city or town had been valued at of old; and therefore every town knew what a fifteenth for themſelves did amount to, which was in proportion to the land or circuit belonging to it. Thus Camden ſays of Bath, geldabat pro viginti hidis. Whereas a ſubſidy was raiſed upon every particular man's goods or lands, and therefore was uncertain, becauſe the eſtate of every particular man is uncertain. Cowel's Dict.

[m] Every duke was to pay ten marks, an earl five pounds, a lord four pounds, a knight four marks; every man valued at eight hundred pounds in goods, four marks; and ſo after that rate down to him who had forty ſhillings in wages, who paid twelve pence; after which every one above fifteen years of age, paid four pence. Herbert, p. 12.

[n] In this parliament, the benefit of clergy was taken away from perſons committing murder or felony in any church, chapel, or hallowed place; and from thoſe that rob or murder any perſons in the king's highway, or in their houſes. See Statut.

vigorouſly

vigorouſly againſt France, granted a plenary indulgence to all his ſubjects that ſhould aid him with their perſon or purſes. This was all the aſſiſtance he had from the pope for a war, the ſole motive whereof, as it was pretended, was the defence of the church. 1512. Bull in favour of the king. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 343.

Nothing more remains to finiſh the account of the occurrences of this year, but briefly to mention the meaſures taken by Henry with regard to Scotland.

Whilſt Henry reſolved to carry war into France, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to preſerve a good underſtanding with the king of Scotland. But it was almoſt impoſſible that England ſhould be in war with France, and Scotland not interpoſe. However, Henry imagined that by the aſſurances he gave the king of Scotland of his intention to obſerve punctually the treaty of peace, he ſhould prevent him from being concerned in the quarrel. James ſuffered him to think what he pleaſed, and in the mean time was preparing to aſſiſt France by a powerful diverſion, in caſe that kingdom was attacked. Upon the firſt report that the king of England was going to quarrel with Lewis XII. James took care to be provided with pretences to break with him. The affair of Breton furniſhed him with one, and he moreover ſought others. But the true reaſon of his acting was, that for ſome ages paſt the kings of England were grown ſo powerful, and had ſhown ſo great a deſire to unite all Great Britain under their dominion, that the Scots could little expect to reſiſt them but by the aſſiſtance of France, which had ever protected them. It was therefore more neceſſary than juſt for Scotland to continue firm to the intereſts of France, and not ſuffer that crown to be diſabled to aſſiſt her allies. So, not to ſwerve from this maxim, James IV. who had determined to go to Jeruſalem, laid aſide his deſign when he heard there was like to be a rupture between France and England. He equipped a fleet, which he intended to ſend into France, under colour of preſenting it to queen Anne, wife of Lewis XII. But the fleet, in which was the largeſt ſhip that had yet been ſeen on the ſea, was loſt or diſabled by a ſtorm, and the admiral's ill conduct.

Henry tries in vain to prevent a rupture with Scotland. Herbert.

Herbert.

The king of Scotland prepares to aid France.

At laſt, Henry having proclaimed war with Lewis XII. James concluded a league againſt him with France the 22d of May this year. Shortly after, he prepared an army, but without divulging for what it was deſigned. His intent was to make an inroad into England, as ſoon as Henry had ſent his forces into France. Henry having notice of this armament,

James concludes a league with Lewis XII.

1512. mament, ſent two ambaſſadors [o] into Scotland, under colour of adjuſting ſome little differences, but in reality to ſound the king's intentions. The ambaſſadors acquainting king James that their maſter ſuſpected this armament was made in favour of France, James replied, That being equally an ally of both crowns, his deſign was to obſerve an exact neutrality. The ambaſſadors prayed him to give that anſwer in writing, but he refuſed, on pretence it would breed a ſuſpicion in the king of France. Shortly after, Henry learnt by his ſpies that a league was concluded between France and Scotland, and he even procured a copy of the treaty [p]. So, perceiving that a war with Scotland was unavoidable, he ſent the earl of Surrey into the northern parts, with power to levy an army, and act againſt Scotland in caſe of neceſſity [q].

Act Pub. XIII. p. 332, 333, 347. Herbert. Pol. Virg.

Act Pub. XIII. p. 339. Herbert.

1513. The occurrences of the year 1512 made great alterations in the intereſts of the princes concerned, and conſequently in their deſigns and meaſures.

Views and intereſts of the princes.

Julius II. pleaſed with having expelled the French out of Italy, and ſo greatly increaſed his power by the acquiſition of ſo many places, was thinking however of ſeizing Ferrara. After that, he hoped, with the aſſiſtance of the Venetians and Florentines, to be able to drive the emperor out of Venice, though he had lately leagued with him. As for the reſt, he had no thought of making conqueſts in France, his ſole aim was to find Lewis XII. employment at home, and entirely diſſolve the remains of the council of Piſa, which however was not very formidable to him, ſince the emperor's diſingagement.

Of Julius II.

Of Ferdinand.

The king of Arragon's ſole view was to preſerve his late conqueſt of Navarre. To enjoy it in peace, the only way was to keep Lewis XII. elſewhere employed, or prevail with him not to diſturb him. To that purpoſe it was neceſſary to uſe the terror of the arms of the allies, and particularly of the king of England, that the king of France being attacked from ſeveral quarters, might be induced of himſelf to deſire a peace, and leave him in poſſeſſion of Navarre. Ferdinand would not have ſcrupled to abandon his allies, provided he could obtain ſuch a peace as he wanted.

[o] Thomas, lord Dacre, of Greiſtok, and dr. Nicolas Weſt, dean of Windſor. Rymer's Fœd.

[p] See the articles in my lord Herbert, p. 12, of the Compl. Hiſt.

[q] This year, a great part of the king's palace at Weſtminſter, and the chapel in the Tower of London were burnt. Stow, p. 490.

The

The emperor ſought only to draw money both from his friends and enemies. He was very ſenſible, that with his own forces alone it would be difficult to make conqueſts upon the Venetians, and that the pope, though his ally, did not wiſh it. But he was extremely reſerved to them, in order to procure the larger ſums in making a peace. On the other hand, he endeavoured to embroil matters as much as poſſible, and make new leagues, becauſe in all the treaties of that kind, money was ſtill given him to maintain imaginary troops, which he never raiſed, at leaſt not ſo many as he promiſed. 1513. Of the emperor.

The Venetians were extremely deſirous to end a deſtructive war, by which they were drained. Their ſole aim was to induce the emperor to be ſatisfied with a good ſum of money for the reſtitution of their towns, and thereby put their ſtate upon the ſame foot as before the league of Cambray. But as the emperor could not think of depriving himſelf of an entrance into Italy by the reſtitution of theſe places, it was their buſineſs to compel him in ſome meaſure by new leagues, which might make him apprehenſive of loſing them without any advantage. But as this was the ſenate's ſole view, they were always ready to break all their engagements, as ſoon as the emperor would hearken to reaſon. Of the Venetians.

The Switzers thought only of ſupporting Sforza at Milan, to have always in that duchy a prince who ſhould rely on their aſſiſtance. Conſequently, it was their intereſt to keep the king of France at a diſtance, and oppoſe all his attempts to recover it. Of the Switzers.

Lewis XII. extremely mortified at the ſucceſs of his enemies in Italy, ardently deſired to recover Genoa and Milan. To ſucceed, the aid of the Venetians, the emperor, or the Switzers was neceſſary. It was alſo requiſite ſo to haſten the concluſion with one or other of the two laſt powers, that the expedition of the Milaneſe might be made in the ſpring, for fear it ſhould be prevented by the war, the king of England was preparing againſt him in Picardy. Of the king of France.

Of all Lewis's enemies Henry alone thought of making conqueſts in France, prepoſterouſly imagining, his allies would make diverſions in ſeveral places to facilitate the execution of his deſigns. But he did not yet ſufficiently know them. The Venetians had been excluded out of the late league. The pope and king of Arragon had no deſire to attack France, but only to create Lewis troubles, which might hinder him from thinking of Italy. It was ſolely with Of Henry VIII.

1513. this view that they feigned a willingneſs to ſecond the king of England. As for Maximilian, Henry and his council muſt have voluntarily deceived themſelves, to hope for any aſſiſtance from him.

Of the king of Scotland. James IV. king of Scotland, ſeeing France upon the point of being attacked by the king of England, was preparing to aſſiſt her, deeming his own and that kingdom's intereſts to be inſeparable. He eaſily perceived, Henry courted him only to hinder his interpoſing in the quarrel, and was willing to feed him with hopes of ſucceeding in his deſign. But he was however determined to break the peace, rather than leave a kingdom in danger, from which alone he could expect a ſpeedy and powerful protection in caſe of need. It is true, he had made a peace with Henry VII. and renewed it with Henry VIII. But it was when theſe princes had no quarrel with France, his antient and conſtant ally. In his opinion, Henry by wantonly attacking France on frivolous pretences, violated indirectly the peace made with Scotland. At leaſt, James pretended that in ſigning a peace with England, he was not bound to forſake France whenever the king of England ſhould think of attacking her.

Such were the diſpoſitions of all theſe potentates in the beginning of the year 1513. We muſt ſee now by what means each endeavoured to attain his ends. This new ſcene will diſcover to us no leſs variety, artful managements, devices and artifices than the former, ſince the actors and perſonages will ſtill be the ſame.

The emperor offers a league to Lewis XII. in order to deceive them. Guicciard. Whilſt Henry was ſeriouſly preparing for the war with France, his pretended allies were minding their own affairs, without regarding his intereſts. Since he had entered into the league of Rome, the allies, it ſeemed, ſhould have done nothing without his knowledge. And yet Julius II. had leagued with Maximilian, and excluded the Venetians, without informing him of it.

In the beginning of the year 1513, the emperor had no farther regard for his new allies, ſince he ſent and propoſed a freſh league to Lewis XII. upon new terms. He offered to aſſiſt him in recovering the Milaneſe, provided Lewis would aid him againſt the Venetians. Moreover, he demanded René, Lewis's ſecond daughter, for Charles of Auſtria his grandſon, and that for her dower Lewis ſhould aſſign him all his pretenſions to Milan and the kingdom of Naples. But that the performance of the treaty might not entirely depend upon the faith of the king of France, he required that the princeſs ſhould be immediately ſent to him,

him, and Cremona and all Gierradadda delivered to him as soon as the duchy of Milan was recovered. Certainly, one cannot but admire the emperor's assurance in making these proposals. He had not hitherto been able to continue the war against Venice, without the assistance of Lewis XII. nay, he thought he still wanted it, and yet made him an offer of his aid to recover the Milanese. But upon what terms? Why, after Lewis should have been at a vast expence to recover that duchy, he was to resign it to the emperor's grandson, with his pretensions to Naples. This is called using people like true dupes. But after the ill turn Maximilian had lately served Lewis XII. it is not very likely that he believed his proposals would be accepted. Probably, he made them only to hinder Lewis from joining with the Venetians. At the same time he intended to inspire these with jealousy, and a fear of his uniting with France, that this fear might induce them to offer him more advantageous conditions. 1513.

Lewis XII. hearkened to these proposals, as if he had some design to accept them, because he thereby hoped to create suspicions in the Switzers and Venetians, and incline them the sooner to join with him. As for the Venetians, they desired nothing more than a strict union with France, and if any thing retarded the negotiation, it was only the hope of an agreement with the emperor, in which case they would have gladly renounced all sorts of leagues. As for the Switzers, it was not possible for Lewis XII. to gain them to his side, though he offered them more than at first was demanded. Besides, their hatred of him, the face of their affairs was altered, since the restoration of Sforza to Milan. Whilst that prince was in exile, it was doubtful, whether in good policy they ought to engage in a war with France for his sake. But since he was by their assistance in possession of the duchy, their honour and interest required their utmost endeavours to support him [r]. However this be, Lewis's negotiation with the Switzers not succeeding, he was under a necessity to join in a league either with the emperor or with Venice, otherwise he could little expect to recover Milan. Lewis tries in vain to win the Switzers. Guicciard.

In the mean time, the Venetians sent and proposed a league to him upon the same terms with that of the year 1498, namely, that they would assist him to recover Milanese, pro- Proposals of the Venetians to Lewis XII.

r He had promised to pay them one hundred and fifty thousand ducats upon his restoration to Milan, and forty thousand yearly, for five and twenty years. Guicciard, l. 11.

1513. vided he would reſign Cremona, and Gierradadda. Lewis readily liſtened to their offers, but the Venetians themſelves did not haſten the concluſion, by reaſon of their circumſtances preſently after.

Guicciard. The king of Arragon having good intelligence of what paſſed between Lewis XII. and the Venetians, informed the emperor, and adviſed him to offer Verona to the Venetians, for a ſum of money. This was the ſubject of a long, though fruitleſs negotiation.

Death of Julius II. Guicciard. Whilſt the affairs of Italy were in this ſtate of uncertainty, Julius II. who was preparing to beſiege Ferrara, in the beginning of the ſpring, died the 21ſt of February, having kindled a flame which his death could not extinguiſh [s].

Parma and Placentia ſubmit to the duke of Milan. As ſoon as the news reached the viceroy of Naples, who was ſtill with his army in Lombardy, he approached Placentia, and entering without oppoſition, reſtored that place to the duke of Milan. Parma quickly followed the example of Placentia, and was likewiſe delivered to the ſame prince. No one was in haſte to ſend aſſiſtance to the future pope to preſerve theſe places for him. On the contrary, the princes of Italy could not ſee without uneaſineſs, that the popes had footing in Lombardy, under a pretence which might upon occaſion, be uſed againſt moſt of them.

Leo X. pope. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 349. Guicciard. On the 11th of March, cardinal John de Medici, who eleven months before was taken priſoner at the battle of Ravenna, was elected pope, and aſſumed the name of Leo X. He was but thirty ſeven years old, but had however great experience, having been employed in divers important affairs in the late pontificate. He was neither ſo hot nor ſo haughty as Julius II. his predeceſſor, but was much more artful and politick. I ſhall have occaſion hereafter to add to his portraiture ſome ſtrokes, which will more fully ſhow his genius and character.

Truce for one year between Lewis and Ferdinand. Guicciard. Before the death of Julius II. Ferdinand was employed in framing a ſcheme perfectly anſwering the name he had in the world. The beginning of the year he had ſent two monks into France to make ſome overtures to Lewis XII. by means of queen Ann, to whom they had acceſs. But as Lewis perceived it was not poſſible to make a peace, or even a truce with Ferdinand, without leaving him in poſſeſſion of Navarre, he had appeared at firſt very cold. But at length,

[s] He took the name of Julius from his inclination to war, in memory of Julius Cæſar. He commanded his army in perſon againſt the French; and, it is ſaid, as he marched over a bridge on the Tiber, he threw St. Peter's keys into the river, and called for St. Paul's ſword.

conſidering

considering that he could hardly expect to recover the duchy of Milan, whilſt the king of Arragon was his enemy, because it was he that excited the king of England his ſon-in-law, he determined, though unwillingly to conclude with him a truce, for a year, on condition the king of England was included, and Italy excepted. He reckoned, that during this truce he ſhould with eaſe be able to re-conquer the duchy of Milan, after which, he ſhould be ſufficiently ſtrong to defend his own kingdom againſt the Engliſh. Nothing was farther from Henry's thoughts than ſuch a truce, which would have broke all his meaſures, and yet, Ferdinand doubted not to act in his name, as if he were ſure of his conſent. The affair was began in January, and the 8th of February, Lewis impowered Odet de Foix, lord of Lautrec, to treat with Ferdinand's commiſſioners. In ſhort, the treaty was concluded at Orthez in Bearn, the 1ſt of April. The treaty ran, that there ſhould be a truce for a year, out of Italy, between the king of France, the king of Scotland, the duke of Guelders on the one part; and on the other the emperor, the king of Arragon, the queen of Caſtile, and the king of England. Lewis XII. undertook to procure the king of Scotland's and the duke of Guelders's conſent, and Ferdinand engaged for the king of England. But as Ferdinand knew he ſhould not eaſily obtain Henry's conſent, he cauſed it to be inſerted in the treaty, that it ſhould be ratified within a month by himſelf and Lewis XII. but that the other parties ſhould be allowed two months, with expreſs declaration, that with regard to the emperor, the king of England, the king of Scotland, and the duke of Guelders, the truce ſhould take place, but from the day of the exchange to the ratifications. Never perhaps was ſeen any thing ſo bold as what Ferdinand did on this occaſion. He perfectly knew that Henry would never agree to the truce, and yet took upon him to procure his conſent, as if he had been fully impowered to that end. The laſt article, concerning the ratification, plainly diſcovers his thoughts. But it is ſtill more viſible, in that he not only took no ſtep to perſuade Henry to do what he ſeemed to deſire, but even concealed from him the truce as far as poſſible.

1513.

Ferdinand includes Henry without his knowledge. Guicciard.

Act. Pub. XIII p. 350.

As ſoon as the treaty was ſigned, Ferdinand took care to publiſh his complaints, that he had been very ill uſed by the allies of the league, that the pope and Venetians had acquired many places, but for his part he had gained nothing at all, and yet the allies refuſed to continue the ſupply to which they were bound, though the king of France ſtill poſſeſſed

Ferdinand complains of the allies. Guicciard.

1513. ſeveral towns in Italy, and the Spaniſh army was ſtill in the ſervice of the league. But this was only to prepare people to ſee with leſs ſurpriſe and indignation, the private truce he had juſt made with France, without the participation of his allies.

The eyes of the publick were fixed upon the new pope, to ſee what courſe he would take. But he did not long leave the politicians in ſuſpence. Though whilſt a cardinal, he did not entirely approve of Julius II's conduct, he purſued however his plan as ſoon as he was in his place. He was doubly concerned to keep the French out of Italy: firſt, as pope, ſince neighbours ſo powerful could not but be formidable to him. Secondly, as head of the houſe of the Medici, he had cauſe to fear, that if Lewis XII. recovered the Milaneſe, he would undertake to reſtore the Florentines to their liberty. In a word, he wiſhed to put an end to the council of Piſa, which could be done only by engaging Lewis XII. in wars, which ſhould compel him to make his peace with the church. Ferdinand had likewiſe the ſame views, to keep the king of France at a diſtance from Navarre, Rouſſillon, and the kingdom of Naples. As for the emperor, it was his intereſt to diſable France to aſſiſt the Venetians. But they had none of them any deſire to carry war into France, but only ſo to manage, that this diverſion might be made at another's expence.

The allies try to engage Henry in a war with France.

To that purpoſe they unanimouſly caſt their eyes upon Henry VIII. as a prince extremely proper to execute their deſigns. He had ready-money, warlike ſubjects, and could with eaſe tranſport troops into ſome part of France remote from the borders of Spain and Italy. In fine, he was very deſirous to ſignalize himſelf by illuſtrious actions, and ſcrupled not to ſhow it publickly. So, each of them laboured with all his power to confirm him in his deſign, to wage war with France, by putting him in hopes of being vigorouſly ſupported, though nothing was farther from their thoughts. Leo X. was no ſooner in the papal chair, but under colour of notifying his promotion, ſent him a letter, aſſuring him, that he was fully determined to adhere to the league formed by Julius II. his predeceſſor, and even to conclude a new one with England. But at the ſame time, he preſſed the emperor to make a peace with Venice, and negotiated with the Venetians to hinder their union with France, promiſing to uſe all his intereſt with the emperor to procure them an honourable and advantageous peace. All theſe practices could not be managed ſo privately but the king of France had ſome

intelligence

intelligence of them, ſo that he ſoon grew very jealous of the new pope. 1513.

Henry did not want much ſollicitation to carry his arms into France. His thoughts were already bent upon war. So, finding, the pope, emperor, and king of Arragon, promiſed him to act vigorouſly, he did not queſtion the favourableneſs of the opportunity to recover good part of what his predeceſſors had formerly loſt. And therefore, he readily agreed to form a new league with them, not for the affairs of Italy, with which he was probably diſguſted, but to attack France from ſeveral quarters. And that the league might be the more ſecret, it was agreed, that it ſhould be negotiated at Mechlin, between Margaret of Auſtria, governeſs of the Low Countries, authoriſed by the emperor her father, and the ambaſſadors of England [t], and that afterwards it ſhould be approved and ratified by the pope, the emperor, and Ferdinand. This was another ſnare laid for Henry, which he perceived not till it was too late to avoid it. Though Ferdinand was then upon the point of concluding the truce with the king of France, he made himſelf however one of the principal parties in this league, as repugnant as it was to the truce. The ſubſtance of the new league concluded at Mechlin the 5th of April, about the ſame time the truce was ſigned at Orthez, was as follows.

League concluded at Mechlin between the allies and Henry.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 354, &c.

That within thirty days after the date of this treaty, each of the confederates ſhould proclaim war with the king of France, and within two months invade him, viz. the pope in Provence or Dauphiné: the emperor in ſome place out of Italy; the king of Arragon in Bearn, Guienne, or Languedoc: the king of England, in Guienne, Normandy, or Picardy, and that their armies ſhould be ſtrong and well provided with all things. The terms of the league.

That the emperor (if he had not yet done it) ſhould revoke all his proceedings in favour of the council of Piſa. [This ſhows how little Henry or his plenipotentiaries knew of what paſſed at Rome, ſince it was now three months or more, that the emperor had abandoned that council.]

That the pope ſhould thunder his cenſures againſt all the oppoſers of this league and abettors of the contrary party.

That towards the expences of the war, the king of England ſhould give the emperor a hundred thouſand crowns of

[t] Which were ſir Edward Poynings, controller of the houſhold, John Yonge, maſter of the rolls, ſir Thomas Boleyn, and ſir Richard Wyngfield. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 354.

1513. gold, at three payments, thirty five thouſand preſently after the declaration of the war, as much more when the war was begun, and thirty thouſand within three months after.

That the emperor meant not to enter into this league as guardian to Charles, his grandſon.

That the emperor and king of England ſhould ratify the treaty within a month, and the pope and king of Arragon within two months, with this expreſs declaration, that in caſe the pope and the king of Arragon, ſhould not ratify the treaty by the time appointed, it ſhould however be in force between the emperor and the king of England.

Laſtly, the confederates renounced all exceptions whatever, and particularly that which might be made to another's ſtipulating for them.

Never perhaps was ſeen more inſincerity than in this whole negotiation, ſince of all the confederates Henry alone intended to keep his word. Leo X. ratified not the treaty, Ferdinand, as will be ſeen preſently, diſavowed his ambaſſador: as for the emperor, he received the money from the king without troubling himſelf to perform his engagements. Thus Henry was the conſtant dupe of theſe princes, who were a little too politick for him.

Ferdinand's ambaſſador at London ratifies and ſwears to the league of Mechlin. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 358.

The treaty being brought to London, Lewis Carroz de Villaragud, Ferdinand's ambaſſador, approved and ratified it by letters patents of April 18th. He declared in theſe letters, that though he had a ſufficient power from the king his maſter, to conclude the league with the plenipotentiaries of the confederate princes he had not been able, for certain weighty reaſons, to be preſent at the ſigning at Mechlin. But being very ſure, the treaty contained only what was agreeable to the king his maſter, who deſired nothing more earneſtly than its execution, he approved and ratified, in the ſaid king's name, all the articles of the treaty. And to remove all occaſion of diſputing the validity of his ratification, he inſerted the treaty word for word, in his letters of ratification, and concluded it again with the earl of Surrey, the King of England's commiſſioner, by virtue of a full power p. 363. received for that purpoſe. Afterwards, the 25th of the ſame month, he ſwore to the obſervance of the articles upon the ſouls of Ferdinand, king of Arragon, and Jane, queen of Caſtile. It is uncertain whether the ambaſſador was himſelf deceived, or whether knowing it, voluntarily helped to impoſe upon Henry. All that can be ſaid is, that the great precautions taken to hinder his being ſuſpected of

inſincerity

insincerity, are not very common with those who intend to act fairly. 1513.

It must doubtless be thought strange, that a pope, an emperor, and a king of Spain, should thus join, to lay such a snare for a young prince of twenty one years of age, and who was even son-in-law to one of them. And yet it is scarce to be doubted, that the league concluded at Mechlin, in the absence of the pope's and king of Arragon's ambassadors, was thus projected to entangle Henry, under colour of keeping it the more secret. They succeeded so well, that Henry relying upon the diversions, his pretended allies would make in Guienne, Bearn, Provence, Dauphiné, Burgundy, flattered himself that he might easily extend his conquests in Picardy. To that end, he made extraordinary preparations by sea and land, which put him to a vast expence. But whilst we leave him employed in preparing for the next campaign, it will be necessary to relate what passed in Italy. Henry is imposed upon. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 364. Hall.

The Venetians not being able to obtain a peace from the emperor, who pretended to subject them to very unreasonable terms, sollicited afresh the negotiation they had begun with France. On the other hand, Lewis XII. to whom time was precious, readily accepted their proposals. Thus the league between that monarch and the Venetians was quickly concluded, upon the same foot as that of the year 1498. This was transacted by Andrew Gritti, who being then prisoner in France, was commissioned to conclude it in the senate's name. Presently after he was released, as well as Alviano, who returning to Venice, was made general of the forces of the republick. League between Lewis XII. and the Venetians. Mezerai. P. Daniel. Guicciard.

When Lewis XII. had concluded his treaty with the Venetians, he ordered his troops to march into Italy, where they arrived in June. As, by the treaty of truce concluded at Orthez, Henry was allowed two months to send his pretended ratification, and as that term was not yet expired, very probably Lewis still flattered himself that Henry would perform what the king of Arragon had promised for him, otherwise he would not doubtless have sent his best troops into Italy. Mean while, the preparations which were continued in England, and the hostilities already begun at sea since April, between the French and English, should have convinced him that Ferdinand had deceived him. However, that was, the French army commanded by la Trimouille, being arrived upon the borders of the Milanese, Maximilian Sforza quitted his capital, and retired among the Switzers, who were to the number of seven or eight thousand men, at Como Lewis sends Trimouille into Italy with an army. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

1513. Como and Novarra, where they expected ſupplies from their own country.

Ferdinand's general goes from Milan.

Upon the approach of the French, Raymund de Cardona, who was ſtill in Lombardy with the Spaniſh army, retired without making the leaſt motion to aſſiſt the duke of Milan, though Italy was not included in the truce of Orthez. Very likely Ferdinand was not diſpleaſed, that the French ſhould make ſome progreſs in the Milaneſe, to keep them employed there, whilſt Henry carried war into Picardy. At leaſt, any other reaſons of his general's conduct can ſcarce be imagined.

Sforza loſes all Milan, except Como and Novarra. Guicciard.

The duke of Milan having no other forces but the Switzers to oppoſe to the French, Milan and the reſt of the towns of the duchy, except Como and Novarra, ſubmitted to la Trimouille without offering to reſiſt, whilſt the Switzers, who were not ſtrong enough to take the field, remained immured within the walls of theſe two places. Whilſt the French were making theſe conqueſts, Alviano took for the Venetians, Peſchiera, Breſcia, Valeggio, and at laſt Cremona, after a fruitleſs attempt to become maſter of Verona by intelligence.

Genoa is reſtored to France. Guicciard.

About this time the faction of the Adornos, who in Genoa ſided with France, found means to become ſuperior, and put the city again under the dominion of the king.

La Trimouille is repulſed by the Switzers at Novarra.

Lewis XII. was now in poſſeſſion of the whole Milaneſe, except Como and Novarra. La Trimouille knowing, the Switzers expected a ſtrong reinforcement from their own country, thought he ſhould make haſte and beſiege Novarra, before the arrival of thoſe troops. He marched therefore to the town, and in the expectation of taking it immediately, furiouſly ſtormed it. But whatever bravery the French ſhowed upon this occaſion, they were repulſed with a very great loſs, which even obliged the general to retire to Riotta, a village about two miles from Novarra. Mean while, the Switzers proud of repulſing ſo terrible an aſſault, and beginning to deſpiſe the French, before whom they had not yet dared to appear in the field, ſuddenly reſolved to ſally out of Novarra, and attack the enemy in their camp. This reſolution was immediately executed, to the aſtoniſhment of the French, who not being able to reſiſt the unexpected attack, were entirely routed. But that was not all. Their conſternation after the defeat was ſo great, that they thought it their only ſafety to repaſs the mountains, and with all poſſible diligence return into France. The news of their flight reaching Genoa, the Adornos quitted the city to the Fregoſas their enemies, who choſe for doge Octavian Fregoſa,

The French army defeated by the Switzers. Guicciard.

The French retire home. Genoa is loſt;

head

head of their family and faction. Thus, within the ſpace of a month, Lewis XII. got and loſt Genoa and Milan, and Maximilian Sforza, who had been expelled out of his duchy, took poſſeſſion again. But it was the latter end of the year before he recovered the caſtles of Milan and Cremona, kept by the French and Venetians. 1513. and Sforza is reſtored to Milan.

The revolution in the king of France's affairs, occaſioned the like in thoſe of the Venetians. Alviano their general no ſooner heard of the French army's misfortune, but he haſtily retired into the territories of Venice, and beſieged Verona. But Raymund de Cardona, who had affected a ſort of neutrality whilſt the French were in the Milaneſe, knowing they were out of Italy, turned his forces againſt Alviano. He not only forced him to raiſe the ſiege of Verona, but even purſuing him from place to place, obtained over him a ſignal victory, which obliged the Venetians to refer their differences to the pope, though he had declared againſt them by aſſiſting the emperor. The neceſſity of their affairs compelled them to take that ſtep in order to gain time. They had loſt all their towns in the Milaneſe, and their own country had been horribly ravaged by the Spaniſh troops, even within ſight of Venice. Alviano retires. Guicciard. He is defeated by the Spaniards. The Venetians make the pope umpire.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Italy, Henry was preparing to go into France with a numerous army. But before I ſpeak of the ſucceſs of his firſt campaign, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention what paſſed at his own court, and which it will be worth while to inſiſt upon a moment. Thomas Wolſey had been introduced to court by the biſhop of Wincheſter. Preſently after, he was made privy-counſellor, and as ſuch, had opportunity to make himſelf better known to the king, and gain his eſteem, as well by his own qualifications, as by the intereſt of the biſhop his benefactor, who ceaſed not to cauſe the king to admire the ſtrength of his genius, and obſerve how fit he was for the greateſt affairs. Wolſey on his part neglected not what he thought capable of increaſing the king's good opinion of him. To an indefatigable application, and extreme diligence in all the affairs he was charged with, he added a blind condeſcenſion for all his maſter's paſſions. The king was highly pleaſed to ſee in his court and council a churchman, leſs rigid and ſcrupulous than the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or the old biſhop of Wincheſter. Wolſey danced, ſung, laughed, and played with the young courtiers who were moſt in favour; and if Polydore Virgil is to be credited, who loved him not, neither had reaſon to love him, he carried his com- Thomas Wolſey becomes prime miniſter. Cavendiſh. Fiddes. Burnet. Pol. Virg. Stow.

1513. plaiſance ſo far as to lend the king his houſe for his moſt ſecret pleaſures. However that be, his condeſcenſion, joined to his talents for buſineſs, and to his knowledge in divinity which he had acquired, as well as the king, by reading the works of Thomas Aquinas, ſoon gave him the advantage over all the other courtiers. When he ſaw himſelf well fixed, he made it his particular buſineſs to ſhew the king his errors ſince his acceſſion to the throne, and how his youth had been abuſed. By this method he inſinuated to him by degrees, that he was ill-ſerved, and wanted an able miniſter, capable of eaſing him in the adminiſtration of the moſt weighty affairs, and of ſhewing him the conſequences. In a word, he ſo managed, that he became himſelf that miniſter which he adviſed the king to ſeek, and by degrees was intruſted with the care and conduct of the king's principal affairs. His credit rendered him haughty, proud, inſolent, and ungrateful to his old friends. In ſhort, he was taxed with all the failings which favourites are uſually charged with, and which indeed few favourites can avoid. Wolſey, like moſt others, grew extremely odious, chiefly becauſe his counſels were always ſelf-intereſted, which the event diſcovered to all but the king, who was blind in that reſpect. His favour and credit, cauſed the moſt potent princes of Europe, to ſtrive to gain him to their intereſts, and to glory, at leaſt outwardly, in being of the number of his friends. The reaſon is, becauſe during this reign, the affairs of Europe were in ſuch a ſituation, that England was capable of making the balance incline to the ſide ſhe eſpouſed. Wolſey knew how to improve this advantage, to render himſelf the richeſt and moſt powerful ſubject that ever was, but laboured not with the ſame ardour for his maſter's honour, as for his own intereſt. After he was declared prime miniſter, he managed, during the ſpace of ſeventeen years, all the king's affairs both foreign and domeſtick [u].

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert.

Before the king was ready to paſs into France, the war was begun at ſea. In April, admiral Howard had put to ſea with thirty two ſhips of war [w], whilſt the French fleet

[u] In the preſent war, the king committed to him the direction of the ſupplies and proviſions to be made for the army; which Wolſey took care not to neglect the advantage of. The victualling of his army was not, without a ſarcaſm to his birth, recommended to Wolſey, ſays the lord Herbert, p. 15.

[w] Hall, and the lord Herbert ſay, forty two, fol. 22. p. 13. The admiral was accompanied by Walter Devereux, lord Ferrers, ſir Wolſtan Browne, ſir Edward Ichyngham, ſir Anthony Poyntz, ſir John Wallop, ſir Thomas Wyndham, ſir Stephen Bull, William Fitzwilliam, Arthur Plantagenet, ſir William Sidney, eſquires, &c. Hall, fol. 22. Stow, p. 491.

remained

remained at Breſt, expecting ſix gallies, which Pregent * was to bring from Marſeilles. The Engliſh admiral approaching Breſt, reſolved to attack the French ſhips as they lay at anchor. But upon notice that Pregent was arrived at Conquet, he ſailed that way, to endeavour to take the ſix gallies, and attacked them indeed with great bravery. But during the fight, his ſhip being grappled with Pregent's galley, he entered it ſword in hand, and at firſt cauſed great diſorder. Unhappily, the galley being afterwards diſingaged, he was left in the hands of his enemies, with a few attendants, and, being unknown, was knocked over-board with a half-pike. The loſs of the admiral cauſed ſuch a conſternation in the Engliſh fleet, that they durſt not continue the fight †. The news being carried to court, the king conferred the office of lord admiral upon Thomas Howard, brother of the deceaſed. Mean while, as the French fleet, by receiving a ſtrong reinforcement, was become ſuperior, the Engliſh returned to ſome port in England, expecting the arrival of the new admiral. The French, encouraged by the retreat of the Engliſh, ſailed to the coaſt of England, and even made a deſcent in Suſſex, and carried away ſome booty.

1513.

Sea fight wherein admiral Howard is loſt.

Hall. Stow.

Mean time, Henry was preparing to carry war into France, though none of his pretended allies had yet made the leaſt ſtep towards performing the treaty of Mechlin. Leo X. had not ratified the treaty, and nothing was farther from his thoughts, than the ſending of an army into Provence or Dauphiné. The emperor began to ſeek excuſes not to enter Burgundy with an army, though he had poſitively promiſed it. As for the king of Arragon, he had not only concealed from Henry his one year's truce with France, but was even trying to amuſe him with hopes, that he was inſtantly going to make a powerful diverſion in Guienne. He ſo artfully acted his part, that it was June before Henry was fully informed of the truce of Orthez. Provoked at ſuch a fraud, he diſpatched an ambaſſador to the king his father-in-law, to upbraid him with breach of faith, and ſummon him to execute the treaty of Mechlin, or rather, that ſigned by his ambaſſador in his name at London. Where-

Henry prepares to paſs into France. Hall.

He comes to know of Ferdinand's one year's truce with France. Herbert.

* Called by our hiſtorians, prior John.

† This ſir Edward Howard was not eldeſt, but ſecond ſon of Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, ſon of the duke of Norfolk, ſlain at Boſworth field, and attainted in the parliament of Hen. VII. The ſaid Thomas was reſtored (4 Hen. VII.) to the title of earl of Surrey, and to the lands which were his wives inheritance. Sir Edward was conſtituted admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gaſcogne, and Aquitain, 4 Hen. VIII. March 19. Dugdale's Baron.

upon

1513. upon Ferdinand, ſeeing he could no longer wear the maſk, diſavow'd his ambaſſador, and ſaid, he had exceeded his inſtructions. He confeſſed however, he had concluded a truce for a year with Lewis XII. being forced by the neceſſity of his affairs, but promiſed to do wonders when it was expired, and adviſed his ſon-in-law to accept of the truce, that they might afterwards unite their forces and jointly attack the common enemy. But Henry could no longer rely upon ſuch promiſes. Thus, by the artifices of the pope, the emperor, and Ferdinand, he ſaw himſelf engaged to carry war alone into the enemy's country, which was to have been invaded in four ſeveral quarters. He was not convinced of their inſincerity till it was almoſt too late to recede, the greateſt part of his army having already paſſed the ſea, and juſt entring upon action. Happily for him, Lewis XII. deceived by the treaty of truce concluded at Orthez, had now ſent his beſt troops into Italy, imagining Henry would accept of the truce according to the king of Arragon's engagement.

Ferdinand diſowns his ambaſſador.

The emperor breaks his word with Henry. Herbert.

Shortly after Henry received a letter from the emperor, with many excuſes, that it was impoſſible for him this year to lead an army into Burgundy, but he would punctually perform his engagement next year. Mean while, to ſhew, he meant not to forſake him, he ſaid, he would come and ſerve as volunteer in his army. Thus, of the four allies who were to act at once againſt France, Henry alone was charged with the burden of the war. Edward IV. his grandfather had been formerly in much the ſame caſe, and thought it no diſhonour to make a ſpeedy peace with Lewis XI. when diſappointed by his allies. If Henry had followed his example, he would have terribly embarraſſed thoſe by whom he was deceived, but being greedy of glory, would ſhew he had no occaſion for them. He had ſo relied on the ſincerity of his allies, that though the treaty of Mechlin was not to be ratified by the pope and the king of Arragon, till the 5th of June, he had cauſed the beſt part of his army to paſs over to Calais in the middle of May. It is evident, the ratification of the treaty of Mechlin had been ſo long retarded, only to engage Henry beyond a poſſibility of receding.

Henry reſolves upon the war alone.

He paſſes his army over to Calais. Herbert. Hall. Stow.

Before the departure of the firſt troops *, Henry had beheaded the earl of Suffolk, priſoner in the Tower ever ſince the reign of Henry VII. who gave Philip I. king of Caſtile, a poſitive promiſe to ſpare that lord's life. But probably,

The earl of Suffolk beheaded. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Du Bellay.

* On April 30. Stow, p. 491.

he

he gave the prince his ſon orders like thoſe given by king David to Solomon with reſpect to Joab. The hiſtorians have endeavoured to diſcover Henry's inducement at ſuch a juncture, to put the earl of Suffolk to death, who was not in condition to hurt him. But they have ſaid nothing ſatisfactory [a]. 1513.

The two bodies of troops tranſported to Calais departed thence the 17th of June [b], under the command of the earl of Shrewſbury [c], and the lord Herbert [d], in order to march to Terouenne, to which they laid ſiege [e]. But the king departed not from England till the 30th of the ſame month, having conſtituted queen Catherine regent [f]. He arrived the ſame day at Calais, being attended by Thomas Wolſey his The Engliſh beſiege Terouenne. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 367, 372. p. 370. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingſh.

[a] The chief reaſon, as my lord Herbert and others ſay, was for fear, in caſe of the king's death in France, the people being well affected to the houſe of York, ſhould take him out of the Tower, and make him king. Edmund de la Pole, was ſon of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, by Elizabeth, ſiſter of Edward IV. But this reaſon ſeems weak, ſince Margaret, queen of Scotland, the king's ſiſter, was the undoubted heir of the houſe of York, in caſe the king died without iſſue. The French writers ſay, Richard, his younger brother commanded ſix thouſand French at the ſiege of Terouenne, which ſome have thought haſtened his brother's death. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 190. Hall, fol. 26.

[b] Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorſet, was general of all the king's forces, both by ſea and land, and Thomas, lord Howard, admiral. Rymer's Fœd.

[c] George Talbot, high ſteward of the king's houſhold, accompanied with Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, Thomas Docwra, lord prior of the order of St. John, ſir Robert Ratcliffe, lord Fitzwalter, the lord Haſtings, the lord Cobham, ſir Rice ap Thomas, capt. in of the light horſe, ſir Thomas Blount, ſir Richard Sachiverell, ſir John Digby, ſir John Aſkew, ſir Lewis Bagot, ſir Thomas Cornwall, &c. This body conſiſted of above eight thouſand. Herbert, p. 15. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 372. Stow, p. 491.

[d] Charles Somerſet, natural ſon by Joan Hill, of Henry duke of Somerſet (who loſt his life in 3 Edward IV.) married Elizabeth, daughter and heir, of William Herbert, earl of Huntington, by reaſon whereof he bore the title of lord Herbert, and as ſuch had ſummons to parliament, 1 Henry VIII. 3 Henry VIII. He was lord chamberlain to Henry VII. and continued in the ſame office to king Henry VIII. From him are deſcended the preſent Somerſets, dukes of Beaufort. He was attended by the earls of Northumberland, Kent, and Wiltſhire, the lords Audley, and De la Ware, the barons Carow, and Curſon, ſir Thomas Weſt, ſir Edward Huſey, ſir Robert Dimocke, ſir David Owen, &c. He commanded ſix thouſand men. The baron of Carow, maſter of the ordnance, was killed the firſt night before Terouenne, in the lord Herbert's tent, which came ſo near him, that the French writ he was ſlain there. Herbert, p. 15. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 372.

[e] June 22. There were within the town ſix hundred horſe, and two thouſand five hundred foot, beſides the inhabitants. Hall, fol. 24. Hollingſh. p. 817.

[f] She was alſo general of all the forces in England, and had power, with five noble perſonages; to take up money upon loan, as occaſion ſhould require, and to give ſecurity of the ſums for maintaining and raiſing of forces, if need ſhould require; as it is more particularly ſet forth in the patent rolls of theſe times. Bacon, p. 148.

1513. prime miniſter, Charles Brandon another favorite lately made viſcount Liſle [g], with many other lords [h]. Whilſt the troops continued the ſiege of Terouenne, he remained at Calais with nine thouſand men, ready to march upon the firſt occaſion.

Henry comes to the ſiege.

At laſt, having certain advice that the duke of Longueville was approaching to relieve the town, he haſtened from Calais to the ſiege, where he arrived the 4th of Auguſt. On the 9th, the emperor came and conferred with him between Aire and Terouenne, and three days after repaired to the camp and ſerved as volunteer under the king, making no ſcruple to receive a hundred crowns a day for his pay. By this mark of eſteem, and the imaginary honour he did the king, he meant to make amends for his breach of faith, and the hundred thouſand crowns received for an expedition which he had never intended to make.

The emperor ſerves in the Engliſh army. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

The battle of ſpurs. Herbert. Mezerai. Hall. Aug. 16.

Mean time, the duke of Longueville who commanded the French army, approaching Terouenne, Henry paſſed the Lys with the greateſt part of his troops, in order to meet him. The two armies engaged, but not long. For the fight was hardly begun, when the French, by what accident is unknown, ran away in confuſion without any poſſibility of their being rallied. But the principal officers choſe rather to be taken priſoners than follow ſo diſhonorable an example. The duke of Longueville was of the number, with chevalier Bayard, la Fayette, Buſſi d'Amboiſe, and ſome others of the greateſt diſtinction. This battle, if ſuch a rout may be ſo termed, was called, the battle of Guinegaſte, and by ſome, the battle of ſpurs, becauſe the French made more uſe of their ſpurs than their ſwords. Whilſt the two armies were in view, before the engagement, a body of French attempted to introduce a convoy of proviſions into the town, but were repulſed by the lord Herbert, who was left to guard the trenches. After the battle, the beſieged

[g] May 15th, 1513. His uncle William Brandon, ſtandard bearer to Henry VII. at Boſworth field, was ſlain by king Richard III. himſelf. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 299.

[h] The king divided his own forces into three bodies. The vanguard, conſiſting of three thouſand men, was commanded by Charles Brandon, viſcount Liſle; the right wing by ſir Richard Carew, and the left by Thomas, lord Darcy; Henry Bourchier, earl of Eſſex, was lieutenant general of the ſpears, and ſir John Pechy commanded the horſe. Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, with ſix hundred men, was on the king's left hand; and on the right, ſir Edward Poynings, with the ſame number. George Nevil, lord Abergavenny, followed with eight hundred men; and ſir William Compton, with the retinue of Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, and of Wolſey, which amounted to eight hundred men, brought up the rear. The king's forces were in all eleven thouſand three hundred men. Stow, p. 491.

deſpairing

deſpairing of relief, ſurrendered the city the 22d of Auguſt, and the king, in company with the emperor, entered the 24th. 1513.

Terouenné ſurrenders. Hall. Stow.

It ſeemed to be Henry's deſtiny to be always the emperor's dupe. After the taking of Terouenne, Maximilian, who had only ſerved at the ſiege as volunteer, found means to have the place delivered to him, and immediately ordered it to be demoliſhed. It is hard to conceive what induced Henry to this condeſcenſion. All that can be conjectured is, that there was perhaps in the capitulation, ſome article againſt the razing of the place, but that altering his mind, he was willing to ſave his honour by delivering it to the emperor. Though this were the caſe, there would be no leſs reaſon to be ſurprized at his management. 'Tis eaſy to perceive it was very advantageous to Charles of Auſtria, grandſon of Maximilian, that Terouenne belonged neither to the French nor the Engliſh. But what intereſt could Henry have to loſe ſo many men, and ſo much time, to take a place in order to have it razed in favour of Maximilian, who had not merited ſuch a condeſcenſion [i]?

Henry gives the place to the emperor, who razes it. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingſh.

As the ſeaſon was not yet far advanced, Henry reſolved, before the end of the campaign, to beſiege Tournay, whether he heard the place was ill provided, or the emperor's intrigues had again influenced his council. For, the conqueſt of Tournay, which lies at ſome diſtance from Calais, was much leſs advantageous to Henry than to the archduke Charles, whoſe dominions it ſecured; whereas Boulogne would have been, without doubt, much more convenient for the king, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of Calais. Nevertheleſs the ſiege of Tournay was reſolved, probably becauſe the emperor hoped the king would give him that place as he had done Terouenne. But he found againſt him intereſts ſtronger than thoſe of the king himſelf, which oppoſed his deſigns.

Siege of Tournay. Mezerai. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingſh.

Whilſt preparations were making for the ſiege, Henry paid a viſit to Margaret governeſs of the Low-Countries, who was at Liſle, and ſtaid three days with her. Then he returned to his army which was marching to Tournay [k], but

[illegible] viſits Margaret of Auſtria. Hall. Herbert.

[i] It bordered, it ſeems, upon his territories, which had been much infeſted by irruptions from thence, and therefore by his intreaty, it was razed, ſave only the cathedral, and religious houſes. But the French repaired it ſoon after. This could not but ſeem ſtrange, ſince it coſt ſo much, as Guicciardin doubts not to call it intolerable and infinite expence. Herbert, p. 16.

[k] The king, about a mile or two from Liſle, loſt himſelf in a great miſt, neither could he nor any of his train reſolve which way to turn, till a victualler coming

1513. but the emperor left the king upon ſome diſguſt, the reaſon whereof is unknown. Next day the 15th of September, the army arrived before Tournay, which held out but ſeven or eight days [l]. Henry entered the city on the 24th [m], a month after his entry into Terouenne. By the capitulation, the inhabitants were to have their antient privileges, upon paying to Henry a ſmall annual acknowledgment of four thouſand livres Tournois, for ten years only [n].

Tournay taken. Act. Publ XIII. p. 377. Sept. 23. Herbert. Hall.

Henry keeps Tournay. Herbert.

After the taking of Tournay, the king calling a council of war, it was debated, whether it was proper to keep the place, which ſeemed to be difficult, by reaſon of its diſtance from Calais. But after a long debate, it was reſolved to keep it, and leave for governor ſir Edward Poynings with a ſtrong garriſon. The contrariety of the two reſolutions with reſpect to Terouenne and Tournay will, perhaps appear ſtrange. The firſt of theſe places which was neareſt Calais, and ſecured the road from Calais to Tournay, was demoliſhed. The ſecond, which could not without great difficulty be relieved, was deemed neceſſary to be kept. This contrariety could proceed only from Wolſey's intereſt, who influenced the council as he pleaſed. He had caſt his eyes on the biſhoprick of Tournay, as a thing very convenient for him, whereas that of Terouenne was nothing in compariſon. Accordingly he afterwards found means to obtain the adminiſtration of that ſee, under colour, that the biſhop refuſed to ſwear fealty to the king. This is the true reaſon why it was reſolved to keep Tournay, and perhaps of undertaking the ſiege [o].

Margaret and Charles come and ſee Henry at Tournay.

Next day after the king's entry into Tournay, the princeſs Margaret ducheſs dowager of Savoy, and the archduke Charles her nephew, came to congratulate him upon his

coming by chance from his army, both informed him where his army lay, and conducted him thither, to the great joy of them all. Herbert, p. 16. Hall, fol. 35.

[l] Though the gates bore this inſcription, thou haſt never loſt thy virginity. Hall, fol. 44.

[m] Hall ſays, it was the 2d of October. The king knighted upon this occaſion, Edward Guildford, William Fitzwilliam, John Danbey, William Tiler, John Sharpe, William Huſey, John Savage, Chriſtopher Garnyſhe, &c. —The number of inhabitants in that city was eighty thouſand. Hall, fol. 45.

[n] And preſent payment at fifty thouſand crowns de ſoleil, (or ten thouſand pounds ſterling. Hall, fol, 44.) The city ſurrendered to the king by the name of Roy Tres Chreſtien, [moſt chriſtian king.] Herbert, p. 17.

[o] Wolſey repreſented to the king, that it was fit Tournay ſhould be kept as a trophy of his victories, and the rather, as Cæſar (in his commentaries) acknowledges he no where met with ſo brave a reſiſtance. However, it coſt Wolſey no ſmall trouble and oppoſition before he could obtain the poſſeſſion of this biſhopſick. Herbert, p. 17. Strype's Mem. Eccl. Henry VIII. p. 15.

new

new conqueſt. The fortnight they ſtaid with him, he took care to entertain them with all ſorts of diverſions, as juſts, tournaments, running at the ring, balls, maſquerades, and the like. Mean while, amidſt all theſe diverſions, the miniſters of the two courts began a treaty, which was concluded a few days after. 1513. Hall. Herbert. Hollingſh.

Margaret and Charles being returned to Liſle, Henry repaid their viſit, and was received with all imaginable reſpect and civility. Some days after, on the 15th of October they ſigned a treaty, importing, That though Henry had bound himſelf not to repaſs into England till the war was ended, he ſhould however have liberty to return thither with his army. Henry returns their viſit. New treaty at Liſle. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 379. October 15. Herbert.

That during the winter, the emperor ſhould keep in Artois and Hainault four thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot, for the defence as well of Tournay and the Tournaiſis, as of the archduke's dominions.

That for the maintenance of theſe troops, Henry ſhould pay the emperor two hundred thouſand crowns at ſeveral payments.

That before the 1ſt of June the next year, Henry ſhould carry war into Guienne, Normandy, or Picardy, and the emperor into ſome other province of France.

That before the 15th of May, the emperor, the ducheſs Margaret, the archduke Charles, the king of England, queen Catherine, the princeſs Mary, ſhould meet all together at Calais to celebrate the archduke's marriage with the princeſs Mary, purſuant to the treaty concluded between the emperor and the late king Henry VII.

Whatever was to be done, Henry muſt always find money. Maximilian had already received a hundred thouſand crowns of gold, without having executed any of his engagements entered into by the treaty of Mechlin, and found means to procure two hundred thouſand more by the preſent treaty, beſides the advantage of razing Terouenne, which very much annoyed his grandſon the archduke's dominions. Nay, it is very probable, the diſguſt which made him quit the king's army, proceeded from his not being able to perſuade him to promiſe him Tournay alſo when taken. This manifeſtly ſhews, he looked upon Henry as a novice eaſily to be inſnared. Certainly Henry's many falſe ſteps in the beginning of his reign can only be excuſed by his little knowledge of the character of the princes with whom he treated. Remarks on this treaty.

1513. It cannot be doubted, that the king of Arragon was of the ſame opinion concerning Henry his ſon-in-law. Notwithſtanding the ill turn he had ſerved him laſt year, he had ſtill the aſſurance to ſend him an ambaſſador at Liſle to propoſe a new league, as if his word had been more to be relied on than ſome months before. But it does not appear that Henry was then inclined to truſt to his promiſes.

Ferdinand propoſes a new league to Henry.

Henry returns to England. Herbert. Hall. Stow.

Henry departed from Liſle the 17th of October, and on the 24th arrived at his palace at Richmond after a glorious campaign. I call it glorious, if the ſucceſs of his arms be only conſidered. But in another reſpect it was not very honourable, ſince he had been the dupe of the pope, the emperor, and the king of Arragon, who had thrown upon him the whole burden of the war, which ſhould have been common to all the four. It is true, he had taken Terouenne and Tournay. But the firſt of theſe places being given to the emperor and razed, was to him of no benefit. As for Tournay, he never reaped any conſiderable advantage from it, by reaſon of its diſtance from Calais. Wolſey was the only gainer by it, the biſhoprick of that city, which he obtained in the end, together with the abby of St. Amand, being of a much greater revenue than what the king himſelf received from Tournay and its territory.

The Switzers enter Burgundy. Mezerai. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

The ill ſucceſs of the Italian campaign had put Lewis XII's affairs in a bad ſituation, and the loſs of the battle of Guinegaſte with the taking of Terouenne and Tournay, had entirely diſordered them. But this was a trifle in compariſon of the danger France was in by a Swiſs invaſion, after the French were driven out of the Milaneſe. The warlike Switzers, excited againſt Lewis by the pope and the emperor, not being ſatisfied with their advantages over him in Italy, reſolved to attack him in his own kingdom. The opportunity was favourable, by reaſon of the ſeveral foremention'd junctures. To improve the opportunity therefore, the Switzers levied fifteen thouſand men [p], to whom the emperor joined all the nobility of Franche Comté, and ſome German horſe under the command of Ulric duke of Wirtemberg. This army entering the duchy of Burgundy, encamped before Dijon, where la Trimouille lately returned from Italy, had ſhut himſelf up with ſome troops [q]; but that place was ſo weak, that there was no likelihood of keeping

They beſiege Dijon.

[p] Twenty five thouſand, ſays P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 320. — Guicciardin ſays, they had twenty thouſand foot, and that the emperor ſent them a thouſand horſe and artilley, l. 12.

[q] A thouſand lances, and ſix thouſand foot. Guicciard.

it. He defended it however ſix weeks. But at laſt, ſeeing that by the loſs of Dijon not only Burgundy, but all the reſt of France would be in great danger, he thought he ſhould prevent it without waiting the king's orders, which might come too late. By a capitulation with the Switzers, he bound himſelf to pay them four hundred thouſand crowns [r], of which he paid down twenty thouſand, and promiſed in the king's name, that he would deſiſt from all his pretenſions to the duchy of Milan. The Switzers, pleaſed with their expedition, retired into their own country, carrying with them four hoſtages, who found means to eſcape when they knew the king refuſed to ratify the capitulation. 1513. La Trimouille treats without the king's knowledge. Guicciard. Du Bellai.

Lewis XII. finding himſelf attacked in ſo many places, and not doubting that the pope and the king of Arragon created him all theſe troubles, reſolved at laſt to be reconciled with the pope. This reconciliation was the more eaſy, as Leo X. had not like Julius II. a perſonal enmity againſt him. Since the French were out of Italy, he had nothing to demand of the king but the diſſolving of the council of Piſa, without which indeed he could not conſent to a peace. The council was grown ſo thin, that Lewis in forſaking it made no great ſacrifice to the pope. It is true, the ſubmitting in a point he had hitherto openly maintained, ſeemed to be a little diſhonourable. But as the council of Piſa had been properly ſummoned againſt Julius II. he thought he might without reproach yield to another pope. However, Lewis perceiving that by his reconciliation with Leo X. he ſhould take from the kings of England and Arragon the pretence to make war upon him, was at length induced to renounce his council, and acknowledge that of Lateran. This renunciation was ſolemnly made in the tenth ſeſſion, held about the end of December. Lewis makes a peace with the pope. Guicciard. Mezerai. Herbert.

Leo X. in the beginning of his pontificate writ to Henry as to all the reſt of the princes, earneſtly exhorting him to peace. In this manner he was to talk, in order to diſcharge the duty of the common father of chriſtians. Henry, who ſaw plainly, and was afterwards ſtill more fully convinced, that this was only grimace, replied, he could not make peace without his allies, and that a ſeparate peace would be directly contrary to all his engagements. This anſwer diſpleaſed not the pope, who then ſought only to raiſe enemies to France. But when he was ſure of his agreement with The pope exhorts Henry to peace. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 349. March 16. Guicciard. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 386.

[r] Six hundred thouſand. Idem.

1513. Lewis XII. he took occaſion to ſend another letter to Henry, telling him, he never intended to perſuade him to make a ſeparate peace, but as he had taken up arms ſolely for the defence of the church and the holy ſee, and had by his late victories attained the end he had propoſed, it was reaſonable he ſhould lay them down, ſince the prince who oppreſſed the church was returned to his obedience. The letter was dated December the 17th, about the time of the tenth ſeſſion of the council of Lateran, wherein the French ambaſſadors made a ſolemn ſubmiſſion in their maſter's name.

Henry ſees he is abuſed.

Nothing contributed more to open Henry's eyes, than this ſecond letter. He imagined, when he proteſted that he took up arms in defence of the church, his allies knew, he did not mean for all that to neglect his own intereſt, that language being properly only to amuſe the publick. He had the more reaſon to believe it, as even in the treaty of league each of the allies had evidently propoſed to himſelf temporal advantages. And yet, he ſaw, the pope had no ſooner obtained his deſire, but he took the words of the preamble of the treaty in the literal ſenſe, as if there had been indeed no other deſign than to labour for the church, and under that colour, pretended to diſſolve a league formed by himſelf. This convinced him, that the pope in drawing him into a war with France, had only his own intereſt in view. On the other hand, he was not better pleaſed with the king of Arragon, nor had reaſon to be ſo. As for the emperor, he had performed nothing of what he had promiſed. All theſe conſiderations, having at laſt opened his eyes, produced a peace with France, which was concluded the next year. But before we cloſe this, it will be neceſſary to relate what paſſed during the campaign between the Engliſh and Scots.

He reſolves to make peace with France.

War between England and Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert.

James IV. ſeeing Henry ready to carry war into France, called his parliament, and repreſented to them the indignities, Scotland had ſuffered from the Engliſh ſince the laſt peace. Breton's affair was not forgot in this enumeration. But the beſt reaſon, he alledged to induce the Scots to a war was, that France, the ancient and faithful ally of Scotland, being about to be invaded by the king of England, he could not diſpenſe with aſſiſting her. This reaſon, though very plauſible, was not however univerſally approved. Many thought it ſtrange that the king ſhould thus wantonly, and without any urgent neceſſity, break a peace advantageous to Scotland, ſolemnly ſworn to, and even lately renewed. But the king's creatures and the penſioners of France, whom Lamothe the French ambaſſador had now prepared to ſerve the

king

king his maſter upon this occaſion, carried it by a great majority, ſo that war was reſolved. 1513.

Henry was in France, when James aſſembled his army to invade England, purſuant to the foregoing reſolution. But to keep ſome ſort of formality, James writ him a letter, and ſent it by a herald, who found him at the ſiege of Terouenne. The letter dated the 26th of July contained the grievances, James believed to have cauſe to complain of, and a declaration of war in caſe he deſiſted not from his invaſion of France. Henry could not ſend his anſwer till the 12th of Auguſt, the ſubſtance whereof was, "That he was not at "all ſurpriſed to ſee him break the peace upon frivolous pre- "tences, ſince he therein only imitated the inſincerity of his "anceſtors and progenitors. Then he upbraided him, that "whilſt he knew him to be in England, he never ſhowed, "either by letter or ambaſſador, that he intended to eſpouſe "the king of France's quarrel, but waited for his departure "to execute his unjuſt deſigns. He added, that knowing "him perfectly, he had foreſeen his breach of faith, and for "that reaſon, before he paſſed into France, had taken ſuch "a courſe, and ſo well provided for the defence of his "kingdom, that he did not queſtion by God's help to fruſ- "trate all the endeavours of ſchiſmaticks, excommunicated "by the pope and council of Lateran. That beſides, he "hoped to have it very ſoon in his power to requite him, "and in the mean time would not fail to take the moſt ef- "fectual methods to deprive him and his poſterity of all "hopes of ever inheriting the kingdom, he was going ſo "perfidiouſly to invade. After that, he ſet before his eyes "the example of the king of Navarre, who for taking part "with France was diſpoſſeſſed of his kingdom, without "hopes of being ever reſtored. As for the pretended grie- "vances alledged in his letter, he ſaid, they had been "ſo often anſwered, that all farther mention of them was "entirely needleſs. But for the king of Scotland's ſum- "moning him to deſiſt from the war with France, he told "him, he did not acknowledge him for competent judge "in his affairs with Lewis XII. and notwithſtanding his "threats would continue the war. He concluded with "ſaying, that he might be aſſured he would omit no oppor- "tunity to be revenged, wherein he hoped to ſucceed with "the help of God and St. George."

James IV. enters England.

He ſends a defiance to Henry.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 382. Hall.

Henry's anſwer.

James ſtaid not for an anſwer to his letter to take the field. On the 22d of Auguſt, he entered Northumberland, and

James takes Norham. Herbert, &c.

1513. and took ſeveral places, particularly Norham caſtle *. The
Engliſh writers affirm his army to be ſixty thouſand ſtrong;
Hall. nay, ſome mount the number to a hundred thouſand, which
is hardly credible. It cannot however be doubted it was
very numerous, conſidering the care Buchanan takes to
ſhow, it was extremely leſſened by deſertions, and by be-
ing kept unemployed for ſome time. The earl of Surrey
The earl of Surrey marches towards him, and offers him battle. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingſh. was then in Yorkſhire with twenty ſix thouſand men. But
at the firſt news of the Scots entering England, he marched
directly towards them, and the 4th of September came near
enough to ſend and offer them battle by a herald, who re-
ported, that the king of Scotland accepted it for the Friday
following. James was then encamped on the edge of mount
Cheviot, where it was difficult to attack him †. And there-
fore, the earl of Surrey, ſeeing the Scots would fight only
in ſo advantageous a poſt, reſolved to ſtay till they deſcended
It is endeavoured to divert James from fighting. Buchanan. on the plain. The Engliſh not appearing on the day ap-
pointed, an old Scotch lord ‡ took occaſion to repreſent to
the king, that he had done enough to ſave his honour; that
it was not prudent to fight the Engliſh in their own country,
but the beſt way would be to retire with his booty into Scot-
land, where it would be in his power to fight or avoid a bat-
tle as he pleaſed: that as he had taken up arms only to
make a diverſion in favour of France, he no leſs employed
the Engliſh forces without fighting, than by hazarding a
battle: that upon this occaſion he ought not to liſten to the
intereſted counſels of the French ambaſſador, who only
wanted to hazard ſome great action at another's expence, in
order to free the king his maſter from his preſent ſtreights:
but in ſerving France, Scotland was likewiſe to be regarded.
This advice ſeemed too cautious to the king. As he had de-
termined to give battle, he fiercely anſwered, he would fight
Hall. the Engliſh were they a hundred thouſand. Mean while,
the earl of Surrey to draw him from his poſt, marched along
a river § which parted the two armies, as if he intended to

* Which yielded after a ſix days ſiege. Hall, fol. 38.

† The king had, at his departure, appointed him his lieutenant in the north of England, with orders, if the Scots made any incurſions, to raiſe the militia of the counties of Cheſter, Lancaſter, Durham, Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Cumberland. Hall, fol. 37. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 375.

‡ There was but one narrow field to get up to him, and at the bottom of the hill was placed all his ordnance. On one ſide of his army was a great march, and the other parts of it were encompaſſed with Cheviot hills. Hall, fol. 40.

‡ Archibald Douglaſs, earl of Angus. Buchanan.

§ The river Tyll, or elſe Sandyford. Hall, fol. 41.

enter

enter Scotland through Carliſle, the road to which place he ſeemed to take: James having notice of it ſet fire to his camp, and marched along the ſame river on the oppoſite ſide. But unhappily for him, the ſmoak of his own camp hindered him from ſeeing the Engliſh, who forded the river unperceived. Then James halting about Floddon drew up his army. Here it was the earl of Surrey attacked him, having paſſed with difficulty a ſort of moraſs between the two armies. The particulars of this battle are ſo variouſly related by the hiſtorians of both nations, that the one cannot be followed without departing from the other. But as to the ſucceſs it is not the ſame. They all agree, the Scots loſt the day after valiantly fighting till night, which parted the combatants. The two armies retiring, the Engliſh knew not they were victorious till the morning, when they ſaw, their enemies had quitted the field of battle with all their artillery. The Engliſh own, they loſt five thouſand men in the battle, which was fought the 9th of September. But they ſay the Scots loſt ten thouſand[y]. The Scots pretend, there were but five thouſand ſlain on each ſide, but confeſs their loſs was very conſiderable, by the great number of lords and officers of their nation killed in the battle, whereas the Engliſh loſt not one perſon of diſtinction[z]. King James was never more ſeen after the battle. The Engliſh imagined they found his body wounded in two places, and ordered it to be put into a leaden coffin, without daring however to bury it, becauſe he died excommunicate. But the Scots affirmed it was not the body of their king. They ſaid that before the battle, he had cauſed five men of his own ſtature to wear the ſame arms with himſelf, and that the body which the Engliſh took for the king's was one Elphinſton's, who greatly reſembled him. However, they could not tell what was become of the king. One ſaid indeed, he ſaw him ride

1513.

Battle of Floddon, where James is defeated and ſlain. Buchanan. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

The Engliſh believe they had found his body. Buchanan. Hall.

[y] Hall ſays, there were fifteen hundred Engliſh, and twelve thouſand Scots ſlain, fol. 43. According to Buchanan, there fell above five thouſand Scots.

[z] In this battle the vanguard was led by the lord Thomas Howard, who had with him the lords Clifford, Conyers, Latimer, Scrope of Unſale, Lumley, Ogle; ſir Nicolas Appleyard, ſir William Sidney, ſir William Gaſcoyne, ſir Stephen Bull, ſir Henry Shiburne, &c. The right wing was commanded by ſir Edmund Howard, and the laſt by ſir Marmaduke Conſtable. The rear was brought up by the earl of Surrey himſelf, who was attended by the lord Scrope of Bolton, ſir Philip Tilney, ſir George Darcy, ſir Thomas Barkley, ſir John Stanley, ſir John Willoughby, &c; the lord Dacres, and ſir Edward Stanley, with their horſe, being appointed as a reſerve. On the Scotch ſide there fell one archbiſhop, two biſhops, four abbots, twelve earls, and ſeventeen barons, with eight or ten thouſand common ſoldiers. See a deſcription of the battle in my lord Herbert, p. 18. Hall, fol. 38, &c. Stow, p. 492.

over

1513. over the Tweed after the battle. But as the fight laſted till night, this evidence is not much to be relied on. It was however the foundation of the report of his not being dead. Buchanan. Some ſuſpected, he was killed in retiring out of the battle by the lord Alexander Humes, or his vaſſals. But this fact was never well proved. However this be, it was never known for certain, whether the body found by the Engliſh on the field of battle, was the king's or not[a]. Meanwhile, Henry ſuppoſing it to be the very corpſe of James IV. writ to the pope for a diſpenſation to inter it in St. Paul's church[b]. Leo X. anſwered by a brief, ſignifying, "That "it was ſet forth to him from the king of England, that in "a treaty concluded between the late king of Scotland and "Henry VII. and renewed by Henry VIII. the firſt had "ſubmitted to an excommunication in caſe he acted in "breach of it, and yet had broken the peace: that there- "fore he had been pronounced excommunicate by the car- "dinal archbiſhop of York, by virtue of a power granted "by Julius II: that he died in a battle without having been "abſolved; but in conſideration of his royal dignity and "nearneſs of blood, the king of England deſired permiſſion "to bury him in conſecrated ground. Upon theſe accounts, "the pope was pleaſed to grant his requeſt, conſidering, as "he was told and ought to believe, James in his laſt mo- "ments ſhowed ſome ſigns of contrition, ſuch as his cir- "cumſtances would admit. That therefore he appointed "the biſhop of London, or any other biſhop the king ſhould "pleaſe to nominate, to enquire into the matter; and if it "was found, James had ſhown any ſigns of repentance be- "fore his death, he gave him power to abſolve him: that "however, the abſolution ſhould ſerve for no other purpoſe "than his interment in holy ground. Moreover, he or- "dered the biſhop to enjoin the king of England to under- "go ſome convenient or ſuitable penance in the name of the "deceaſed king."

Henry deſires the pope's leave to bury the corpſe. The pope's anſwer. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 385. Nov. 29.

Among many remarks that might be made on this brief, I ſhall confine myſelf to this one. There was no declaration of war between James and Henry before James's letter dated

Remark upon this brief.

[a] Hall affirms, that it was found by the lord Dacres, and ſhowed to ſir William Scott, king James's chancellor, and to ſir John Forman, his ſerjeant painter, who knew him at firſt ſight, fol. 43. Stow ſays, it was conveyed to Shene monaſtery in Surrey; and further adds, that he had ſeen it there, after the diſſolution of that monaſtery, wrapped in lead, thrown into a large room, amongſt old timber, ſtone, lead, and other rubbiſh, p. 494.

[b] Stow ſays, it was conveyed to

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the 16th of July, and received the 12th of Auguſt, nor any hoſtility committed before the 22d of Auguſt, when James entered England. So the king of Scotland cannot be ſaid to have violated the truce till that time. Now, he died the 9th of September, excommunicated by the cardinal of York, who was then ambaſſador at Rome. Hence I think it may be inferred, that the cardinal had excommunicated James without knowing the cauſe, or hearing his reaſons, and probably upon a bare letter ſent him by Henry, that the king of Scotland intended to break the peace; I ſay, he only intended to break the peace, ſince there is no likelihood that from the 22d of Auguſt, when James entered England, to the 9th of September, the day of his death, the cardinal, who was at Rome, could have been informed of the actual rupture, and proceeded to an excommunication. I ſay nothing of the ſuppoſition that James, ſlain in the field, ſhowed any ſigns of contrition, eſpecially as it was even uncertain whether the body they would have interred, was the king of Scotland's. I paſs over likewiſe the limitation ſet to the abſolution, that it ſhould ſerve only for burying the dead prince in holy ground, and the penance enjoined a living perſon in the name of a dead one. Every reader may make what reflections he thinks proper on theſe things. 1513.

Such being the ſituation of the affairs of Europe, at the end of the year 1513, it is not ſurpriſing that the deſigns and intereſts of the princes ſhould be different from what they were in the beginning of the ſame year. It is therefore neceſſary, before we enter upon the recital of the events of the year 1514, to mention how the chief ſovereigns ſtood affected. 1514. Intereſts and views of the princes of Europe.

Lewis XII. burned with deſire to recover Genoa and Milan. But he perceived, that to ſucceed in that deſign, the allies muſt be divided, otherwiſe there was not even a poſſibility of undertaking it. The pope, emperor, king of Arragon, and Switzers, were equally concerned to oppoſe it. And yet, as they had alſo their ſeparate intereſts, he thought it would not be impoſſible to divide them, by offering to each apart, or at leaſt to ſome of them, advantages as great as thoſe they could naturally expect from their union. Beſides, he hoped in treating with each in particular, to breed jealouſies and ſuſpicions among them, which would induce them to make haſte and treat with him for fear of being deſerted. He had the more hopes of ſucceeding this way, as moſt of the princes with whom he was in war, were not over ſcrupulous, but rather very ready to ſacrifice their allies to their own private intereſt. To this artifice therefore Lewis recurred Lewis XII.

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1514. to free himſelf from his preſent embaraſſment. At the beginning of the year 1514, he took care to renew the negotiation concerning the marriage of the princeſs René his ſecond daughter with Charles, archduke of Auſtria, knowing Maximilian and Ferdinand were equally deſirous of it, eſpecially upon the terms propoſed by themſelves. He ſtarted however difficulties capable of continuing the negotiation without entirely breaking it off. The pope could not look upon this project without uneaſineſs. He was as much afraid of Milan's being in the hands of a grandſon of the emperor, and of the king of Arragon, as of ſeeing the French king reſtored. His intereſt required that Milan ſhould remain in the family of the Sforzas. The Switzers paſſionately wiſhed it alſo. The Venetians too would have therein found a great advantage, if another intereſt had not prevailed. And that was, to oblige the emperor to make peace with them on reaſonable terms. But this they could not hope without the aſſiſtance of France, and this aſſiſtance could not be obtained without aiding Lewis XII. to recover the Milaneſe.

Maximilian. Maximilian found his account in his war with Venice, becauſe it coſt him little. Since the league of Cambray, he had always been powerfully aided by France, or Spain, or rather, had never made war but at another's expence. His allies were neceſſarily obliged to find him men or money, otherwiſe they might be ſure he would quickly change ſides. Since he had left France, the Spaniſh troops had done all in the war with Venice, and the king of Arragon, with all his policy, was not able to diſpenſe with acting for him. It is not therefore ſurpriſing that he was ſo difficult, when a peace was on foot, or uſed his endeavours to inflame the diviſions among the princes.

The king of Arragon. As for king Ferdinand, ſince he was become maſter of Navarre, it was his intereſt to embroil affairs, and cheriſh in Italy, the hopes and fears of the ſeveral parties, to make himſelf neceſſary, and that a peace might not be concluded without him. He thereby tried to hinder Lewis from thinking of Navarre, and hoped at laſt to come to a treaty which ſhould leave him in quiet poſſeſſion of his conqueſt. For that reaſon, he acted all ſorts of parts, in order to attain his ends. One while, he aſſiſted the emperor againſt the Venetians, another while, he ſollicited him in their favour. Sometimes he excited the pope and Switzers not to ſuffer the king of France to become maſter of Milan; and ſometimes he offered to aſſiſt the ſame prince to conquer that duchy. This was only deceit and artifice to preſerve a diſſention ſo advantageous

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to him. However, his policy began to fail him. He had so forfeited his reputation with reſpect to ſincerity, that he was no longer truſted. It was merely out of neceſſity, or from a deſire to breed ſuſpicion in their enemies, that the reſt of the ſovereigns made any treaties with him, which, they were ſenſible, they could not rely on. 1514.

Henry VIII. had with glory got clear of his firſt campaign, but plainly ſaw himſelf indebted for his good ſucceſs to Lewis's paſſion, who had neglected the defence of his own kingdom, by ſending his beſt troops to recover Milan. The truth is, Henry, depending upon the treaty of Mechlin, and the diverſions, his allies were to make in ſeveral provinces of France, had led into that kingdom not above five and twenty thouſand men, too weak an army to give him hopes of great advantages, had he been to deal with all the forces of his enemy. Forſaken as he was by the pope, the emperor, the king of Arragon, how would he have diſengaged himſelf, if Lewis XII. had reſolved to defer his Milan expedition to another time, and march all his troops into Picardy? Thus Henry would have conſidered, and in effect did conſider, that he was more indebted for the victory of Guinegaſte, and the taking of Terouenne and Tournay, to the circumſtances of the time than to his prudence or valour. He was therefore inclined to get clear of an affair, he had indiſcreetly embarked in, without flattering himſelf any longer with the imaginary aſſiſtance of his allies. It was neceſſary however to conceal his inclination, in order to draw from France advantageous conditions in a treaty. Such was the poſture of affairs in the beginning of the year 1514. But before I ſpeak of thoſe of England in particular, it is requiſite to ſhow what ſteps were taken by the princes concerned in the troubles of Italy, becauſe that was then the chief point, on which all the other affairs did depend. Henry VIII. Affairs of Italy. Guicciard.

Leo X. being alarmed at the negotiation, Lewis XII. had renewed with the emperor, concerning the marriage of René his ſecond daughter, uſed all poſſible endeavours to reconcile the Switzers to France, that Lewis might be leſs inclined to treat with the emperor and the king of Arragon. But he wiſhed that Lewis would ratify the capitulation of Dijon, as to what concerned the duchy of Milan, and on the other hand, exhorted the Switzers to be ſatisfied with a leſs ſum than was promiſed by la Trimouille. This was the plan he had formed for that reconciliation. In ſhort, he had ſo far gained his point, that the king of France had offered a truce for three years, without however departing from his preten- Leo X. tries to reconcile the French and Switzers. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

ſions

1514. sions to Milan, and many of the principal Switzers were ſatisfied with it. But it was not poſſible to perſuade that people to abate any thing of the capitulation of Dijon. They even debated whether they ſhould make a ſecond incurſion into France to revenge the breach of that treaty. Thus the pope's pains were fruitleſs, and the Switzers ſtill remained mortal enemies to France.

Ferdinand prolongs the truce with Lewis XII. Guicciard. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 395.

Ferdinand having advice of what was tranſacting in Switzerland, was afraid of being deſerted, whether Lewis gave up his claim to Milan, or the Switzers accepted the truce he offered them. So, without communicating any thing to his allies, he ſpeedily ſent Quintana, his ſecretary to Paris, who renewed for a year the truce with France upon the ſame foot with the former. Only by a ſecret article, Lewis promiſed not to invade the Milaneſe this year. In the publication of the truce in France, there was no mention of Milan. But Ferdinand publiſhed it in Spain with that article, ſo that the world was at a loſs to know what to think of the matter. Lewis made no ſcruple to prolong the truce, becauſe he could not undertake to invade Milan and Navarre, before he had made a peace with England. Beſides, he was very glad the world ſhould think, the truce, he had prolonged with the king of Arragon, would be followed by a peace.

The pope ſtrives to make peace between the emperor and Venetians, who make him umpire of their differences. Guicciard.

This was a very natural conſequence, and probably, it inclined Henry ſeriouſly to think of a peace. But on the other hand, Lewis was going to receive a great prejudice by it, in that the pope to break his meaſures with reſpect to Milan, laboured with all his power to procure a peace between the emperor and the Venetians. He deſired above all things, for the good of his ſee, of all Italy, and of himſelf, that the French ſhould never more ſet foot in Italy. Whilſt the French were in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, Italy had never been free from troubles, the popes had been leſs regarded than before, and the Florentines had preſerved their liberty. Theſe were ſufficient reaſons to make the pope wiſh, they might never return. Beſides, he had formed projects for raiſing his family, which their neighbourhood might obſtruct. One great means to attain his ends, was, to deprive Lewis XII. of the aſſiſtance of the Venetians, which would infallibly happen, if it was poſſible to find ſome expedient to make their peace with the emperor. The laſt year the Venetians preſſed by the Spaniſh army, had agreed to make the pope umpire, and the emperor had accepted him. But the affair had lain dormant ever ſince. Preſently after Ferdinand's renewing of the truce with Lewis XII. the pope fearing a peace would be

concluded between the two monarchs, at the expence of the duchy of Milan, ſtrove to renew the negotiation between the emperor and the Venetians. He knew, if it ſucceeded, the king of France would in vain expect the aſſiſtance of the republick to conquer Milan. In ſhort, with much ſollicitation, he obtained from both parties an engagement to ſtand to his arbitration, and to give him power to ſettle the terms of the peace as he ſhould think fit. However, by a writing under his own hand, he promiſed not to pronounce ſentence without both their conſents. 1514.

Difficulties of the peace.

It was very difficult to make this peace, becauſe the war ſtill continuing in the ſtate of Venice and Friuli, the leaſt ſucceſs was ſufficient to cauſe the parties to riſe or fall in their demands. When the Venetians found themſelves preſſed, they very willingly agreed, that the emperor ſhould keep Verona; but then Maximilian would have alſo Vicenza, Padua, and Treviſo. When his affairs were not proſperous, he was ready to leave them theſe three places, but then they could not think of making peace without Verona. Thus the pope, finding the various ſucceſs of the war was a perpetual obſtacle to his projected agreement, paſſed a proviſional ſentence, ordering that both parties ſhould lay down their arms: that the emperor ſhould depoſite in his hands, Vicenza, and whatever was poſſeſſed by the Spaniards in the territories of Padua, and Treviſo: that the Venetians ſhould do the like with regard to Crema, and pay down to the emperor fifty thouſand ducats: that this proviſional agreement ſhould be deemed void, if the two parties ſhould not think proper to ratify it; but in caſe they approved of it, he promiſed to pronounce a definitive ſentence within a year. The Venetians did not think proper to ratify the ſentence, being perſuaded that, in their preſent circumſtances, a truce was much more prejudicial than the continuation of the war. Thus the pope's pains were ineffectual. Such was the ſituation of the affairs of Italy, during the year 1514. We muſt ſee now what paſſed in England.

The pope's proviſional ſentence, Guicciard.

rejected by the Venetians.

Parliament in England. Herbert.

Henry, at his return from his glorious campaign, thought only of mirth and diverſions. The parliament however met the 3d of January, but there was nothing done of any moment with reſpect to the publick affairs [c]. Before the end of the ſeſſion, the king gave the earl of Surrey, the title of duke

[c] In this parliament it was enacted, that ſurgeons ſhould be diſcharged of conſtableſhip, ward, bearing of arms, and of inqueſts and juries; by reaſon of the continual ſervice and attendance they give day and night, and at all hours, to their patients.

of

1514. of Norfolk, which his father had enjoyed, and loſt with his life at Boſworth field, fighting for Richard III [d]. By this change, Thomas Howard, ſon and heir of the new duke, became earl of Surrey. Charles Brandon, viſcount Liſle, one of the king's favourites, was alſo created duke of Suffolk, and Charles Somerſet, earl of Worceſter. Margaret of York, daughter of the duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. obtained likewiſe the title of counteſs of Sarum, as heir to the earl of Warwick, her brother, beheaded by Henry VII [e].

The earl of Surrey created duke of Norfolk.

Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 389. Feb. 1.

Margaret of Clarence, counteſs of Saliſbury.

Thomas Wolſey, is made biſhop of Lincoln, p. 390—394. and adminiſtrator of the ſee of Tournay. p. 584.

Thomas Wolſey had now been ſome months prime miniſter, without receiving other particular marks of his maſter's favour. But Wolſey was not forgetful of himſelf. The biſhoprick of Lincoln being vacant, he ſo ordered, that the king demanded it for him of the pope, who had ingroſſed the collations of all the ſees, by anticipated reſervations. Shortly after, Lewis Guillard, biſhop of Tournay, neglecting to repair to his biſhoprick, ſince the city was in the hands of the king of England, the pope readily ſuppoſed he had quitted his ſee, and gave the adminiſtration thereof to Thomas Wolſey, both in temporals and ſpirituals. This was ſuddenly and almoſt at once a great addition to the new favourite's income. Leo X. not expecting much, either from the emperor, or the king of Arragon, eaſily perceived, he might want the king of England. In order to gain his protection, he had diſpoſed of the ſees of Lincoln and Tournay, in favour of Wolſey, to win him to his intereſt, by preſents which coſt him nothing. But after having ſatisfied the favourite, he muſt teſtify by ſome mark of diſtinction, his eſteem for the maſter. To that purpoſe, he ſent him a ſword and a hat,

[d] For his memorable victory over the Scots at Floddon, he had a ſpecial grant from the king, to himſelf and the heirs male of his body, of an honourable augmentation to his arms; namely, to bear on the bend thereof the upper half of a red lyon, (painted as the arms of Scotland are) pierced through the mouth with an arrow. He was created duke of Norfolk, Feb. 1, 1513-14. His father derived his deſcent (by the heirs male of Mowbray, and Seagrave) from Thomas Brotherton, ſon to king Edward I. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 268.

[e] She was wife of ſir Richard Pole, deſcended from an antient ſtock of that name ſomewhere in Wales. This ſir Richard was made chief gentleman of the bedchamber to prince Arthur, and knight of the moſt noble order of the garter. He had four ſons by the lady Margaret; Henry, afterwards lord Montague, Geffrey, Arthur, and Reginald, the famous cardinal Pole, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and one of the three that preſided at the council of Trent. Margaret petitioned to be counteſs of Saliſbury, from her grandfather Richard Nevil, earl of Saliſbury, for all whoſe caſtles, manors and lands, ſhe obtained a grant dated Octob. 14, which came to the crown by the attainder of her brother Edward, earl of Warwick. Idem, p. 292.

conſecrated

conſecrated on Chriſtmas day, which the popes were wont to preſent to princes or generals who had obtained ſome ſignal victory over the enemies of the church. 1514.

The pope ſends Henry a conſecrated ſword and hat.

Whilſt the pope, emperor, and king of Arragon, were labouring to accompliſh their projects, Lewis XII. was not unmindful of his own affairs [f]. Among all his enemies, none gave him ſo much uneaſineſs as the king of England, chiefly for two reaſons. Firſt, Henry was young, greedy of glory, rich in ready money, and moreover always ſure of ſupplies from his parliament, eſpecially in caſe of a war with France. Secondly, the diverſion he could and did make in Picardy, by means of Calais, rendered all Lewis's projects in Italy fruitleſs. He thereby kept the forces of France ſo divided, that it was almoſt impoſſible to aſſiſt one another in caſe of accident. Thus, it was the king of France's great intereſt to remove this thorn from his ſide, otherwiſe he could not undertake to recover Genoa and Milan. Accordingly, he had been very ſeriouſly endeavouring it, ever ſince the end of the laſt campaign, by the means of Lewis of Orleans, duke of Longueville, taken priſoner at the battle of Guinegaſte. It was this private ambaſſador who, in his frequent converſations with Henry, laboured by degrees to open his eyes, by ſhowing him how little he could depend upon his allies, and by clearly diſcovering their artifices to draw him into their ſnares. Henry was convinced, but, in all appearance, was told many things which he knew not before. However this be, theſe converſations had ſuch an effect, that Henry told the duke he was inclined to a peace, provided it was upon reaſonable terms. Lewis XII. having notice thereof, ordered the duke of Longueville privately to negotiate the affair, and try to diſcover the king of England's real intentions. Probably, Henry inſiſted ſome time upon his claim to the whole kingdom of France, and particularly to Guienne and Normandy, which made the duke apprehenſive, his negotiation would not be ſucceſsful. However, to induce Henry to abate ſomething of his pretenſions, the duke had orders to demand the princeſs Mary his ſiſter, for the king his maſter, who had loſt Anne of Bretagne his queen, the beginning of the year. This private negotiation, to which only Thomas Wolſey, biſhop of Lincoln was admitted, continued ſome time without making great progreſs, by reaſon of Henry's exceſſive demands. At laſt, at a ſecret conference which

P. 393. Hall. Lewis XII. makes an offer of peace to Henry. Hall. Herbert. Stow. Hollingſh.

[f] This year Pregent landed on the coaſt of Suſſex, and burnt Brightelmſtone; whereupon ſir John Wallop was ſent to revenge this affront, who landed in Normandy, and burnt twenty one villages and towns. Stow, p. 495.

1514. the king himſelf had with the duke of Longueville, he ſuddenly deſiſted from the hardeſt of his demands, and plainly told him, on what conditions the peace might be concluded, adding, he was fully reſolved to reſt there. Here is a letter from the king to Wolſey, under his own hand, after the conference, wherein appears what was his laſt reſolution §.

The king's letter to Wolſey about the peace. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 403. June.

"MY lorde of Lynkecolne, I recommande me unto yow. And lette yow wyte that I have ſpokyne with the duke; whyche in the begynnynge was as yll afrayde as ever he was in his lyffe leſt no good effecte ſhulde comme to pas. Nevertheles, in farther communyng, we wente more rondly to oure matters; in ſo moche that I ſayde to hym, ſeinge that the kyng yowr maſter hathe ſoght ſo gentely unto us for bothe amyte and marryage, I aſſwre yow (oure honour ſavyd) we colde be well content to gyffe herkyne therto, and yff the offers wer reſonable agre upon thos ſame; but thes be nott reſonable, excepte the amyte ſhulde no lenger contynw then the payment off money: and yett natt ſo, except ther wer a reſonable ſumme of mony to be payd in hand by and by:

"Yff his maſter wyll have the maryage, I can natt ſee how itt can be convenyently, exceptte the amyte be made duryng our lyffes and on yet affter, to the intente that all ſupycyon off bothe ſydes may be ſett apart:

"Whyche maryage and amyte your maſter may have wnder thys maner; that is to ſay, paynge erly on hundred thouſand crownes and att hys requeſt I nat to ſtyke for no redy mony in hande, but I to ſtande contente therwith for recompenſe off all thyngs.

"Whyche, yff your maſter conſidere what herytaunce he holdyth from me, and what good my amyte may do to helpe forth hys mater in Italy, I thynke he wyll natt grettly ſtyke at:

"Thys forther more I ſayde to the duke, ſurly I can natt ſee how the amyte made for yers can any longer indure then the payment, whyche expryde ſhulde be occaſion off new breche and demans, wherby noder he nor we ſhulde lyff quiettly, whiche, yff ther fall alyance, I wholde be lothe to ſee; wherfor I ſee no way to eſchewe all dangers and parraylles, and to recompenſe me for withholdying

§ The tranſlator has thought fit to inſert the original letter in the very words of king Henry, as it is to be found in Rymer's Fœdera; and intends to do the ſame by all the original papers, which Rapin hath tranſlated.

"off

" off myne inheritance (which yff I wolde be ſlake in, my 1514.
" ſubjectes wolde murmure att) but to make thys amyte
" duryng oure lyffs and on yere affter, paynge yerly as above
" reherſed; whyche amyte wons grantyd the alyance ſhulde
" natt be refuſyde, nor non other thyng whyche with my
" honour ſavyd I might do:

" Saying forther more to hyme that, yff I might demande
" with my honour any leſſe, or take any leſſe offere (ſeyng
" hys maſter is ſo well mynded to the forſayd alyance and
" amyte) I wolde be glad to do that att hys requeſt, but leſs
" then thys hit can nott ſtonde with my honour, nor my
" ſubjectes wyll nat be content that I ſhulde take.

" My lord, I ſhuyd him furthermore that, yff he thought
" we myght truſt to have thys ende, I wolde be cyntent that
" yow and they ſhulde commune on all other artycylles,
" concernyng the amyte and marlyage, tyll we myght have
" abſolute aſſurance in that behalfe for lyſyng off time.

" To whyche he anſwarde, that he colde natt aſſure me
" theroff; but that he truſtyde, ſeyng my demands wer ſo
" reſonable, that hys maſter wholde agre therto.

" On truſt hereon we woll that yow begyne to penne the
" reſodue off the artycylles as ſoone as yow can;

" And thus fare yow well."

Wryttyn with the hande off your lovying maſter,

HENRY R.

Though this letter has no date, it may by ſeveral circumſtances be conjectured to be written in June 1514.

Lewis is not pleaſed with Henry's propoſals.

Lewis XII. being informed of the king of England's laſt reſolution, entertained great hopes of a peace. There were however two articles which troubled him. The firſt was to pay annually a hundred thouſand crowns, as a compenſation for Henry's claim to the kingdom of France. This was in ſome meaſure to own the juſtice of his title, and pay him a ſort of tribute, which he could not reſolve. The other article related to Tournay, which he deſired to recover, and which however was not mentioned in the king's propoſals. But as to this article, there was an obſtacle which was not eaſily to be ſurmounted, and that was, Wolſey was concerned. It was not ſufficient to gain Henry by flatteries, or by giving him a ſum of money in lieu of Tournay; the favourite muſt alſo be made amends for the loſs of a ſee which brought him a conſiderable income. To endeavour

1514. therefore to agree upon theſe two articles, Lewis ſent ambaſſadors to England. He choſe for that purpoſe, Lewis d'Orleans duke of Longueville, John de Selve firſt preſident of Roan, and Thomas Bohier, to whom du Bellai gives the title of general of Normandy, and the king in his commiſſion that of chevalier general of France. Mean while, the two kings agreed upon a ceſſation of arms during the treaty.

He ſends ambaſſadors to England. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 405, 406.

July 29. A truce agreed upon.

It was eaſier for the French ambaſſadors to cauſe Henry to alter his laſt reſolution concerning the firſt article, than to obtain the reſtitution of Tournay. The reaſon is evident. In the firſt article, the king alone was concerned, whereas in the ſecond, the miniſter's intereſt was properly in queſtion. Mean while, ſince Henry was determined to make peace with France, Tournay could be of no farther uſe, and a ſum of money would have been doubtleſs more advantageous than the preſervation of that place. But Wolſey perceived when Tournay ſhould be in the hands of the king of France, he would infallibly loſe the adminiſtration of the ſee. So, the negotiation of the ambaſſadors upon that article was entirely fruitleſs. It was not the ſame with reſpect to the penſion of the hundred thouſand crowns demanded by Henry. They found means to perſuade him to be ſatisfied with a million of crowns, in which were included the ſeven hundred forty five thouſand contained in the treaty of Eſtaples, but whereof, indeed, an inconſiderable part had been paid. The Spaniſh ambaſſador reſiding at London, uſed all poſſible endeavours to intervene in the negotiation. But Henry would never ſuffer him, well knowing, he only intended to obſtruct it. The commiſſioners of the two kings [h] having ſettled all the articles, the treaties were ſigned the 7th of Auguſt.

Henry refuſes to reſtore Tournay.

Henry would not ſuffer the Spaniſh ambaſſador to have to do in the Treaty.

There were three ſeparate treaties. The firſt concerned only the renewing of the alliance between France and England. The ſecond was about the marriage of the princeſs Mary with Lewis XII. The third, related to the payment of the million of crowns. As theſe treaties ſerved for foundation to many others hereafter concluded, it is neceſſary to inſert the ſubſtance, at leaſt of the moſt material articles.

Three ſeveral treaties ſigned at London. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 413.

h The Engliſh commiſſioners were, Thomas, duke of Norfolk, Thomas biſhop of Lincoln, and Richard, biſhop of Wincheſter. Rymer, tom. XIII, p. 422.

I. TREATY,

1514.

I. TREATY,

Of peace and amity between LEWIS XII. *and* HENRY VIII. *concluded at London, Auguſt 7. 1514.*

THAT the amity between the two kings ſhould laſt till a year after the death of the ſhorteſt liver. That the ſucceſſor of him that died firſt, ſhould give notice within the year to the other, whether he would prolong this or make a new treaty. p. 413.

That all impoſitions laid within fifty two years laſt paſt, by one king on the ſubjects of the other, ſhould be abolished.

That the peace ſhould not be deemed violated by the outrages committed on either ſide.

That neither of the two kings ſhould afford protection or refuge to the rebels of the other.

By the 14th, 15th, and 16th articles, the two kings bound themſelves to mutual aſſiſtance in three caſes: 1. For defence of one another's dominions: 2. For recovery of the territories with-held by other princes: 3. In caſe one of the two kings ſhould be attacked on account of the preſent treaty, and affirmed upon his honour, it was for that cauſe. In each of theſe caſes the conditions were different [i]. But in the laſt, they promiſed mutual aid, though the aſſailant ſhould be relation, friend, or ally of one only, or of both.

Lewis included in the treaty as his allies, the pope, the Switzers, and the king of Scotland [k]. On Henry's part were named the pope, Bologna, all the towns of St. Peter's patrimony, the archduke of Auſtria, and the Switzers [l].

Scotland was included in the treaty, but on condition that the Scots ſhould commit no hoſtilities againſt England after the 25th of November.

[i] In the firſt caſe, Lewis was to furniſh twelve hundred lances by land, and five thouſand men by ſea, with convenient ſhipping; and Henry ten thouſand archers by land, and five thouſand men at ſea, with ſhipping. In the ſecond, Lewis was to lend Henry ſix hundred lances only, and Henry him but five thouſand archers, with the ſame ſea forces on both ſides as before mentioned. In the third, one was to aid the other at his charge that was invaded.

[k] And the kings of Hungary, Portugal, Denmark, and Navarre; the dukes of Savoy, Gueldres, and Lorrain; Venice, Florence; the biſhop of Liege; the marquiſſes of Mantua, Montferrat, and Saluzzo; and the lord of Sedan. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 419.

[l] As alſo the dukes of Cleves, and Juliers; the Hanſe Towns; and the lord de Ligny. Ibid.

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1514. That the treaty ſhould be ratified and ſworn by the two kings, and confirmed by the parliament of England, and the ſtates of France.

That each of the two kings ſhould endeavour to obtain of the pope a ſentence of excommunication againſt the infractor of the peace.

II. TREATY,

Concerning the marriage of LEWIS XII. *with the princeſs* MARY,

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 423. THAT matrimony ſhould be contracted by proxies, and per verba de præſenti within ten days after the date of this treaty.

That the king of England [within two months after the contract] ſhould convey at his own charge, the princeſs his ſiſter to Abbeville, where within four days after her arrival the king of France ſhould ſolemnly marry her.

That Mary ſhould have in dower four hundred thouſand crowns, two hundred thouſand whereof ſhould be reckoned for jewels, &c. and in caſe of recovery, Lewis ſhould be obliged to reſtore only the jewels, &c. which ſhould be valued at the ſum of two hundred thouſand crowns.

That the other half, amounting to two hundred thouſand crowns, Henry ſhould pay, by deducting the ſum out of the million the king of France was bound to pay by a late treaty.

That the future queen's jointure ſhould be as great as that aſſigned to Anne of Bretagne, or any other queen of France.

That in caſe of Lewis's death, Mary ſhould enjoy her dower and jointure during life, whether ſhe reſided in France or England.

III. TREATY,

For the payment of a million of crowns.

p. 428, 439. BY this treaty Lewis XII. acknowledged, that by the treaty of Eſtaples, Charles VIII. was bound to pay Henry VII. or his ſucceſſors the ſum of 745000 crowns, and that himſelf was obliged to pay the arrears of the ſame.

Moreover,

Moreover, that Charles duke of Orleans his father, by an obligation dated March the 7th, 1444, had owned himſelf debtor in a certain ſum to Margaret of Somerſet, grandmother of Henry VIII. 1514.

That theſe two ſums not being yet paid, Lewis bound himſelf to pay to the king of England, or his ſucceſſors, a million of crowns, as well for the arrears of the ſaid two ſums, as on account of the good affection he bore him, and to the end their amity might be the more laſting.

That this million ſhould be paid by Lewis to the king of England, by half yearly payments of fifty thouſand livres Tournois, till the whole was diſcharged.

Thus the war, which had been undertaken on pretence of religion, and for the glory of God, ended in a treaty, which mentions neither religion, nor the pope, nor the church.

On the other hand, though the princeſs Mary had been ſolemnly affianced to Charles of Auſtria, Lewis XII. and Henry VIII. made no difficulty concerning this ſecond marriage, neither did they ſo much as vouchſafe to demand the pope's diſpenſation to abſolve Mary from her firſt contract. Only a few days before the ſigning of the treaty, Mary declared in the preſence of a notary publick and other witneſſes, that ſhe had been forced to plight her faith to the prince of Caſtile, archduke of Auſtria. That moreover the archduke having promiſed to eſpouſe her by proxy, and per verba de præſenti, as ſoon as he was fourteen years of age, had broken his word. She added further, that ſhe was creditably informed, the counſellors and confidents of the prince of Caſtile were inſtilling into him, to the utmoſt of their power, an averſion for the king of England her brother. Upon theſe allegations, the two kings making themſelves judges in a cauſe which doubtleſs belonged to the pope's cognizance, thought fit the marriage ſhould be conſummated.

The princeſs Mary proteſts againſt her contract with Charles of Auſtria. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 409. July 30. Herbert.

I have ſtill to remark upon the third treaty, That, though Henry had declared to the duke of Longueville, as appears in his letter to Wolſey, that he could not make peace unleſs the king of France would pay him a yearly penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns, as a compenſation for the inheritance he with-held from him, an expedient was found to ſatisfy him with much leſs. The whole was reduced to Lewis's bond to pay him a million of crowns, two thirds of which were already due before the treaty. Beſides, that this bond might not be conſidered as a compenſation of the king of England's title to France, according to Henry's intentions, it

Remark on the third treaty.

1514. it was expreſsly ſaid in the treaty to be in payment of the arrears of the ſeven hundred forty five thouſand crowns, due to the king of England by the treaty of Eſtaples, of another ſum due from the late duke of Orleans to Margaret the king's grandmother, and laſtly, for Lewis's good affection to Henry. Hereby was ſunk the principal foundation, on which Henry had built his demand of a penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns, a demand conſidered by him as the baſis of the treaty according to his letter to Wolſey. It may therefore be affirmed, that Henry was no leſs over-reached by the king of France in the treaty of peace, than he had been by the pope, the emperor, and the king of Arragon, in that which had engaged him in the war. This proceeded not from his miſunderſtanding his own intereſts, ſince it appears in his letter, that he was very ſenſible of the conſequence of his demand. To what then can his eaſineſs be aſcribed but to the inſinuations of his prime miniſter, who certainly erred not out of ignorance? Probably, Lewis XII. found means to make Wolſey his friend. We ſhall ſee ſtill more plainly hereafter, that this miniſter was much more mindful of his own than his maſter's advantages when they came in competition, and that he loſt no opportunity of enriching himſelf.

Death of cardinal Bambridge. Herbert. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 494.

Whilſt Wolſey was employed with the French ambaſſadors in negotiating the peace, cardinal Bambridge archbiſhop of York died at Rome the 14th of July [m]. The ſame day cardinal Julius de Medici, afterwards pope by the name of Clement VII. ſent the king notice of his death, acquainting him withal that he had prevailed with the pope not to diſpoſe of the ſee of York before his pleaſure was known. Whereupon the king demanded the archbiſhoprick for Thomas Wolſey, which was immediately granted. This miniſter was then in ſo great favour, that he abſolutely directed all the king's affairs, who had for him a very great eſteem and affection. It may be preſumed that he was now doing Lewis XII. ſome good ſervices, ſince there are in the collection of the publick acts, ſeveral letters from that monarch to him, beginning with theſe kind words, "My lord of "York, and very good friend."

Wolſey is made archbiſhop of York. p. 412, 450—455. p. 439, 455.

[m] He was poiſoned by Rinaldo de Modena, his ſteward, or chaplain, an Italian prieſt, to revenge a blow his maſter gave him, as Rinaldo confeſſed at his execution. Wood, p. 104. Stow, p. 406. There is a letter writ by one Pace, from Rome, charging Sylveſter (an Italian) biſhop of Worceſter, with having a hand in his death. Fiddes.

Auguſt and September were ſpent in preparations for the new Queen of France's journey, in the celebration of the marriage by proxies in France and England, and in the ratifications of the treaties. After which, Mary was conducted to Abbeville with a numerous train of lords and ladies, where the marriage was conſummated the 9th of October [n]. 1514.

Lewis's marriage with Mary conſummated. p. 448. Hall. Stow.

Whilſt the peace between France and England was treating at London, the pope, Emperor, and king of Arragon omitted nothing, that they imagined would obſtruct it. They plainly perceived, it could not but turn to their prejudice, and that the burden of the war would fall upon them. They were even afraid that Henry would join againſt them with France. Leo X. had ſent to Henry to perſuade him to a peace, and yet, when he ſaw it upon the point of concluſion, would have been glad, his exhortations had not been regarded. So, to croſs the negotiation at London as much as he could, he propoſed a new league with the king of France, imagining it would be a means to abate his eagerneſs for a peace with England. But as Lewis took a fortnight to give him his anſwer, he was afraid of being left alone, and for that reaſon, made haſte and concluded a defenſive league with the king of Arragon for a year only.

Leo X. propoſes a new league to the king of France. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

He makes one with Ferdinand.

On the other hand, Ferdinand fearing, Lewis, after making a peace with England, would invade Navarre, offered him his aſſiſtance to conquer Milan. But Lewis knew him too well to put any confidence in him. In ſhort, the emperor and Ferdinand, deſiring at any rate to hinder him from concluding with England, ſent him their conſent in

Fruitleſs endeavours of the emperor and Ferdinand to hinder the peace between Lewis and Henry. Guicciard.

n The king and queen conducted her to Dover, and then recommended her to the duke of Norfolk's care, who attended her to Abbeville. The other perſons of note that attended her, were, Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorſet, Thomas, biſhop of Durham, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, and admiral, Charles Somerſet, earl of Worceſter, Thomas Docwra, prior of St. John's of Jeruſalem, dr. Nicolas Weſt, dean of Windſor; the lords Delawar, Barners, Monteagle; ſir Maurice Barkley, ſir John Peche, ſir William Sandes, ſir Thomas Bulleyn, &c. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 449. Hall, fol. 48. She embarked October 2. After the ceremony was over, all her retinue were diſmiſſed, except a few officers and attendants, amongſt whom, ſays the lord Herbert, was mrs. Ann Bulleyn, daughter to ſir Thomas Bulleyn. Burnet's Ref. tom. I. p. 43, 44. Before the coronation was over, there were ſolemn juſts and tournaments held at Paris, by Francis de Valois, heir to the crown, at which the duke of Suffolk, and the marquis of Dorſet came off with honour. The king and queen of France were ſpectators; but the king was ſo old and infirm, that he lay on a couch. The duke of Valois out of envy, cauſed, it ſeems, a German of prodigious ſtrength and ſize, to be privately introduced into the field, in order to oppoſe the duke of Suffolk, who, though with great difficulty, got the better of the German. Herbert, p. 21. Hall, fol. 48, 49. Stow, p. 495.

form,

1514. form, for the marriage of René his second daughter with Charles of Auſtria their grandſon, At the ſame time, Maximilian ratified the one year's truce made by Ferdinand with France. But all would not do. They had even the mortification to hear, that they were neither of them included in the treaty of London; a clear evidence how little Henry valued their friendſhip. Notwithſtanding all this, they both feigned to be extremely pleaſed with the peace, though in their hearts they were exceedingly vexed.

The pope tries to amuſe Lewis XII. Guicciard.

It was expected that the king of France being freed from the war with England, would infallibly recover Genoa and Milan. The pope was ſo perſuaded of it, that he writ to exhort him to that expedition, though at the ſame time he uſed all his endeavours to break his meaſures, by an agreement between the emperor and the Venetians. He even diſpatched to Venice, Peter Bembo, afterwards cardinal, to incline the Venetians to peace. But they fearing the pope was laying a ſnare for them, to take off the king from their alliance, gave him immediate information, and thereby rendered him very jealous of his holineſs.

He forms vaſt projects for his houſe. Sardi. Guicciard.

Leo X. was forming at that time grand projects in favour of Julian de Medici his brother. His deſign was to become maſter of Ferrara and Urbino, and to join theſe two ſtates to Parma, Placentia, Reggio, and the city of Modena, lately purchaſed of the emperor, in order to caſt them into one ſtate for this brother, of whom he had a mind to make a great prince. Nay, it is ſaid, he intended to add the kingdom of Naples; and to make that conqueſt, had joined in a league with the Venetians. But as he ſaw the king of France would quickly invade the Milaneſe, he ſhewed great regard for him, leſt he ſhould make an enemy of a prince, who, if he came to be poſſeſſed of Milan, would have it in his power to obſtruct his deſigns. Mean while, Lewis not being pleaſed with the pope, preſſed him to declare himſelf, reſolving to know for certain whether he was to conſider him as a friend, or an enemy. Leo, who perceived his intent, amuſed him with fair words, without however being determined, becauſe his purpoſe was to regulate his conduct by the events of the war, he foreſaw. This did not hinder Lewis from vigorouſly continuing the neceſſary preparations for his expedition into Italy, where he intended to go in perſon the next ſpring. But whilſt he was thinking of means to relieve the Lanthorn Tower, which he ſtill held at Genoa, and by the help whereof, hoped to become maſter of the city, he received the news that it was ſurren-

Lewis prepares to paſs into Italy. He loſes the Lanthorn at Genoa.

dered

dered by capitulation, and immediately razed by the Genoese. However, this was not capable to deter him from his designs upon Italy. 1514.

Before I close the year 1514, it will not be unserviceable briefly to relate what passed in Scotland this year. James IV. left two sons, of whom the eldest, called after his own name, was not yet full two years old. By a will, made before he took the field, he left the regency of the kingdom after his death to his queen, sister of Henry VIII. during her widowhood. The states being met the beginning of the year 1514, immediately acknowledged for king, James V. son and heir to the deceased. As for the regency, there would doubtless have been great debates, if the loss of the battle of Floddon had not made the Scots apprehensive, that the king of England would improve the advantage he had over them. There had never been in Scotland a queen regent, and that would have been sufficient to reject the clause of the late king's will. But it was hoped, the queen would prevail with the king her brother, to leave in peace a country whereof she had the government. This expectation was not disappointed. The queen being declared regent, and writing to the king her brother, to entreat him not to disturb the minority of the young king his nephew, Henry generously answered, he was equally inclined to peace or war, and left it to the Scots to chuse which they pleased. Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan, Herbert. The queen dowager is regent. Herbert. Hall.

After this declaration, probably, Scotland would have remained in quiet under the regency of the queen, if that princess had not married again some months after. She chose for her consort Archibald Douglas earl of Angus, one of the greatest lords in Scotland, and by this second marriage filled the kingdom with confusion and trouble. As by the late king's will she was to be regent only during her widowhood, the question was to appoint another in her room. Douglas her husband used all his endeavours to have her continued in the regency. He affirmed, there was no other way to preserve peace with England; and besides, Henry would be obliged to support the queen his sister in case any one should pretend to disturb her. But this last consideration had a quite contrary effect to what the earl expected, upon those who dreaded his too great advancement. They knew, that being husband to the regent, he would always be countenanced by the king of England, and by his assistance, enabled to ingross more authority than they wished him. Alexander Hume Governor of all the country north She marries and loses the regency.

1514. north of the Frith, was the head of thoſe that oppoſed the queen's regency. He was a proud and haughty man, who could not endure a ſuperior. During the late king's life, he had been preſident of the marches bordering upon England, where he had committed ſuch outrages, that as ſome ſay, for fear of being called to an account, he killed or cauſed to be killed James IV. when he was retiring out of the battle of Floddon. However that be, Hume uſed all his intereſt to break Douglaſs's and the queen's meaſures, and propoſed John Stewart duke of Albany for regent. This duke was ſon of Alexander duke of Albany, brother of James III. who to avoid the perſecutions of the king his brother, was forced to fly into France, where he died. He left there this ſon, who being married, and adhering to the ſervice of Lewis XII.[o] had received many favours from that monarch, and acquired a great reputation. Though he had never been in Scotland, he was however the young king's neareſt relation, and Hume had intereſt enough to have him declared regent. Whereupon the ſtates ſent deputies to offer him the regency, and to pray him to come inſtantly and govern the realm in the king's name. Lewis XII. dying during theſe tranſactions, Francis I. his ſucceſſor, having great reaſons not to diſpleaſe the king of England, would not ſuffer the duke of Albany to depart till he had finiſhed his affairs with Henry. For this cauſe the regent arrived not in Scotland before May 1515. During this interval, Scotland being without a governor, the diſſenſions among the great men much increaſed, every one having time to form his cabals againſt the regent's arrival.

The duke of Albany is elected regent.

1515. The firſt day of the year 1515 was the laſt of Lewis XII.'s life[p]. But the death of that prince made no alteration in the ſituation of the affairs of the kingdom. The duke of Valois, who ſucceeded him by the name of Francis I. plainly diſcovered, by adding the title of duke of Milan to that of king of France, that he intended to purſue his predeceſſor's deſigns. Mean while, he did not think fit openly to declare his intentions, till he had ſettled his affairs both abroad and at home.

Death of Lewis XII. Francis I. king of France. Mezerai. Stow. Guicciard.

[o] Lewis, when duke of Orleans, killed the duke his father at a tournament. Rapin.

[p] He died (ſays the lord Herbert) after eighty days poſſeſſion rather than enjoying of his queen, leaving behind him no iſſue male, though otherwiſe of that eſteem among his ſubjects, for his care not to oppreſs them with impoſitions longer than his neceſſities required, that he was called father of his people. p. 221. Stow, p. 496.

By

By the death of Lewis XII. queen Mary his widow was at liberty to diſpoſe of herſelf, and to follow her own inclinations rather than the politick views of the king her brother. Before her marriage, ſhe had conceived an affection for Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, a moſt accompliſhed lord. It is even ſaid, the king had promiſed to marry her to him. But as her marriage with Lewis XII. was to be the band of the peace between France and England, ſhe was under a neceſſity to ſacrifice her love to the good of both kingdoms. The duke of Suffolk however waited upon her into France, though he was not of the number of thoſe who were appointed to conduct her. Mezerai ſays, the duke of Valois, preſumptive heir to the crown of France, cauſed that Engliſh lord to be narrowly watched, for fear he ſhould give the king a ſucceſſor. This ſhews that the queen's inclination was no ſecret. The death of Lewis XII. happening within three months after his marriage, the queen Dowager was not willing to run a ſecond hazard, of being given to another huſband not of her own chuſing. Henry ſuſpecting her deſign, writ to her the beginning of February, deſiring her not to marry again without his conſent. But the queen believed it would be eaſier to obtain the king's pardon when the thing was done, than his permiſſion to do it [q]. So, in March, about two months after the death of Lewis XII. ſhe was privately married to the duke of Suffolk. The next day, ſhe ſent word of it in a letter to the king her brother, and taking the whole blame upon herſelf, intimated to him that ſhe had in ſome meaſure forced the duke to this raſh action. Henry ſeemed diſpleaſed at firſt, but his anger was ſoon over. Their peace being made they returned to Henry, and were very well received [r].

1515. The queen dowager of Lewis XII. marries the duke of Suffolk. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

The parliament was then ſitting [s], and as England was in profound tranquillity, the houſes were only employed in Parliament in England.

[q] The lord Herbert ſays, ſhe writ before her marriage to the king her brother, proteſting, that if he would have her married in any place, ſave where her mind was, ſhe would ſhut herſelf up in ſome religious Houſe. She ſet the duke of Suffolk but the ſpace of four days to obtain her good will, and told him, if he could not do it in that time, he ſhould be out of all hopes of enjoying her, p. 22.

[r] He, with ſir Richard Wingfield, and dr. Weſt, were deputed to carry over Henry's letters of condolance to the queen, and had not been long at Paris, before he made his addreſſes to her. They arrived the ſecond of May, and were publickly married on the thirteenth at Greenwich. The queen (ſay the French) carried with her in jewels, plate, and tapeſtry, of Lewis XII. to the value of two hundred thouſand crowns: amongſt which was a great diamond called le miroir de Naples, which Francis would fain have redeemed at a great price. Mrs Ann Bulleyn ſtaid behind in the French court. Herbert, p. 22.

[s] It met February 5. See Statute-book.

domeſtick

1515. domeſtick affairs, which are of little or no conſequence to foreigners. There were however three ſtatutes paſſed this ſeſſion which deſerve notice. It was provided by the firſt, that unwrought wool ſhould not be exported out of the kingdom, for the encouragement of the woollen manufacture. This act has been often revived by reaſon of its importance, and yet even now, an effectual means is wanting to prevent the clandeſtine exportation of wool. The ſecond ſtatute declared all the king's ſecond letters patents to be void unleſs mention was made of the firſt. This was to prevent the king from being ſurprized. The third was no leſs neceſſary. It frequently happened that towards the end of a ſeſſion ſeveral members went home, imagining, there was nothing more of moment to be done. Then the factious took advantage of their abſence, to propoſe and paſs ſuch bills as probably would have been thrown out, had the houſe been more numerous. It was therefore enacted, that the members who abſented themſelves before the end of the ſeſſion, without the ſpeaker's and commons leave, to be entered in the clerk of the parliament's book, ſhould loſe their wages [t]. I muſt now interrupt for ſome time the recital of domeſtick, to ſpeak of foreign affairs, which are to ſerve for foundation to what will hereafter be ſaid with reſpect to England.

Divers ſtatutes. Herbert.

The alliance between France and England renewed. Du Bellai. Guicciard. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 473, ——476.

Francis I. was too much concerned to renew the alliance between France and England, to fail of performing the article of the treaty, whereby the ſucceſſor of him that died firſt, was to acquaint the other whether he deſigned to prolong the time of the alliance. As he intended to paſs into Italy to recover the duchy of Milan, it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſecure the king of England. To that purpoſe, about the middle of March, he ſent to the firſt preſident of Roan, his ambaſſador at London, a commiſſion to renew

[t] Theſe wages were levied by the ſheriffs, and the moſt ancient writs for knights wages extant are thoſe of 28, 29, 32 of Edward I. The firſt ſtatute concerning them is, that of 12 Richard II; namely, that the levying of the expences of knights ſhall be, as hath been uſed before this time. The wages in this reign were four ſhillings a day for knights of the ſhire, and two ſhillings at leaſt for burgeſſes, beſides the charges of going and coming, and fees for writs, &c.——In this parliament there was alſo another ſtatute made, importing, that whereas divers felons and murderers did, upon feigned and untrue ſurmiſes, get themſelves removed into the King's Bench, and could not by order of law be remitted and ſent down to the juſtices of goal delivery: that therefore for the future, the juſtices of the King's Bench ſhall have full power and authority, to remand and ſend down the bodies or indictments of all felons and murderers, into the counties, where the murders or felonies were committed. Stat. 6 Henry VIII. c. 6.

the

the alliance with Henry, as well as the bond for the payment of the million, to which Lewis XII. was obliged. This was done by a new Treaty, ſigned the 5th of April, and exactly like the former. 1515. p. 476.

After all the frauds uſed by the king of Arragon to Henry, there was no room to hope for a perfect friendſhip between them. However, Ferdinand, who was not eaſily diſcouraged, ſent to the king his ſon-in-law a new ambaſſador, to propoſe the renewing of their alliance. It is likely, he did not believe, Henry had ſo ſoon forgot his deceits, but it was for his intereſt that he ſhould be known to have an ambaſſador in England. The ambaſſador arrived in May, but was ſuffered to wait in vain till October without being diſpatched: nay, very probably he would never have ſucceeded in his negotiation, if Wolſey's intereſts had not cauſed the king to alter his reſolution, never to have any thing to do with the king his father in-law. I ſhall ſpeak more fully of this affair in another place. Ferdinand ſeeks Henry's friendſhip. p. 494. His ambaſſador is received very coldly.

Whilſt the Spaniſh ambaſſador was waiting in vain at London, Henry had two at Bruſſels, who made no greater progreſs. He had not dealt very gallantly with the young archduke, in giving the princeſs his bride to Lewis XII. without any ceremony. Indeed, Charles had not repaired to Calais the 5th of May the laſt year, as he was bound by the treaty of Liſle: but it could not thence be inferred, he had renounced his marriage, at leaſt before he was aſked, whether he intended to conſummate it. Henry was afraid therefore, the archduke, having lately aſſumed the government of the Low-Countries, and made a treaty with France, would think of revenging the affront. So, in order to ſound him, or prevent the effects of his reſentment, he ſent two ambaſſadors [u] to propoſe the renewing of the former alliance between Henry VIII and Philip I. their fathers. But the ambaſſadors were ſuffered to wait a good while at Bruſſels, without being much regarded, or receiving any anſwer. Henry tries to be reconciled with Charles the archduke. His ambaſſadors are ill received. p. 406.

The affairs of Europe were then in a ſituation, which would not allow the young archduke to engage in any party. It was neceſſary, in order to take juſt meaſures to wait the ſucceſs of the war, which Francis I. was preparing to carry into Italy. In all appearance, it would produce events capable of altering the intereſts and projects of moſt of the ſovereigns. Since Francis's acceſſion to the crown, Francis I. prepares to recover Milan. Guicciard. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

[u] Sir Edward Poynings, and dr. William Knight. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 496.

he

1515. he had plainly ſhewn that he intended not to ſuffer Maximilian Sforza peaceably to enjoy the duchy of Milan. On the other hand, the king of Arragon was under apprehenſions for Naples and Navarre. Francis I. was a young prince, full of courage and ambition, and it could not be doubted that he had formed great projects. So the eyes of all were upon him, to ſee in what manner he would begin his reign. He was making preparations, which diſcovered he had ſome great deſign in his thoughts, and did not take much pains to conceal that he had Milan in view. Mean while, he uſed for pretence of his armament, the invaſion Burgundy was threatened with by the Switzers. But the league he had lately renewed with Venice, and his offer to Ferdinand to prolong the truce, provided the ſecret article concerning the Milaneſe was annulled, were plain indications of his deſigns.

Guicciard.

Ferdinand forms a league againſt France. Guicciard.

All this was not ſufficient to make Ferdinand perfectly eaſy. He was afraid of being deceived by Francis, and that his preparations were intended for Navarre. To prevent this danger, he rejected Francis's offer, and withal made uſe of it to induce the emperor and Switzers to join with him for the defence of the Milaneſe, intimating there was no room to queſtion, that the king of France would turn his arms that way. As for the emperor, he did not want much ſolicitation. He readily entered into all ſorts of leagues, becauſe he always found means to thrive at another's expence. There was more difficulty with regard to the Switzers, becauſe Francis had among them adherents, who endeavoured to diſſuade them from the league. But his enemies prevailed in the end [w], and the league was concluded between the emperor, the king of Arragon, the duke of Milan, and the Switzers. Ferdinand played one of his uſual artifices upon this occaſion. He perſuaded the Switzers, that to defend the Milaneſe, the ſhorteſt way was to attack the king of France in his own kingdom. For that purpoſe, he engaged to make a powerful diverſion on the ſide of Fontarabia, whilſt the Switzers ſhould invade Burgundy, and the emperor, by continuing the war in the ſtate of Venice, hinder the Venetians from aſſiſting the common enemy. His chief aim was to defend Navarre, in caſe Francis I. had thoughts of turning his arms that way, and then to hinder that prince from becoming maſter of the duchy of Milan. His league with the Switzers was equally

He deceives the Switzers.

w The reſt of the confederates engaged to pay them thirty thouſand ducats a month. Guicciard. l. 12.

ſubſervient

ſubſervient to both theſe ends. For if Francis I. invaded Navarre, the Switzers would divert him from his purpoſe, by making an inroad into Burgundy. But if he really intended to conquer Milan, the Switzers, as next neighbours, and moſt concerned, could not diſpenſe with aſſiſting that duchy. What Ferdinand had foreſeen, came to paſs. Francis having ordered his forces to file off towards the Alps, the Switzers ſent their troops into Italy, where they ſeized the two paſſes, through which only it was thought poſſible to enter the Milaneſe. When Ferdinand was aſſured the king of France was marching towards Milan, he diſbanded the army levied for the defence of Navarre, leaving the Milaneſe to be taken care of by the Switzers. The very army Ferdinand had in Italy, under the command of the viceroy of Naples, made no motion to join them. The emperor remained without acting at Inſpruck. Leo X. who had alſo entered into the league, gave them no ſort of aſſiſtance. Thus the whole burden of the war fell upon the Switzers, without even the other allies ſending a penny of the money that was promiſed them. But this was no wonder. The Switzers were no more exempted than the king of England, and ſo many other princes, whom Maximilian and Ferdinand had ſerved in the ſame manner.

1515.

Francis paſſes into Italy. Guicciard.

The Switzers are deſerted by their allies.

Mean while, Francis I. having found means to march his army through a place which ſeemed impracticable [x], the Switzers who guarded the paſſes retired to Milan, and Francis advanced alſo towards the ſame city. When he approached, he offered the Switzers a ſum of money to return home. This negotiation was now in great forwardneſs, when they received a ſupply of fifteen thouſand men of their nation. This aid rendering them more ſtout, they reſolved, by the ſuggeſtions of the cardinal of Sion, immediately to attack Francis who lay encamped at Marignano, little expecting their coming. They were defeated, and ten thouſand ſlain on the ſpot. After which, they retired into their country, leaving Francis, maſter of all the Milaneſe. Maximilian Sforza, who had ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Milan, ſurrendered it by capitulation, and was ſent into France, to live as a private perſon.

Guicciard.

Francis gains the battle of Marignano.

Before Francis I began his expedition, Octavian Fregoſa, had brought Genoa under the dominion of France, and inſtead of Doge, ſtiled himſelf governor for the king.

Genoa is ſubjected to France. Guicciard.

x Between mount Viſo, and mount Cenis. Guicciard. l. 12. Through the valley of Barcelonnete, Roque Spaviere, St. Pol, l'Argentiere, &c. P. Daniel, tom. VI. p. 351.

1515. Leo X. had been in hopes that Francis would never be able to enter Italy. He had joined in the league againſt him, but ſo privately, that Francis knew nothing of it till he came to Verceil. During the time between the king's arrival in Italy, and the battle of Marignano, the pope was under great perplexities. He had ſent an army into Lombardy, to ſupport the duke of Milan. But when he heard Francis had ſurmounted the difficulties of the paſſage, he ſent orders to Lorenzo de Medici who commanded his army, to commit no hoſtilities againſt the French. At the ſame time, he told the king, his army was there only to guard Parma and Placentia. Mean while, as the affair of Milan was not yet decided, he durſt not make too many advances to the king, for fear of diſpleaſing the allies, who would have it in their power to be revenged, if the king happened to be vanquiſhed. But, after the battle of Marignano, he was immediately reconciled with him, and though he had grievouſly offended him, obtained however advantages which he could ſcarce have expected, had he taken his part from the beginning. The popes make leagues, and undertake wars as temporal princes, and when their affairs do not proſper, diſintangle themſelves as heads of the church, and vicars of Jeſus Chriſt. Though Leo X's behaviour to Francis was ſuch, that he deſerved no favour from that victorious prince, he obtained however whatever he pleaſed, and among other things, the abolition of the Pragmatick Sanction, which the popes his predeceſſors had hitherto in vain demanded of the kings of France [y].

Leo X. makes his peace with Francis.

Idem.

Guicciard.

Burnet.

Though Henry had not been able entirely to avoid the ſnares laid by the pope, the emperor, and the king of Arragon, he had happily got clear, but with a firm reſolution never more to be thus over reached. His affecting not to mention them in his treaty with France, plainly ſhowed he did not much value their friendſhip. But he was not ſo fortunate as to perſiſt in this reſolution, ſince it was his own fault that he engaged in a freſh war with France, not ſo much for his own, as the intereſt of others. His change may be aſcribed to three ſeveral cauſes. The firſt is, his jealouſy

Henry is engaged in new troubles.

Cauſes of it.

[y] The decrees of the council of Baſil were by them reduced into the form of an edict, and published under the title of the Pragmatic Sanction; which Charles VII. king of France, declared he would have to be inviolably obſerved. It was abrogated by Lewis XI. which was oppoſed by the parliament. Charles VIII. re-eſtabliſhed it, but it was again annulled by Lewis XII. See a full account of theſe tranſactions in biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. tom. III. p. 8, &c.

of

of the glorious ſucceſs of Francis's arms in Italy. The ſe- 1515.
cond, to prevent the growing power of that neighbour. The third and principal, Wolſey his favourite's intereſt, who thinking he had reaſon to complain of the king of France, had a mind to be revenged. The two firſt need no farther explanation. It is well known, that princes are ſubject to paſſions like other men, and that jealouſy may induce them to run counter to their intereſt. It is known likewiſe, that policy is as the hinge on which almoſt all their actions turn. But on this occaſion, Henry proceeded upon a very wrong policy, ſince nothing was more capable of ſecuring the peace of England, than the king of France's acquiſitions in Italy. The third cauſe requires a more particular explanation.

Thomas Wolſey, archbiſhop of York, was prime miniſter, and chief favourite. But this does not fully expreſs the thing. It muſt be added, that he ſo abſolutely governed the king, that he turned him which way he pleaſed. But he managed ſo artfully, that the king always fancied he took his own courſe, when he only followed the ſuggeſtions of his miniſter. Wolſey had great talents for a perſon of his birth, but he had alſo great failings. He was exceſſively revengeful, greedy of poſſeſſions and honours, and intolerably proud. He no ſooner ſaw himſelf fixed in his maſter's favour, but he ſought means to remove from court all thoſe that gave him any jealouſy by the king's eſteem for them. Richard Fox, biſhop of Winchester, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who had been moſt in favour, received ſo many mortifications from this imperious prelate, that at length they quitted the court, not to be expoſed to his inſults. Fox withdrew to his dioceſe the beginning of this year [t]. The two dukes quickly followed [a], and Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, retired alſo at the end of the ſame year. Theſe old miniſters being thus removed, Wolſey became ſtill more abſolute over the king, who had only him to adviſe with in his moſt important affairs. The reſt of the privy council were all the favourite's creatures. The hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, that Wolſey's intereſt was the ſole rule of the counſels he gave the king, and as this intereſt anſwered his reigning paſſions, revenge, gree-

Wolſey's great credit. Pol. Virg.

Hall. Stow. Herbert.

[t] Upon his going away, he deſired this only of the king, that he would not ſuffer the ſervant to be greater than the maſter. To which the king anſwered preſently, that it ſhould be his care, that thoſe who were his ſubjects ſhould obey, and not command. Herbert, p. 24.

[a] The duke of Suffolk had borrowed large ſums of money of the king, which he hoped would have been forgiven him; but upon Wolſey's calling thoſe that were indebted to the crown to an account, the duke withdrew from court. Hall. Hollingſh. p. 879.

1515. dineſs, ambition, and pride, the reader muſt not be ſurpriſed, when he ſees him hereafter inducing the king to make ſo many falſe ſteps.

Francis I. wants to recover Tournay. Pol. Virg. Herbert. P. Daniel.

Ever ſince Francis I. came to the crown, he had been thinking of recovering Tournay out of the hands of the Engliſh. There had even paſſed in the beginning of the year, a treaty upon that ſubject, but to no purpoſe, becauſe Henry demanded in exchange of Tournay, ſome places in the neighbourhood of Calais [b], which Francis did not think proper to grant him [c]. But the greateſt difficulty came from Wolſey, who was far from adviſing the king his maſter to reſign Tournay, becauſe himſelf would have loſt the adminiſtration of that biſhoprick and the abby of St. Amand, which brought him a great revenue. On the contrary, he had been very urgent with Francis I. to beſtow ſome good benefice on Lewis Guillard, biſhop of Tournay, that he might ſuffer him peaceably to enjoy his adminiſtration. Francis had promiſed him, but without intending to perform his word. Inſtead of aſſiſting him to keep the adminiſtration, he ſecretly perſuaded the biſhop to ſue to the pope for his reſtoration, and ſeconded his petition to the utmoſt of his power. He was of opinion, that when Wolſey ceaſed to be adminiſtrator, the reſtitution of Tournay would become much eaſier.

Wolſey is afraid of loſing his biſhoprick.

The pope reſtores the biſhop of Tournay. Herbert.

Whilſt Francis was ſtill in France, employed in preparing for his Italian expedition, the pope, yet uncertain of the ſucceſs of that enterpriſe, did not much regard the biſhop's ſollicitations. But when he ſaw that prince maſter of Genoa, and entered the Milaneſe at the head of a powerful army, he readily granted a bull to Guillard, reſtoring him to his biſhoprick, and even allowed him to make uſe of the ſecular arm to obtain poſſeſſion. This bull, which ſacrificed the king of England's and his miniſter's intereſt, to thoſe of the French king and the biſhop of Tournay, would ſeem very ſtrange, if the conſideration of the time and circumſtances did not make the wonder ceaſe. Leo X. had given juſt cauſe to Francis, to complain of his conduct, and ſaw that monarch ready to take poſſeſſion again of the Milaneſe, and conclude a treaty with the Switzers, in order to ſend them back into their own country. It was therefore his intereſt to appeaſe him, by granting a favour he ſo earneſtly deſired.

[b] The county of Guiſnes or Ardres. Herbert, p. 23.

[c] In May this year, king Henry ſent twelve hundred carpenters and maſons, and three hundred labourers, to build a caſtle for the defence of Tournay. Stow, p. 497.

Mean

Mean while, Henry was extremely offended at the bull, which reſtored to the biſhoprick of Tournay, a prelate, who refuſed to ſwear fealty to him, and on which the king of France, and the biſhop of Tournay might proceed, to raiſe a ſedition in the city. He therefore gave orders to his ambaſſador at Rome, to expoſtulate with the pope, and repreſent to him the conſequences of his partiality. Leo X. could not help owning it. But at that very time, Francis gaining the battle of Marignano, and preparing to make him feel the effects of his reſentment, it was no proper ſeaſon to incenſe him farther by revoking the bull. This convinced Wolſey, that Francis was the real author of the biſhop's reſtoration. Mean while, the pope, being embarraſſed, choſe upon the king of England's oppoſition, to leave the affair undecided, by referring it to the examination of two cardinals, who, probably, were ordered not to haſten the concluſion. In the mean time, Wolſey was uncertain whether he ſhould keep the biſhoprick of Tournay. And that was preciſely what the king of France wanted, that this uncertainty might induce the ſelfiſh miniſter to find ſome expedient to make himſelf amends, after which it was apparent, he would no longer oppoſe the reſtitution of Tournay. At the ſame time, to preſerve his friendſhip, which was very neceſſary, by reaſon of his credit with the king his maſter, he promiſed to aſſiſt him in procuring a cardinal's cap. Wolſey was extremely ambitious of that dignity. After the death of cardinal Bambridge, he was in hopes of ſucceeding him in the cardinalate, as well as in the archbiſhoprick of York. He had even employed to ſollicit it in his name, cardinal Adrian de Corneto [d], the pope's collector in England, under whom Polydore Virgil, ſerved as ſub-collector. But cardinal Adrian, inſtead of ſerving him as he had promiſed, had done him ill offices. Wolſey being informed of it, was ſo incenſed, that on ſome ſlight pretence he committed Polydore to the Tower. Then he cauſed the king to write to the pope with his own hand, to deſire him to appoint another collector in cardinal Adrian's room. The king's letter was ſo ſtrong and paſſionate, that the pope thought fit to comply with his requeſt. However, in his brief of advice, he told him, he knew very well his anger againſt cardinal Adrian, was inſtilled into him by Wolſey. Mean while, Polydore Virgil continued in the Tower, till at length cardinal Julius de Medici, and the

1515. Herbert.

Francis promiſes to help to make Wolſey a cardinal. Herbert.

Cardinal Adrian betrays Wolſey. Who takes revenge, and ſends Polydore Virgil to the Tower.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 515.

[d] Called by our hiſtorians de Caſtello — biſhop of Bath, and the king's orator at Rome.

1515. pope himſelf, interceded for him, by letters of Auguſt the 30th, and September the 3d. As this was at the very time that Francis was ſolliciting a cardinal's cap for Wolſey, Wolſey did not think proper to refuſe the pope a thing of ſo little conſequence. So Polydore came out of the Tower, where he had been about a year. This ill treatment was, doubtleſs, one of the reaſons that induced him to remember all the ill qualities of cardinal Wolſey, in his hiſtory of England.

Wolſey is made cardinal. Hall. Herbert.

Wolſey having at length obtained a cardinal's cap, was tranſported with joy when he received the news by an expreſs ſent by the king of France [e]. But though he was highly obliged to that monarch, his gratitude for the favour, did not equal his reſentment for the injury done him, as he ſuppoſed, in the affair of Tournay. He reſolved therefore, in order to be revenged, to endeavour to ſet the king his maſter at variance with Francis, and cauſe him to enter into a new league againſt France. Herein he gratified three of his predominant paſſions, his pride, in letting Europe ſee that ſovereigns themſelves offended him not with impunity: his revenge, in creating Francis great troubles; and his own intereſt, in ſecuring the adminiſtration of the biſhoprick of Tournay. Indeed, a rupture between the two kings was an effectual means to hinder Guillard's reſtoration to his ſee. This is obſerved by hiſtorians as the principal cauſe of the alteration we are going to behold in Henry's conduct. Jealouſy and policy may have had ſome influence too, but leſs as true cauſes, than as motives uſed by Wolſey to inflame the king's mind. Probably, under colour that his honour was concerned, he repreſented to him the neceſſity of humbling the pride of the French king, and inſinuated, how dangerous it was for England that France ſhould grow too powerful. When he had prepared Henry, he privately ſent word to the emperor, that it would not be impoſſible to diſengage the king his maſter from the intereſts of France. It may eaſily be gueſſed, Maximilian received the overture with joy. Beſides that, being without aid and allies, he ſaw himſelf little able to preſerve his conqueſts in Italy, he knew, which way ſoever he was treated with, he ſhould always be furniſhed with money. Whilſt Wolſey was projecting to negotiate with the emperor, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who had heavily paſſed ſome months at London, was looked upon at court with a

He perſiſts in his deſign to be revenged upon the king of France. Pol. Virg. Herbert.

Wolſey treats privately with the emperor. Herbert. Pol. Virg.

Henry renews his alliance with Ferdinand.

[e] In September. Hall, fol. 57. He was cardinal by the title of ſanctæ cæciliæ trans Tiberim; or, ſancti ciriaci in termis. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII, p. 529, 530.

more

more favourable eye. Nay, a treaty was begun with him about renewing the alliance between England and Spain, which being ended the 19th of October, contained however only a confirmation of the antient treaties of amity. 1515. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 520—528.

Mean while, the emperor, willing to improve the preſent opportunity, ſent to the king a Milaneſe ambaſſador, to deſire aid in the name of Franceſco Sforza, who was in Germany, and had aſſumed the title of duke of Milan, ever ſince Maximilian his brother had reſigned his right to the king of France. Though Wolſey had taken care to diſpoſe Henry to a rupture with France, he was not, it ſeems, fully determined. Franceſco Sforza's requeſt, or rather the emperor's, ſeemed to him ſo important, that he deſired to have the opinions of the biſhop of Wincheſter; and the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who to that intent were ſent for to court. The council being met to debate upon the affair, cardinal Wolſey ſpeaking firſt, made a long ſpeech full of reſentment againſt France, labouring to demonſtrate how much it was for the intereſt of England to oppoſe her growing power [f]. The biſhop of Durham and all the new counſellors ſtrenuouſly ſupported the cardinal's opinion. But the old ones endeavoured to diſſuade the king from breaking the peace lately concluded with France, ſince the new king had given him no cauſe, and adviſed him rather to turn his arms againſt Scotland. Henry, who was already prepoſſeſſed, took a middle way, inſinuated, doubtleſs, by his miniſter: and that was, privately to aſſiſt the emperor and Franceſco Sforza [g]. Whereupon, he ſent orders to Pace [h], his ambaſſador to Maximilian, to treat with them, and, to promote the treaty, returned him large ſums of money [i]. Thus was he gradually engaged, without foreſeeing that theſe ſecret proceedings muſt neceſſarily end in an open war, as Wolſey deſired.

Guicciard. Embaſſy of Francis Sforza to Henry. Herbert. Pol. Virg.

Henry calls a great council upon it. Pol. Virg. Herbert.

Henry reſolves to aid the emperor privately. Pol. Virg. Stow. Hollingſh.

[f] He likewiſe alledged, that Francis had broken the treaty by favouring Richard de la Pole, brother of the late duke of Suffolk, a fugitive and traitor; in aſſiſting thoſe Scots which oppoſed his ſiſter queen Margaret. Beſides that, Francis with-held ſome goods and jewels of queen Mary. Laſtly, he ſaid, France might be hindered from growing more powerful, without effuſion of Engliſh blood, only by privately aſſiſting Maximilian. Herbert, p. 24, Pol. Virg.

[g] The lord Herbert ſays, the king, after the debate was over, being inclined to the cardinal, ſaid, he would hinder the deſigns of Francis without coming yet to an open rupture, p. 25.

[h] Late ſervant to cardinal Bambridge, who wrote the letter mentioned before, concerning Silveſter's having a hand in poiſoning his maſter.

[i] They were put into the hands of ſome Genoa merchants, who breaking, a great part of the money was loſt. Hall, fol. 59.

1515. There is in the collection of the publick acts, a paper, ſhewing that the cardinal did not forget himſelf in his negotiations. It is a promiſe from the duke of Milan's ſecretary, who, by virtue of an expreſs power from the duke his maſter, engaged to pay the cardinal a yearly penſion of ten thouſand ducats, to commence from the day of his maſter's reſtoration. It is true, this paper being neither dated nor ſigned, may be conſidered only as a draught of the contract; but it is however a proof of the cardinal's ſelfiſh temper.

The duke of Milan's promiſe to Wolſey. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 525. Pol. Virg. Herbert.

The emperor no ſooner heard that Henry was inclined to aſſiſt him againſt France, than he diſpatched to England, Matthew Skinner, cardinal of Sion, to negotiate a league with him. This is the ſame prelate, who, a little before, had encouraged the Switzers to give battle to Francis I.

The emperor's embaſſy to Henry. Hall. Stow.

The parliament met again the 12th of November. But as it was not yet time to lay before the houſes the king's reſolution with regard to France, there was no mention of war, or any foreign affair. The clergy in a ſynod held at the ſame time, returned an anſwer to the pope concerning his demand of an extraordinary ſubſidy, on pretence of an apparent war with the Turks. They alledged, that they were ſo exhauſted by the late war with France, undertaken at the inſtance of Julius II. for the defence of the church, that they were not in condition to grant a new ſubſidy: that beſides, by a decree of the council of Conſtance, the pope could lay no impoſition on the clergy without the conſent of a general council.

Parliament meets. Herbert.

The clergy refuſe the pope a ſubſidy. Hall.

Whilſt the Engliſh were thus endeavouring to ſcreen themſelves from the oppreſſions of the court of Rome, they beheld one riſing in their own body, like a new pope, whom they foreſaw, it would be more difficult to reſiſt than him at Rome, becauſe he was ſupported by the king: I mean Wolſey. Since that prelate was promoted to the cardinalate, he was grown more vain, proud, and imperious than ever. He never ſtirred without a prince's retinue, always attended by a crowd of domeſticks, cauſing the cardinal's hat to be carried before him like a ſort of trophy, and to be placed on the altar when he went to the king's chapel [k]. He was the firſt clergyman in England that wore ſilk in his

Cardinal Wolſey's pride. Herbert. Hall. Pol. Virg.

k He is ſaid by Cavendiſh, to keep eight hundred ſervants, among whom were nine or ten lords, fifteen knights, and forty ſquires. The hat was borne by ſome principal perſon before him on a great height. He had beſides, his ſerjeant at arms and mace, and two gentlemen, carrying two pillars of ſilver, beſides his croſs bearer. Herbert, p. 24. Pol. Virg. See Stow, p. 501. Burnet's Ref. tom. III. p. 21.

veſtments,

veſtments, and uſed gold in his ſaddles. In a word, he de- 1515.
viſed all ſorts of ways to diſtinguiſh himſelf. Every one took ſuch offence at his pride, that it was inceſſantly talked of with indignation. But no man durſt open his mouth before the king, ſince the old biſhop of Wincheſter for only glancing upon it, was ſo ill received, that ſhortly after he withdrew to his dioceſe. The archbiſhop of Canterbury was no leſs offended than the reſt, to ſee the archbiſhop of York affect thus ſo great a diſtinction. But what gave him moſt offence was, to ſee the croſs of York carried before the cardinal, though he was in the province of Canterbury. I have ſpoken elſewhere of this conteſt between the two archbiſhops, which after having cauſed violent quarrels, could not be decided but by the king's expreſs commands to the archbiſhops of York, not to have the croſs carried before them in the other province. But Wolſey, who thought himſelf much above his predeceſſors, prepared to revive the conteſt in contempt of theſe prohibitions. Warham, who was of a peaceable temper, eaſily perceived, that though he ſhould attempt to hinder it, he ſhould not ſucceed, becauſe Wolſey had an abſolute ſway over the king. So, not to have continually this object before his eyes, he deſired the king's leave to reſign the chancellorſhip, and retire to his palace. His requeſt was immediately granted, and the ſame day the king gave the ſeals to cardinal Wolſey. In all appearance, he had created Warham ſo many mortifications only to oblige him to quit his office, with which he deſired to be inveſted himſelf. To ſupport the ſplendour of his dignity with more ſtate than any other before him, the king loaded him every day with freſh favours, prebends, wardſhips, and the like, which continually increaſed his revenues. Beſides the archbiſhoprick of York and the chancellorſhip, he had in farm upon eaſy terms the biſhopricks of Bath, Worceſter, and Hereford [1], held by Italians reſiding at Rome. But this was not ſufficient to ſatisfy him. I muſt now, before I cloſe the year 1515, briefly mention the affairs of Scotland, the knowledge whereof is requiſite for the better underſtanding the events related hereafter.

He is made lord chancellor. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 529. Dec. 22. The king loads him with favours. p. 507, 530. Hall. Herbert.

[1] The biſhopricks of Bath, Worceſter, and Hereford, the incumbents whereof, Adrian de Corneto, Silveſter Gigles, &c. being ſtrangers, who had been ſent here upon legations, king Henry VII. a frugal prince, choſe rather to reward them upon their return with preferments that coſt him nothing, than to impair his treaſure by making them preſents in money. And now living abroad, to ſave the charge of agents, and trouble of making returns by them, were willing to let the cardinal have the revenues at eaſy rates, with the diſpoſal of the eccleſiaſtical preferments annexed to them.

John

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1515. John duke of Albany, who had been declared regent in 1513, arrived not in Scotland till May 1515. He found the kingdom full of factions and diviſions, which made him ſenſible, the adminiſtration committed to him would prove very troubleſome. But what gave him moſt uneaſineſs was, that the king of England was but too much concerned in what paſſed in Scotland, and fomented theſe diſſenſions to the utmoſt of his power. Under colour that Scotland had been ſometime without a regent, Henry VIII. as uncle of the young king, had taken the title of protector of Scotland, and by virtue thereof his ambaſſadors at Rome demanded of the pope the eccleſiaſtical preferments of that kingdom, which he beſtowed on his creatures. But as ſoon as the duke of Albany was arrived, he writ to to the pope in the young king's name, ſharply complaining of the king of England's incroachments, and the court of Rome's condeſcenſion. He even threatened the pope in his letter not to apply to him for the future upon any account whatſoever, if this grievance were not ſpeedily redreſſed [m].

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Pol. Virg.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 513. July 3.

The duke of Albany, though of Scotch extraction, was a ſtranger to Scotland [n], from whence the duke his father had retired in 1483. As he deſired in the beginning of his regency to be informed of the ſtate of the kingdom, he unhappily applied to Hepburne biſhop of Murray, a hot and revengeful man, who took this occaſion to be revenged on his enemies. The biſhop, being prior of St. Andrew's, had been elected archbiſhop of that church in the beginning of the preſent reign. But he was forced to reſign the archbiſhoprick to Forman biſhop of Murray, who was armed with the pope's bull. However, Forman would never have ventured to uſe the bull, had he not been ſupported by Alexander Hume a potent lord before-mentioned. By his credit and authority, Forman was inſtalled in St. Andrews, having reſigned the biſhoprick of Murray to Hepburne, and promiſed to pay him a certain penſion. Hepburne finding he had a fair opportunity to be revenged, gave the regent ſuch a character of Hume, that when he came to court he was looked upon with a very ill eye. Hume being naturally very proud and haughty, reſolving to let the regent ſee no man ſhould ſlight him with impunity, went over to the queen

Buchanan.

[m] He alſo writ to the king of France, deſiring to be included in the treaty concluded at London, April 5, 1515. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 508, 511.

[n] He was born in the time of his father's baniſhment, and ſuch a ſtranger, that he could not ſpeak the country language. Herbert, p. 26.

dowager,

dowager, and perſuading her that the king her ſon was in danger, adviſed her to carry him into England. The regent hearing of this plot, ſuddenly went to Sterling caſtle and ſecured the young king's perſon. But to hinder his enemies from putting an ill conſtruction on this action, he renewed his oath of allegiance to the king, and committed the care of his education to three perſons of great credit. 1515.

Alexander Hume and his brother William ſeeing their plot was diſcovered, fled immediately into England, and were quickly followed by the queen and her ſpouſe the earl of Angus. Whereupon, the regent ſent ambaſſadors to Henry to juſtify his conduct, and at the ſame time ſo artfully treated with the fugitives, that he prevailed with them to return into Scotland. But the queen being big with child was forced to ſtay at Harbottle caſtle in Northumberland, where ſhe was delivered [o] of a daughter called Margaret [p]. The ſequel of this affair ſhall be related in another place. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 531.

The death of king Ferdinand [q] in February 1516, broke the meaſures taken by cardinal Wolſey to engage all Europe in a war with France. Thus, notwithſtanding the cardinal's projects, Henry was forced to remain in peace, becauſe the intereſts of the reſt of the princes were not agreeable to his, or rather to the paſſions of his miniſter. But though Europe was peaceable for ſome time, it will be however neceſſary to relate in each year of this peace, the ſituation of the affairs of the principal ſtates, in order to ſhew the occaſion of the following wars. 1516. Ferdinand king of Arragon's death. Herbert. Hall.

Nothing remarkable paſſed in England in the beginning of the year 1516, except the birth of a princeſs, whom the queen brought into the world the eighteenth of February, and called Mary [r]. Cardinal Wolſey, commonly called the cardinal of York, ever mindful of what could procure him any advantage, cauſed thoſe who had managed the king's money to be called to a ſtrict account. The moſt part however were ſpared. But thoſe were ſeverely puniſhed who had not the addreſs to make the miniſter their friend [s]. Birth of Mary, Henry's daughter. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

After

[o] October 7.

[p] Her huſband, the earl of Angus, left her, and returned into Scotland. She ſtaid about a year in England. Hall, fol. 58.

[q] In the ſixty third year of his age. He left the ſtile of catholick to his ſucceſſors. Though he had vaſt poſſeſſions, was much inriched from the Indies, proſperous in almoſt all his attempts, and of a frugal diſpoſition, yet there was hardly found in his coffers money enough to diſcharge his interring, though not very ſumptuous. Herbert, p. 26.

[r] She was born at Greenwich 1515-16.

[s] He ſo ſeverely puniſhed perjury, that in his time it was little practiſed: he alſo called to account perſons guilty of

1516. After Ferdinand's deceaſe, the kingdom of Arragon came of courſe to Joanna his eldeſt daughter, already queen of Caſtile. But that princeſs was incapable of governing her dominions by reaſon of her defect of underſtanding, which had obliged the king her father to keep her confined. So the adminiſtration of theſe two kingdoms with all their dependencies could not be diſputed with Charles of Auſtria, Joanna's eldeſt ſon, and ſovereign of the Low Countries. But as that prince lived in Flanders, Ferdinand had left by his will the regency of Arragon to Alphonſo his natural ſon biſhop of Saragoſſa, and that of Caſtile to cardinal Ximenes, till Charles ſhould come himſelf and aſſume the government. Mean while, when Ximenes would have taken poſſeſſion of the regency of Caſtile, Adrian Florentio doctor in divinity, who managed the prince of Auſtria's affairs in Spain, produced letters patents from his maſter, conſtituting him regent of that kingdom. But Ximenes refuſed to acknowledge him as ſuch, pretending that Charles had not power to appoint a regent before he was received for governor. The conteſt was however adjuſted by this expedient, that the orders ſhould be ſigned by both. But the cardinal left the doctor the bare name of regent only, and diſcharged all the functions himſelf. Mean while, Charles took the title of king of Caſtile, with the conſent of the ſtates of that realm. But the Arragonians, more jealous of their privileges than the Caſtilians, refuſed to give him the title of king of Arragon, whilſt his mother Joanna was alive. Nay, there was a party in the kingdom who maintained, that Joanna herſelf could not pretend to the crown of Arragon, becauſe the daughters were excluded by the laws of the realm, and therefore Charles could not derive from his mother a right ſhe never had. But others affirmed, that the excluſion of the females extended not to their male heirs. This was much the ſame caſe as happened formerly in France, in the diſpute between Edward III. and Philip of Valois. I ſhall enter no farther into the affairs of Spain. What I have ſaid is ſufficient to ſhow the neceſſity Charles was under of going thither, and how dangerous it would have been for him to engage in a war againſt France, in the beginning of ſo unſettled a reign. Accordingly, he neglected nothing to renew the treaties of peace and alliance as well with France as

Charles of Auſtria ſucceeds Ferdinand.

Mayern. Mezerai. Affairs of Spain.

of riots, vexing, oppreſſion, and the like; and erected four under-courts to hear complaints by bill of poor people: whereof the firſt was kept in Whitehall; the ſecond before dr. Stokeſly, the king's almoner; the third in the lord treaſurer's chamber; and the fourth at the rolls. Hall, fol. 59. Hollingſhead, p. 838.

England,

England, but with liberty to take other meaſures when his affairs ſhould be in another ſituation. Juſt before the king of Arragon's death, he had as ſovereign of the Low Countries renewed the alliance with England, by a new treaty concluded at Bruſſels the 24th of February this year [1]. About a month after, Henry, who was contriving to form a league againſt France, ordered his ambaſſador to treat with Charles upon that head. But Ferdinand's death ſo changed the face of affairs, that Henry was forced to be ſatisfied with a bare defenſive league, which I ſhall preſently mention, having firſt related the ſucceſs of an expedition made by the emperor into Italy. 1516. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 533—545. p. 545.

It was not without reaſon that Maximilian had readily embraced the opportunity offered him by cardinal Wolſey, of making war upon France. There was no more likelihood of his being able to keep his conqueſts in the ſtate of Venice, ſince Francis I. was become maſter of the Milaneſe, and had joined forces with the Venetians. Beſides, he could expect no farther aſſiſtance from the pope, who had lately agreed with Francis. As for the Spaniſh army which was retired to Naples, it was not eaſy to cauſe them to return, ſince they were neceſſarily to march through the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. On the other hand, king Ferdinand's death had changed the poſture of affairs, and quite deſtroyed the emperor's hopes. So far was the new king of Caſtile from having any thoughts of a war with France, that it highly concerned him to keep peace with that kingdom, in order to have time to ſettle his affairs in Spain. Thus the emperor, contrary to his uſual method, was forced to act alone during this year, in the expectation of ſo embroiling affairs, that other potentates ſhould at length be conſtrained to join with him. He had already received ſome of the king of England's money, and cardinal Wolſey put him in hopes of ſtill larger ſums. With this aid, he aſſembled an army of about twenty thouſand men, Germans and Switzers, and in march entered the ſtate of Venice, whilſt the Venetians, aſſiſted by a body of French troops commanded by Lautrec, were beſieging Breſcia. Upon his approach, the French and Venetians raiſed the ſiege, and after making a ſhow of oppoſing his paſſages of the rivers, retired to Milan to avoid a battle. Thus the emperor approached Milan without much difficulty. The emperor's expedition againſt Milan. Guicciard. Mezerai. Pol. Virg. Herbert.

[1] The Engliſh commiſſioners were Cuthbert Tunſtall, and William Knyght; doctors of law. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 533.

The

1516. The French were in ſo great conſternation that they were like to abandon both the city and duchy, and retire into France. If the emperor had made all the haſte he could, he would doubtleſs have forced them to execute that reſolution. But having ſpent two or three days to no purpoſe, by the time he came before Milan the French had received news, that ten thouſand Switzers of the Cantons in alliance with France were coming to their aſſiſtance, and were within a day's march.

The arrival of the ten thouſand Switzers at Milan threw both ſides into an equal conſternation. The French, who conſidered theſe troops as a ſure aid, were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment when they heard that they abſolutely refuſed to fight againſt the Switzers in the emperor's army. Theſe, on their part, demanded their pay with ſuch boldneſs, that Maximilian was afraid, it was a pretence not to join battle with their countrymen newly arrived at Milan. He had no money for them, and was apprehenſive the French had but too much to corrupt them. So, when it was leaſt expected, he ſuddenly retired, after which, having no money to pay them, the army diſbanded of themſelves.

The emperor makes as if he would reſign the empire to Henry. Herbert.

Having thus miſſed his aim, the emperor was forced upon new trials to engage the pope, the king of England, the young king of Caſtile his grandſon, in a league againſt France. But this project was not eaſy to be executed. The pope had his private views, which ſuffered him not to break openly with Francis. Charles's council were better adviſed than to agree that their maſter ſhould engage to gratify his grandfather's paſſion at a time when he was neceſſarily obliged to go into Spain, and take poſſeſſion of his kingdoms. Thus the emperor's whole refuge lay in the aſſiſtance he could expect from England. But as there was no likelihood, that Henry would undertake a war of which he was to bear all the expence, Maximilian bethought himſelf of a device to preſerve his good diſpoſition towards him, or at leaſt to draw money from him, and that was, to declare to Robert Wingfield the Engliſh ambaſſador at his court, that he was tired with the burden of the empire, and having a particular eſteem for the king his maſter, intended to reſign it to him. For that purpoſe, he charged him to write to the king, that if he would come to the Triers, he would call a diet and ſettle that grand affair, after which, he offered to wait upon him to Rome, to ſee him receive the imperial crown. Moreover, he put him in hopes, he would reſign to him his right to the duchy of Milan, and aſſiſt him

to

to conquer it. Henry eaſily perceived Maximilian's aim in making ſuch an offer, and therefore writ to his ambaſſador to thank the emperor for his good intention, deſiring him to deſer the execution of the project to a more convenient ſeaſon, when the French ſhould be expelled out of Italy. Mean while, in return for his good will, he ſent him ſome money, excuſing the former defect of payment, with laying the blame on a Genoa banker [u]. 1516.

Whilſt the emperor was endeavouring to imbroil the French affairs, Francis was forming new projects. He had good reaſon to be pleaſed with his glorious campaign, which in a ſhort time had regained him the duchy of Milan. Mean while, Ferdinand's death inſpiring him with freſh hopes, he formed the deſign of ſeizing the kingdom of Naples, imagining, the new king of Spain would be unable to defend it, before he was thoroughly ſettled in his kingdoms. Beſides, he believed he had ſo attached the pope to his intereſts by the treaty of Bologna, that he did not doubt to find in him all the aſſiſtance neceſſary to his undertaking, looking upon him as his beſt friend. But he did not know Leo X. That pontiff did by no means deſire, the French ſhould become more powerful in Italy, and if he teſtified to the king that he was in his intereſts, it was only to prevent his oppoſing the projects he had himſelf formed in favour of his own houſe. The emperor's invaſion of the Milaneſe this year interrupted the execution of Francis's deſign upon Naples, and what afterwards happened, cauſed him to lay aſide all thoughts of it. However, his deſire to conquer that kingdom occaſioned a defenſive league againſt him towards the end of the year, as will be related after a word or two more of the Italian affairs.

Francis I. forms the project of invading Naples, but does not do it. Mezerai. Guicciard.

Leo X. was no ſooner reconciled with Francis I. than he deprived upon a frivolous pretence the duke of Urbino of his duchy, and inveſted Lorenzo de Medici, who aſſumed from thenceforward the title of duke of Urbino, and the diſpoſſeſſed duke retired to Mantua.

The pope diſpoſſeſſes the duke of Urbino. Cimarelli. Guicciard.

It was in order to accompliſh this deſign, that the pope had flattered Francis with the hopes of aſſiſting him in the conqueſt of Naples. But after he was become maſter of Urbino by that monarch's connivance, inſtead of thanking him for it, he thought only how to drive the French out of the duchy of Milan. To that end, he held ſecret intelli-

He endeavours to drive the French out of Italy.

[u] The empire was then ſo bare of money, that Maximilian was nick-named Pochi Denari, i. e. Few Pence. Herbert, p. 25.

gence

1516. gence with the emperor, the king of England, and the new king of Spain, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours, by the help of his emiſſaries, to perſuade the Switzers to break their alliance with France. Though he acted with all poſſible precaution, he could not treat ſo privately but that his ſecret practices came to the king's knowledge, who pretended however to be ignorant of them. On the contrary, he did all that lay in his power to gain the pope in reality to his intereſt, otherwiſe he was ſenſible his attempt upon Naples would never ſucceed. Leo X. deſired nothing more than to amuſe him, whilſt he was ſecretly acting againſt him. But at length, Francis perceiving his inſincerity, dropped all thoughts of the conqueſt of Naples, and reſolved to treat with the king of Spain, who in the preſent ſituation of his affairs, could not but wiſh to live in a good underſtanding with him. Thus the two kings being equally inclined to a peace, ſent their plenipotentiaries to Noyon to conclude it. The treaty was ſigned the 26th of Auguſt, the ſubſtance whereof was, That Charles ſhould eſpouſe Louiſa, Francis's daughter, then about a year old. That he ſhould have with her the king of France's pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples, and till the marriage ſhould be conſummated, he [w] ſhould give for the young princeſs's maintenance a hundred thouſand crowns a year. That within ſix months he ſhould reſign the kingdom of Navarre to Henry d'Albret ſon of John d'Albret, and Catherine, king and queen of Navarre, who were diſpoſſeſſed by Ferdinand, and in caſe Charles ſhould not perform this article, Francis ſhould be allowed to aſſiſt the king of Navarre. Laſtly, That the emperor ſhould reſtore Verona to the Venetians, who in return ſhould pay him two hundred thouſand crowns, and give him a full diſcharge for the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns lent him by king Lewis XII. to maintain the war againſt Venice. It is very viſible, that in a treaty ſo advantageous to France, Charles meant only to gain time, by granting him whatever he could deſire, for fear of being hindered from going to take poſſeſſion of his kingdoms. Accordingly, the treaty was afterwards very ill obſerved.

Francis tries in vain to gain him.

Treaty of Noyon between Francis and Charles. Mezerai. Herbert. Du Bellai. Guicciard.

Intereſts of the princes.

The peace of Noyon was directly contrary to the deſigns of the pope, the emperor and the king of England. The pope was extremely deſirous the French ſhould be expelled out of Italy. Maximilian was wholly intent upon raiſing enemies to Francis, to hinder his aſſiſting the Ve-

[w] That is Charles.

netians.

netians. He ſaw, he muſt reſolve either to ratify the treaty of Noyon, and conſequently reſtore Verona, or defend his conqueſt without the aſſiſtance of any ally. To avoid both theſe extremes, he tried all poſſible ways to embroil affairs and kindle a new war which might occaſion a league againſt France. He hoped thereby to be able to reject without danger the treaty of Noyon, which he believed very prejudicial to his intereſts. It is true, the reſtitution of Verona would be worth to him five hundred thouſand crowns. But out of that ſum were deducted the three hundred thouſand, he owed the king of France, but never intended to pay him. So for the ſum of two hundred thouſand crowns, he was bound to reſtore Verona, that is to ſay, he was to be ſhut out of Italy, the only thing that made him conſiderable in the preſent ſituation of the affairs of Europe. Henry VIII. was no leſs deſirous of a war with France, being prompted thereto by cardinal Wolſey, or by his jealouſy of Francis. But it was not the ſame with the archduke, to whom a peace for ſome time was very advantageous. 1516.

This was the ſubject of the ſeveral negotiations, ſet on foot from the concluſion of the treaty of Noyon to the end of October. The chief aim of the pope, the emperor, and the king of England, was to diſengage the eight Swiſs Cantons in alliance with France, from the intereſt of that crown, that their troops might ſerve to invade the Milaneſe. Mean while, they were labouring to form a league, wherein they paſſionately deſired to engage the new king of Spain. But all they could obtain was, his conſent to a defenſive league, in caſe Francis attacked any of the confederates. Leo X. according to his uſual cuſtom, would not openly declare himſelf, but intimated, he would freely join in the league when concluded, if a place was left for him. As to the Switzers, it was reſolved to include them, though they deſired it not, upon the hopes of engaging them by means of ſome of their nation, who had been gained.

Negotiations againſt France, Act. Pub. XIII. p. 547.

which end only in a defenſive league. Ib. p. 556.

This league was therefore concluded at London the 29th of October, about two months after the treaty of Noyon. It ran, that the emperor, the kings of England and Spain, engaged to defend one another againſt any prince that ſhould attack one of the three, and the number of troops, each was to find, was ſettled *. That all princes, potentates, republicks, and ſtates, which deſired to enter

Articles of the league of London. Ibid.

* Each of them was to find, upon occaſion, five thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand foot. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 558.

1516. into the league, ſhould be admitted: that as the confederates had reaſon to hope the pope would be willing to be admitted, they declared him head of the league. Finally, that all the Swiſs Cantons ſhould be deemed included in the league, provided they ratified it, and to that end the penſions, which ſhould be agreed upon with them, ſhould be p. 569. aſſigned them. By a private article, ſigned two days after, it was agreed what each of the allies was to pay towards the penſions, which ſhould be diſtributed to the Switzers, as well to the publick as to private perſons [y], (which are the very words) in order to induce them to come into the league. This ſhews there was no certainty of gaining them, and that the chief reliance was upon the cabals of ſome private perſons of their nation.

Theemperor makes peace with Venice. To this league, ſo inconſiderable in itſelf, tended all the motions of the pope, the emperor, and the king of England, during the courſe of this year. The emperor had been in hopes of ſomething more; and though by the treaty the allies were, in ſome meaſure, bound to aſſiſt him, if the king of France continued to aid the Venetians, he ſoon diſ-reliſhed a league which procured him no money. Before the year was expired, he accepted and ratified the treaty of Noyon. At the ſame time, he concluded with the Venetians a truce for ſome months, and with one conſent they put the reſt of their differences to arbitration. The emperor's reſolution entirely changed the face of affairs, as Act. Pub. XIII. p. 570. will be ſeen the next year. We find in the collection of the publick acts, that preſently after the league was ſigned, Henry ſent Richard Pace to the Switzers, to perſuade them to come into the league; but it was to no purpoſe. On the contrary, the emperor reſolving to make peace with the Venetians, agreed, that the five Cantons who had refuſed to join with France ſhould come into the treaty made by the other eight with that crown.

Affairs of Scotland. Before I end [illegible] be neceſſary briefly to mention what paſſed in Scotland. Henry having [illegible] knowing how much the duke of Albany had at heart the good of that kingdom, [illegible] Ib. p. 549, 566. move him from the [illegible] fired them to [illegible] part certain matters [illegible] negotiation tended [illegible]

y —I. pu[illegible]

to expel the duke of Albany. He even writ to the parliament of Scotland, that the beſt way to preſerve peace between the two nations, was to ſend back the regent into France, under colour that it was dangerous to truſt the preſumptive heir to the crown, with the guardianſhip of the young king; intimating withal, that in caſe of refuſal, he ſhould be obliged to take care himſelf by proper methods, of the ſafety of the king his nephew. He alſo gave to underſtand, that he claimed the regency as uncle to the young king. But the parliament returned ſuch an anſwer, as fully convinced him, the Scots were by no means inclined to comply with his will [z]. 1516. Henry tries to have the duke of Albany removed. Ib. p. 550. Ib. p. 550.

Whether Hume was concerned in the king of England's proceedings, or was only ſuſpected, the parliament ſummoned him to come and anſwer to the accuſations againſt him. Hume not thinking fit to appear, was condemned for default. He looked upon the ſentence as unjuſt, and in revenge committed hoſtilities upon ſome of his enemies. Whereupon the parliament granted to the viceroy, a levy of ten thouſand men to chaſtiſe the rebel. But his friends adviſing him to ſubmit, he caſt himſelf upon the regent's mercy, who ſent him to Edinburgh, and committed him to the cuſtody of James Hamilton [a] his brother-in-law. Shortly after, Hume perſuaded the lord Hamilton to eſcape with him, and claim the regency, as ſon of James the third's ſiſter [b], and conſequently as nearly related to the king as the duke of Albany. He ſaid, if the duke could alledge, he was deſcended from the male line, it might be objected, he was ſon of a fugitive, born out of the kingdom, and hardly able to ſpeak the country language. The regent hearing of their flight and contrivance, marched againſt Hamilton caſtle and took it in a few days. Then Hume perceiving it was time to throw off the maſk, raiſed troops, and taking Dunbar, utterly deſtroyed the town. Hume's rebellion. Buchanan.

[z] They told him, "The hall three eſtatis of the realme, had electit and nemmit, with ane conſent, the duc of Albany protector to their ſouverane lord the king and his realme; quhilkis ordinans and electionn was affermit and approbate in parliament nevir impugnit be perſon. — And this ordinans of parliament was confirmit to imperiall, cannon, and their awin civile lawis: be quhilkis lawis is decernit that the nerreſt and lauthful perſonage of the agnatis ſide ſall have the cure, tutoury, and governance, &c." See Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 550, 551.

[a] Earl of Arran. Buchanan. He was created ſo Auguſt 10, 1503.

[b] His mother was Mary, daughter of James II. wife firſt of Thomas Boyd, earl of Arran, but divorced from him, and married next, in 1474, to James Hamilton, a favourite, from whom the dukes of Hamilton are deſcended. Others ſay, that he married her after Boyd's death. See Anderſon's Tab.

1516. Mean while, the ambaſſadors ſent by the regent into England in May, had concluded a truce the firſt of June. But as Henry had granted the truce only to promote the execution of his deſigns, he appeared little inclined to obſerve it, after receiving the forementioned anſwer. But to avoid a war which muſt have been fatal to Scotland, the regent ſent him by Francis de la Fayette, certain articles deſiring his approbation, for which he offered to come in perſon and pay him his reſpects. At that time the affairs of the reſt of Europe having, as hath been ſaid, taken a new turn, Henry agreed to prolong the truce to the end of the year 1517.

Truce between England and Scotland. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 574, 578.

prolonged. p. 577.

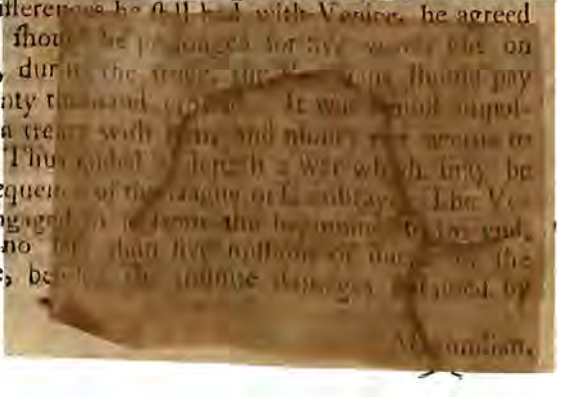
The council of Lateran ſets about reforming the calendar.

Theſe are the moſt conſiderable events which paſſed in the ſeveral ſtates of Europe during the year 1516. I ſhall only add a word concerning the council of Lateran, which ſtill continued its ſeſſions without having much to do. As the council meddled neither with the reformation of the church, though they ſeemed to be called for that very purpoſe, nor with the extirpation of hereſy, they reſolved, in order to keep themſelves employed, to reform the calendar, which was become very faulty. To that end, the pope cauſing memorandums to be drawn, undertook to write to all the chriſtian princes, inviting them to ſend their beſt aſtronomers to Rome, or at leaſt to order them to examine what had been propoſed upon that ſubject. We find in the collection of the publick acts, the brief addreſſed to Henry VIII. where the pope ſays he had adjourned the next ſeſſion to December to give the mathematicians time to ſend in their opinions.

p. 552. July 10.

1517. The emperor having ratified the treaty of Noyon, as far as it concerned him, reſtored Verona to the Venetians, the 15th of January 1517, having received two hundred thouſand crowns, and an acquittance for what he owed the king of France. Moreover, to give the arbitrators time to adjuſt the differences he had with Venice, he agreed that the truce ſhou[illegible] condition that, dur[illegible] him yearly twenty t[illegible] poſſible to make a treaty with [illegible] him from it. [illegible] deemed a conſequen[illegible] netians were eng[illegible] and expended no [illegible] publick treaſure, be[illegible] the ſubjects

The emperor reſtores Verona to the Venetians, and prolongs the truce for five years. Guicciard.



Maximilian having thus deſiſted from his deſigns upon Italy, went into the Low Countries to ſee his grandſon Charles before he departed for Spain. During his ſtay there, he concluded with him and the king of France a league againſt the Turks, wherein a place was reſerved for the king of England. The pope and the council of Lateran earneſtly preſſed all the princes of Chriſtendom to join in the league, on pretence of the progreſs the Turks were making in Egypt againſt the Mamalucks*, after which, he pretended, their deſign was to attack the chriſtians. But what followed ſhewed the pope's ſole view was to heap up money for his own uſe, and to inrich his family. 1517.

He concludes with Francis and Charles a league againſt the Turks. Herbert. Leo X. excites the chriſtian princes to war upon the Turks. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 478. Jan. Guicciard.

Mean while, Charles the new king of Spain thought only of ſpeedily going to take poſſeſſion of his kingdoms. He had juſt made with Francis I. a peace ſo advantageous to France, that he did not fear that prince would break it, becauſe it would not be for his intereſt. So, when the Engliſh ambaſſador preſſed him to ratify the London league, he deferred it ſome time on divers pretences, becauſe deeming it needleſs, he was afraid of offending the king of France. He ratified it however after ſome alterations, and at length in Auguſt departed for Spain, where his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary. Upon his arrival, he diſmiſſed cardinal Ximenes, who died with grief. After that, he ſo gave himſelf up to the Flemings, whom he had brought with him, that the Spaniards conceived ſuch a jealouſy as carried them afterwards to great extremities.

Charles ratifies the league of London. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 571. He arrives in Spain, and diſmiſſes Ximenes.

The pope, as I have obſerved, continually amuſed Francis with the hopes of a ſtrict alliance with him, at the very time he was raiſing him enemies on all ſides. Francis was partly informed of his proceedings, but did not know all. So, in expectation of really attaching him in the end to his intereſts, he omitted nothing he thought capable of gaining him, even feigning to deem him his beſt friend,

The pope and Francis diſſemble their thoughts of one another.

* The word mamaluck ſignifies in Syriac, a hired ſoldier. Jovius ſays, they were Circaſſian ſlaves, bought of the Tartars, and Indolians, to the merchants, and being trained up at Cairo, in military exerciſes, were picked out for the Soldan's guard, and preferred to the higheſt poſts, who in 1255, reſolved to obtain the kingdom of Egypt for themſelves. The government was elective, and the ſon could claim no inheritance but his father's perſonal eſtate. Every Mamaluck, whoſe number in all was about ſixteen or eighteen thouſand, had a vote in the election, and required a gold ducat of the Soldan, as ſoon as choſen. There were in all of this race ſixteen kings, from the year before mentioned, to the preſent year 1517, when Tonombeius II. their laſt king, was conquered in the firſt year of his reign, by Selimus I. Thus Egypt became a province of the Turkiſh empire, as it ſtill continues, Heylin, &c. Guicciard.

when

1517. when he moſt ſuſpected him. But as the pope knew in his conſcience, he had not deſerved Francis's friendſhip, he could not believe his advances ſincere. Mean while, it was for his intereſt that Francis ſhould publickly appear to be his friend, and therefore he kept very fair with him, and not without cauſe. In the beginning of the year 1517, la Rovere, who had been diſpoſſeſſed of the duchy of Urbino, prepared to recover his dominions. When by the truce concluded between the emperor and the Venetians, the Spaniſh troops in the ſtate of Venice were become uſeleſs, la Rovere found means to gain and employ them in his ſervice. With theſe ſupplies he took Urbino, and carried terror into Tuſcany and the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. Lorenzo de Medici, the new duke of Urbino, or rather the pope his uncle, being then unable to recover that duchy, he was forced to have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the chriſtian princes, under colour that the church was grievouſly oppreſſed, the intereſts of the houſe of the Medici being then the ſame with thoſe of the church. Francis I. who had the gaining of the pope ever in view, made uſe of this opportunity to do him a ſignal ſervice, in ſending him a good body of troops, under the command of Leſcun brother of Lautrec. This war however laſted ſeven or eight months, during which the pope never ceaſed to preſs all the chriſtian princes to contribute to the charges of a war, which, according to him, ought to have affected all the world. Henry VIII. being ſollicited like the reſt, refuſed to interpoſe. But the pope found means to engage his ſubjects, by levying a tenth upon the clergy, of which cardinal Wolſey was appointed collector. The War of Urbino ended in a way la Rovere did not expect. The pope bribed the Spaniards in his ſervice, who came to an agreement for him, which he was obliged to accept. Thus being once more conſtrained to relinquiſh his dominions, he retired to Mantua.

La Rovere gets poſſeſſion of Urbino. Guicciard.

Francis I. aids the pope. Mezerai.

The pope levies a tenth upon the clergy. Act Pub. XIII. p. 592. June 10. p. 596, 598.

La Rovere is driven from Urbino.

Whilſt the pope was employed in the war of Urbino, he diſcovered a plot against his person, contrived by the cardinal of Sienna, who had bribed a ſurgeon to poiſon him. The cardinal being abſent from [illegible] diſcovery was made, the pope, who paſſionately deſired to have him in his power, ſcrupled not to [illegible] to compaſs his ends. He ſent him a ſafe conduct, and moreover, promiſed the Spaniſh ambaſſador that he would do him no [illegible]. The cardinal being ſo weak as to come to Rome upon the faith of the ſafe conduct, was immediately confined in the caſtle of St. Angelo, and after [illegible] ſtrangled in priſon.

Conſpiracy againſt the pope. p. 589. Guicciard.

nish ambaſſador complained of this breach of faith, but was told by the pope, a ſafe conduct was never reckoned to extend to high treaſon, without expreſs mention of the caſe. Some other cardinals accuſed or ſuſpected of being concerned in the plot, were depoſed, impriſoned, or ſeverely fined. 1517.

Marriage of Lorenzo de Medici with the heireſs of Boulogne. Guicciard.

Francis I. never ceaſed courting the pope to gain his friendſhip, fearing that by his ſecret practices he would rekindle the war, to deprive him of Milan. He imagined to have found at laſt an infallible means to attach him to his intereſts, in procuring Lorenzo de Medici a very advantageous marriage, with Magdalen heireſs of the houſe of Boulogne. This propoſal was gladly accepted, and Lorenzo repairing to Paris for that purpoſe, ſtood godfather in the pope's name, to the French dauphin, born the beginning of this year. In acknowledgment for the king's favour to Lorenzo, the pope granted him tenths upon the clergy, under colour of the war to be waged with the Turks. But he took care to aſſign fifty thouſand livres for the charges of the wedding, which was to be ſolemnized at Paris.

Sale of indulgences on pretence of the war with the Turks. Guicciard, Sleidan.

The pretended war Chriſtendom was to undertake againſt the Turks, ſeemed to the pope to be a fair opportunity to inrich himſelf by the contributions of the chriſtians. To that end, he granted plenary indulgences to all that would contribute, and cauſed them to be publickly ſold at ſo moderate a price, that a man muſt have been very careleſs of his ſalvation not to purchaſe them. But it was this that made the pope expect to reap an immenſe profit, for probably, there would not be a chriſtian without them. Mean while, that the money ariſing from the ſale might be regularly collected, all chriſtendom was parted into ſo many diviſions, and in each were appointed collectors to receive the money, and preachers to extol the benefit of indulgences [d]. But, by

[d] It had been ſtill taught and believed for a good while, that the pope, out of the inexhauſtible treaſure of the church, ariſing from the merits of Chriſt, and works of ſupererogation of the ſaints, had a power of diſtributing indulgences on certain conditions preſcribed by him, to the greateſt and moſt profligate of ſinners, for a plenary remiſſion of ſin, (as it is practiſed at this day in Portugal, &c.) Theſe indulgences, at firſt ſuppoſed at firſt to reach only to relaxation of penances or eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. Urban II. in the beginning of the XIth century, was the firſt that granted a full remiſſion of all ſins, to thoſe who ſhould take up arms for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Infidels. Which cuſtom was kept up by his ſucceſſors, ſome of whom extended the benefit of their indulgences to ſuch perſons who being unwilling or unable to go, maintained a ſoldier in their room. At length theſe ſpiritual favours were diſtributed to thoſe who took the field againſt the enemies

1517. by an accident, which at firſt ſeemed of no conſequence, the archbiſhop of Mentz, who was commiſſioned to appoint the preachers in Germany, happened to aſſign Saxony to the Jacobins, whereas in the former cruſades, the Auguſtines had been employed in that office. The injury done to theſe laſt, rouzed their jealouſy. They narrowly examined the behaviour of the preachers as well as collectors, ridiculed them, and afterwards publickly complained of them. At length, Martin Luther, an Auguſtine fryar and profeſſor in divinity in the new univerſity of Wirtemberg, publiſhed ſome writings againſt them, not without ſatirical remarks upon the indulgences themſelves. This boldneſs drew upon him enemies, who, by their oppoſition, obliged him by degrees to inquire more carefully into the grounds of thoſe indulgences. In ſhort, he was convinced, they had no foundation in the holy ſcriptures. From thenceforward, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to undeceive the publick concerning the hitherto received opinion of the papal power. Hence ſprung the reformation which ſpread itſelf afterwards through Germany, and ſeveral other ſtates of Europe.

Martin Luther begins to appear. Sleidan.

The pope at firſt did not much regard Luther's repreſentations. He never imagined that the papal power, which ſeemed to ſtand upon unmoveable foundations, could be prejudiced by a ſingle friar. So deſpiſing this inconſiderable oppoſition, he continued without interruption to ſell his indulgences. He every where publiſhed, that a powerful effort was going to be made upon the infidels, and exhorted all chriſtians to contribute, according to their abilities, towards ſo neceſſary a war, which would procure them, beſides many temporal advantages, deliverance from the pains of purgatory, provided they would qualify themſelves for the indulgences. There was however one thing which very much cooled the zeal of many chriſtians for the cruſade. It was diſcovered that the pope had beforehand diſpoſed of the temporal concerns of the money which was to riſe from the ſale of the indulgences. For inſtance, it was alleged

The pope continues to ſollicit a cruſade.

enemies of holy church, or
Great ſums were raiſed by
but ſeldom applied to
which they were intended
reſolving to follow ſo good
opened a general mart for
the benefit whereof was to
to the dead, whoſe ſouls,
ment of ſo much money,

to Magdalen de Medici, his ſiſter, wife to Franciſco Cibo, natural ſon of Innocent VIII. part of the money to be raiſed in Germany. Mean while, he continued his ſollicitations in all the ſtates of Europe. He forgot not to write to Henry VIII. exhorting him to join his forces with thoſe of the other chriſtian princes, and to excite him to this good work, by great commendations of his conſtant zeal for the defence of the holy ſee, and the exaltation of the faith. All theſe encomiums ended in demanding two hundred thouſand ducats for the pretended war againſt the infidels. But it does not appear, the king complied with his requeſt. The Turks were then employed in Egypt and Perſia, and the cruſade was founded only upon a bare conjecture that after ending theſe wars, they would invade Chriſtendom. A man muſt have wilfully ſhut his eyes, not to ſee, it was but a pretence to fill the pope's coffers. Beſides, in the preſent ſituation of the affairs of Europe, Henry had no great occaſion for the pope. 1517.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 592.

He demands money of Henry, who denies him.

Mean time, cardinal Wolſey perceiving, the league of London would come to nothing, becauſe Francis was not diſpoſed to commence a new war with any of the confederates, dreaded his uſing this time of peace to move the affair of the biſhoprick of Tournay. On the other hand, he plainly ſaw by the time paſſed ſince that buſineſs had been put into the hands of the commiſſioners, that he was greatly regarded, as having an abſolute ſway over the king his maſter. Indeed, nothing could be expected from the king but through his means, and for that reaſon all the princes ſtudiouſly made their court to him, to gain him to their intereſts. We find in the collection of the publick acts, that Charles, king of Spain, aſſigned him this year an annual penſion of three thouſand livres, though he had yet received no ſervices from him. And therefore it was for thoſe he hoped to receive for the future. Mean while, Wolſey was uneaſy about Tournay. As the pope and the king of France regarded him only for the ſake of what he could do for them, he was in danger of loſing that regard in caſe they ſhould come not to want him. He began therefore privately to intimate to Francis I. that it would not be impoſſible to perſuade Henry to reſtore Tournay for a ſum which ſhould be agreed upon, provided he himſelf was recompenſed for the adminiſtration of the biſhoprick. I ſhall relate the next year the ſucceſs of this negotiation.

Wolſey is uneaſy about the biſhoprick of Tournay.

Ib. p. 591.

He begins to treat with Francis about reſtoring that place.

Henry enjoying this year great tranquillity, reſolved to ſee what the emperor intended with reſpect to the reſignation of the empire, which he had cauſed to be mentioned to him.

Maximilian

1517. Maximilian being in Flanders with the king of Caſtile, his grandſon, Henry ſent the biſhop of Wincheſter, with doctor Cuthbert Tunſtal, to renew the negotiation with him, acquainting him withal, if he would appoint a convenient place, he would come and confer with him in perſon. The emperor, who had never intended to reſign the empire to him, and ſtill leſs at that time, very civilly anſwered, that to ſave the king the trouble of croſſing the ſea, he would come himſelf and confer with him in England. But when the ambaſſadors preſſed him upon the affair they were charged with, they found he ſought only to evade his own offer. One while he ſaid, he would reſign the empire to Henry, but firſt would try to obtain of the diet, that himſelf and poſterity might preſerve the title of king of the Romans. Another while, he talked of making Charles his grandſon emperor, Henry, king of the Romans, Ferdinand, brother to Charles, king of Auſtria, and himſelf only marſhal of the empire. Theſe variations convinced the ambaſſadors, nothing was to be expected from the negotiation, and acquainting the king therewith, he was ſatisfied Maximilian had no other deſign than to draw money from him.

Negotiation of Henry with the emperor about the ceſſion of the empire comes to nothing. Herbert.

There was this year an inſurrection of the London apprentices againſt the foreign merchants, wherein ſome perſons loſt their lives. But it was appeaſed by the puniſhment of ſome of the ſeditious, who were hanged in the principal ſtreets of the city [e].

Inſurrection at London. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

This ſame year the ſweating ſickneſs made great ravages in the kingdom, and eſpecially at London. Moſt of thoſe that were ſeized with it, died within three hours, and no cure could be found. As this diſtemper was peculiar to England, it was called ſudor Anglicus, or the Engliſh ſweat [f].

The ſweating ſickneſs. Hall. Stow.

[e] The chief author of this inſurrection (which began April 21) was one John Lincoln, a broker. He drew up a paper full of complaints againſt the foreign merchants, which [illegible] tor Bele, a noted preacher, to read in his pulpit on Eaſter Tueſday; whereupon the mob aſſembled, and committed ſeveral outrages. The reader may ſee a full account of this inſurrection in Hall, fol. 59—63. Holingſh. 840, &c.

[f] This diſtemper continued from July till the middle of December. Many Knights, gentlemen, and [illegible] king's court died thereof, as the lord Clinton, lord Grey of Wilton, and of the common ſort of people ſo many, as in ſome towns it ſwept away half,

1517.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Pol. Virg.

The affairs of Scotland were still in great disorder, by reason of the factions in the kingdom. Alexander Hume, and his brother William, after several pardons, were at last beheaded [g]. After the death of the two brothers, the duke of Albany, hoping Scotland would be in perfect tranquillity, resolved to take a journey to France, promising to return in few months. But being detained there longer than he expected, by accidents mentioned hereafter, the affairs of Scotland fell into great confusion, because of the dissensions of the nobles, which were inflamed by those who designed to take advantage of them.

1518.

Leo X. sends legates to sollicit the crusade. Guicciard. Hollingsh.

Mean while, the pope earnestly pushed the affair of the pretended war, contriving with the ambassadors residing at his court, projects which would have required more zeal than princes usually have, as well as more union among them. To execute his designs, it was necessary to raise immense sums of money, and that was the secret intent of the league proposed by the pope, of which he was to be the head and director. To that end, he exhausted, if I may so say, the church's treasures, to encourage the faithful to exchange their perishing riches for everlasting advantages. This affair was carried so far, that he sent legates to all the courts, to excite the sovereigns to join their forces together, for the destruction of the infidels. There was not one but what outwardly showed an extreme desire to apply himself to so holy a work, provided he could be secured from being disturbed by his neighbours. But that was the thing which rendered the execution of the project very difficult, because they had no confidence in one another. They had no more for the pope himself, who, since the beginning of his pontificate, had but too plainly discovered, that the concerns of religion were not what affected him most. So, in seeing him act with that zeal, they could not help suspecting, that the desire of inriching himself by the voluntary contributions of christians, by the sale of the indulgencies, by the tenths of the clergy, [illegible] was what most fired [illegible] showed any aver- [illegible] d with not having [illegible] only words, whereas [illegible] 's project of an uni- [illegible] e seen, the success [illegible] though chimerical,

[g] [illegible] 7. The 11th, says Buchanan.

1518. served for a cloak to many other deſigns. The emperor, deſiring to have one of his grandſons choſen king of the Romans, uſed the pretence of the imaginary Turkiſh invaſion of Chriſtendom, to ſhow the neceſſity of continuing the imperial dignity in the houſe of Auſtria, there being no other in Germany, able by its own ſtrength to withſtand their arms. Charles king of Spain made uſe of the ſame pretence for the ſame purpoſe. Beſides that, as he wanted ſome years of peace, he ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon the project of a general truce, that the chriſtian princes might be free to unite their forces againſt the Turks. Francis I. plainly ſaw, by the defenſive league made againſt him, that a pretence was only ſought to invade him, and take away the duchy of Milan. So, a general truce could not but be advantageous to him in his preſent circumſtances. Beſides, he had in view the recovery of Tournay, which could not be accompliſhed but during a peace. Henry VIII. knowing that the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and Spain, had joined in a league againſt the Turks, was apprehenſive that league covered ſome deſign againſt him. For that reaſon, he would not refuſe to enter into the ſame engagement, for fear of giving them a pretence. Thus the chief potentates of Europe, being concerned to promote the cruſade, or at leaſt not to reject it, the leſſer powers were alſo obliged to follow the torrent. This gave the pope great hopes he ſhould at laſt effect his deſigns. But as in truth, not one of the princes thought the thing practicable, the project was ſtill very far from being executed.

The project of the cruſade is of uſe to the houſe of Auſtria. Mezerai.

Whilſt Leo X. fed himſelf with theſe hopes, Francis was thinking much more ſeriouſly of means to recover Tournay, than of the affairs of the cruſade. On the other hand, cardinal Wolſey was afraid of loſing the adminiſtration of the biſhopric, becauſe he ſaw no likelihood of ſowing diſcord between France and England, at a time when all the princes of Europe expreſſed a deſire to live in peace. He could not therefore keep the adminiſtration, if Guillard, the true biſhop, would take the oath to the king, to which he ſeemed inclined. This made him embrace the ſecret offers of Francis, to make him amends, if he could induce the king his maſter to reſtore that place to France. Francis was very ſenſible, that before all things the cardinal was to be ſatisfied, not only in order to recover Tournay, but to procure it as cheap as poſſible. This was the ſubject of a private negotiation between them, before Henry was informed of it. To ſucceed, Francis ſpared neither flatteries nor promiſes, nor preſents,

Negotiation about Tournay. Herbert. Stow. Pol. Virg.

preſents. If Polydore Virgil may be credited, theſe preſents were very conſiderable. But however, it was agreed between them, that the cardinal ſhould be recompenſed for the loſs of the adminiſtration, with an annual penſion. That the king of France ſhould give Henry ſix hundred thouſand crowns for Tournay. But as this ſum was a little too large, an expedient, mentioned hereafter, was found to reduce it to a much leſs. Upon theſe two conditions, the cardinal undertook to obtain his maſter's conſent to the king of France's deſires. One of leſs aſſurance than the cardinal, and not ſo ſecure of the king's confidence, would doubtleſs, have been greatly embarraſſed, ſince the buſineſs was to convince the king of the contrary, to what hitherto he had been endeavouring to make him believe, namely, that Tournay was no longer neceſſary. When Francis I. would have treated of the reſtitution of Tournay, Wolſey had repreſented to the king, that both for his own and England's intereſt, it was of very great conſequence to keep that place, which was moreover a perpetual monument of his victories, whilſt it ſhould be in his hands. Now altering his tone, he undertakes to perſuade, and indeed does perſuade him, that the place is of no uſe, and the maintenance of the garriſon far outweighs all the advantages he can receive from thence. That it was better to yield it to the king of France, who earneſtly ſued for it, and, to obtain it, ſcrupled not to condeſcend to make preſents to a miniſter. That nothing could be more honourable for the king, than to ſee that monarch make the firſt advances to procure his friendſhip, and render it perpetual, by the marriage of the dauphin with the princeſs Mary, which alſo he propoſed. That therefore the preſent opportunity ſhould be improved to receive a good ſum of money in lieu of Tournay, which being ſo remote from Calais, would infallibly be loſt upon the firſt rupture between the two crowns. That hereby the king of France would be obliged to be his friend, and their union would render them umpires of Europe. That this union was the more neceſſary, as it was time to think of oppoſing the growing power of the houſe of Auſtria, who poſſeſſing the empire, Spain, the Low Countries, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, were infallibly going to render themſelves very formidable to all the ſovereigns. The ſtrength of theſe reaſons was too manifeſt for Henry to reſiſt them. All he could think ſtrange was, that the cardinal had not ſooner propoſed them, but till then had rather uſed arguments, to hinder the reſtitution of Tournay. But, as it has been

1518. Pol. Virg.

1518. been remarked, Wolsey had such an ascendent over him, that he could persuade him pro and con as he pleased [h].

Embassy of France to Henry. Herbert. Hall. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 608, 611.

Henry having agreed to what the cardinal proposed, the next thing was to treat upon the matter. As soon as Francis I. was informed of it, he sent a solemn embassy to England, consisting of admiral Bonnivet, Stephen Poncher, bishop of Paris, and M. de Villeroy, secretary of state [i]. For form's sake, some time must be spent in the negotiation, though the king of France, and the cardinal, had already agreed upon the chief articles, by the mediation of Villeroy, who had been in London ever since the beginning of July, whereas his collegues arrived not till two months after. The French ambassadors had full powers to treat of the renewing of friendship between the two kings, of a league with the pope and all christian princes who desired to be included in it, for the defence of religion and the church, of a marriage between the dauphin and the princess Mary, daughter of Henry, of the restitution of Tournay, St. Amand, and Mortagne, and of an interview of the two kings. Moreover, they brought Francis's letters patents, whereby he promised to pay to his good friend the cardinal of York, an annual pension of twelve thousand livres, in consideration of his relinquishing the administration of the bishoprick of Tournay. As the treaties concluded upon these articles were not ready till the beginning of October, I shall briefly mention another affair, transacted about the same time.

p. 611.

p. 613-616.

p. 616.

p. 610.

The pope was ever intent upon the affairs of the crusade, from whence he hoped to draw great sums. He writ last year to all christian princes, to notify the victory of Selim, emperor of the Turks, over the Mamalucks of Egypt, whose empire he had utterly destroyed. The beginning of this year, he caused the college of cardinals to send a letter to Henry, representing to him, the danger Christendom was in, after the victory by the Ottoman emperor, over the Soldan of Egypt, who, according to the last advices, was slain in battle. The cardinals exhorted the king to undertake the defence of religion jointly with all the other christian [illegible]

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 603.

h Polydore Virgil obser[illegible] fully the cardinal manage[illegible] he began with making th[illegible] sent of some part of wha[illegible] given him, that he migh[illegible] cline the king to accept o[illegible] overtures of the French k[illegible] thus prepared the way, h[illegible] guments above mentioned [illegible]

[illegible]

with

with the pope and ſacred college, who were ready to ſacrifice to that end, their own, as well as the church's treaſure. The plain meaning of all this was, that the king ought to contribute largely towards the cruſade, his country being too remote from Turkey to ſend forces thither. 1518.

Some time after, the pope ſent legates a latere [k] to ſeveral courts [l], with orders to exhort the ſovereigns to accept and preſerve a five years truce, enjoined by his apoſtolick power. They were likewiſe to uſe their endeavours to perſuade them to unite all their forces, and make war upon the Turk. Cardinal Laurentius Campejus was appointed for England, and was already departed from Rome in the beginning of May, to go and execute his commiſſion. But Wolſey deemed it a very great affront, that the pope had not thought of him for the legateſhip. So, whilſt Campejus was on the road, he he ſent a truſty meſſenger to Rome, to repreſent to the pope, that by ſhowing ſo little regard for a cardinal, actually in England, and the king's prime miniſter, he put it out of his power to do him any ſervice: that whatever he ſhould ſay to ſupport what the pope required, would be of no weight, ſince he ſhould be conſidered as one whom the court of Rome durſt not truſt with the legateſhip: that it was rather the pope's intereſt to make uſe of him to obtain his deſires conſidering the confidence the king honoured him with, and that, without his aſſiſtance, the preſent affair would be in danger of miſcarrying. Leo X. eaſily perceived by this repreſentation that Wolſey muſt be contented. So by a bull of the 17th of May, he joined him with Campejus in the ſame commiſſion [m], giving them both an equal authority, knowing (ſays he in the bull directed to Wolſey) your great credit with the king, and how eaſily you can perſuade or diſſuade him. Mean while, Campejus arriving at Boulogne, Wolſey found means to detain him there till he had received the pope's anſwer. For which reaſon it was the 29th of July before the Italian legate made his entry into London. As

Campejus is ſent as legate a latere to England. Herbert. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 606, 609. Hall.

Wolſey gets himſelf joined in the legateſhip. Stow. Hollingſh. Pol. Virg.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 606. May 31.

Campejus's entry into London. Hall.

k There are four ſorts of legates. 1. They whom the pope ſends to preſide at general councils. 2. The pope's perpetual vicars in countries remote from Rome; thus before the reformation, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was legatus natus apoſtolicæ ſedis. 3. They who for a certain time, and in certain places, are delegated to convene ſynods, for reſtoring church diſcipline and other emergencies. 4. The name of legate is given to the pope's extraordinary ambaſſadors, to emperors and kings, who are called legati a latere. At preſent none but cardinals have this character.

l To England, France, Spain, and Germany. Hall, fol. 64.

m At the requeſt of king Henry, and the king of France. Hollingſh. p. 845.

he

1518. he had but a very poor train, Wolſey ſent him twelve mules with coffers richly covered. But ſome of theſe coffers happening to fall, during the proceſſion, and being overturned and broken, were found to be empty [n], to the great ſport and laughter of the people, who derided this external pageantry. There is in the collection of the publick acts, a bull of Leo X. with extraordinary powers to the two legates, authoriſing them to grant a plenary indulgence to the faithful of both ſexes, who ſhould be preſent at the maſs, which either of the legates ſhould celebrate in the preſence of the king and queen, or at leaſt at the benediction, provided they confeſſed their ſins, or deſired to confeſs, and were penitent.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 609.

The legates commiſſion.

The legates commiſſion conſiſted of two points. The firſt was, to try to obtain of the clergy an aid of money for the war againſt the Turk. But the clergy withſtood all their attempts. The ſecond was, to perſuade Henry to join in the projected league with all the chriſtian princes for the defence of religion and the church. The pope's deſign was not to undertake a war againſt the Turk, but only to heap up money on that pretence. Thus the league he was meditating was ſolely to make the world believe he really intended to war againſt the infidels. After which, he had a very plauſible excuſe to lay impoſitions upon all the clergy, and draw money from the ſovereigns and their ſubjects, to bear the charges of the pretended war. With this league therefore he was to begin, and upon that the legates were commiſſioned to treat with the king, who ſeemed inclined to agree to it, though he might eaſily foreſee the league would ſignify nothing.

Cardinal Adrian depoſed.

As cardinal Wolſey's credit increaſed in England, it became likewiſe greater at the court of Rome. He had cauſed, as was before obſerved, cardinal Adrian de Corneto to be removed from the office of the pope's collector in England. But this ſlight puniſhment not ſufficing to ſatisfy his revenge, he had ſo ordered it, that the king writ to the pope, deſiring him to deprive Adrian of the cardinalate, and of the biſhoprick of Bath and Wells, which had been conferred on him. Leo X. could not help thinking it very ſtrange, that the king ſhould make ſuch a requeſt, without alledging any reaſon. However, without giving him a poſitive denial, he

[n] In Cheapſide one of the mules broke looſe from her leader, and overturning her own, and two or three of the other mules carriages; which fell with ſuch violence, that ſeveral of them unlocked, and there fell out of them, old hoſe, torn ſhoes, pieces of roaſted meat, bits of bread, eggs, and ſuch vile baggage. *Hall, fol.* 64.

contented

contented himſelf with ſaying, he would give him ſatisfaction at a more proper ſeaſon. In 1517, there was a conſpiracy againſt the pope, wherein cardinal Adrian being concerned was committed to priſon. Guicciardini affirms, he was never more heard of, and that it is not known what became of him [o]. But there is in the collection of the publick acts, a letter of cardinal Julius de Medici, dated the 5th of July 1518, notifying to the king, that in a conſiſtory held that day, cardinal Adrian was depoſed and ſtript of all his preferments, intimating withal to the king, that it was on his account. But it is more probable, he was puniſhed for his crime againſt the pope. However, a few days after, the pope gave cardinal Wolſey the adminiſtration of the biſhoprick of Bath and Wells, ſuppoſing he wanted it to maintain the dignity of cardinal. 1518. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 607. p. 609, 622, 623.

The negotiation of the two cardinals proceeded very ſlowly, ſince it was not ſufficient to incline Henry to the league, but the reſt of the ſovereigns were alſo to give their conſent. Accordingly, the pope ſollicited to the utmoſt of his power all the potentates, magnifying the danger to which the chriſtian religion was going to be infallibly expoſed. In ſhort, every prince returning him the ſame anſwer, namely, that it was neceſſary all the ſovereigns ſhould unite in the affair, he ſent a bull to his legates in England, empowering them to conclude between the emperor and the kings of France and Spain a league againſt the Turk. His intent was, that the league ſhould be offenſive, elſe it would be of no advantage to him, unleſs the Turk really intended to invade Chriſtendom, which was hitherto thought to be very uncertain. But Leo was too well known for the princes to be thus taken in a ſnare which tended only to render the pope maſter of their own and their people's money. So, pretending zealouſly to enter into his project, they contented themſelves with concluding together a defenſive league for the protection of the pope, the holy ſee, and their reſpective dominions, againſt all invaders, and particularly againſt the emperor of the Turks [p]. The pope was declared head of the league, provided he ratified it within ſuch a Leo X. wiſhes to make an offenſive league againſt the Turk. p. 621.

[o] Polydore Virgil ſays, Adrian bequeathed a magnificent palace in Rome, to the king of England his patron, which was called the Engliſh palace, and is now poſſeſſed by the family of Colonna.

[p] Lord Herbert ſays, this treaty is ſingular in its kind, and an excellent precedent for peace to future ages; and therefore recites it more at large, becauſe (as he ſays) it ſeems to have been the rule by which Henry framed his actions many years after. See p. 31, of the Comp. Hiſt. vol. II.

1518. time. But, the treaty made no mention of what each of the allies was to furniſh. All which ſhows, this league according to the intention of the parties, was only to caſt a miſt before people's eyes, to give the pope ſome ſatisfaction, and perhaps to frighten the Turks.

The pope ratifies the league. Ib. p. 681—691. Herbert. Hollingſh.

This was not what the pope deſired. He could have wiſhed, all the princes of Chriſtendom had joined together in an offenſive league againſt the Turk, and engaged to ſend their forces to Conſtantinople, to attack the Ottoman emperor in his metropolis. In that caſe, he knew, the moſt remote would have been eaſily induced to furniſh their quota in money. Since the frantick zeal for cruſades was over, the popes had loſt no opportunity to rekindle the ſame zeal, which had formerly procured ſo many advantages to their predeceſſors. But the people as well as the princes were entirely diſcouraged, becauſe it was too viſible that the cruſades had been profitable to none but the popes. So, for once, the chriſtian princes were contented to make a defenſive league, to ſhow only, they were ready to defend Chriſtendom againſt the attacks of the infidels, deferring to take other meaſures till they ſhould be obliged. Leo X. ſeeing he could obtain no more, approved and ratified the league the 31ſt of December, after which it was never more mentioned. All the terrible preparations of the Turks againſt the chriſtians entirely vaniſhed, as ſoon as the pope found, his artifices could not produce the deſired effect.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 691.

Several treaties between France and England.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, cardinal Wolſey, jointly with the French ambaſſadors, was employed in preparing the treaties they had agreed upon, to be ſigned.

I. Treaty of marriage between the dauphin and Mary. p. 624-641.

The firſt related to the marriage between the princeſs Mary and the dauphin, which was to be ſolemnized as ſoon as the young prince ſhould be full fourteen years old, each of the two kings promiſing to pay five hundred thouſand crowns, in caſe it was his fault that the marriage was not compleated. Mary's dower was to be three hundred thirty three thouſand crowns of gold, one half to be paid on the day of marriage, and the other within a year after. The jointure was to be as great as had ever been aſſigned to any queen of France, and particularly to Anne of Bretagne, and Mary of England, Wives to Lewis XII.

II. Treaty about Tournay. p. 642. Hall.

The ſecond treaty was upon the reſtitution of Tournay, for which Francis I. engaged to pay Henry ſix hundred thouſand crowns of thirty five pence Tournois each, beſides fifty thouſand

thouſand livres Tournois due to him from the inhabitants [q]. But out of theſe two ſums Francis was to keep back the princeſs Mary's dower. As to the payments, he obliged himſelf to pay fifty thouſand livres upon taking poſſeſſion of the place, and then twenty-five thouſand livres every ſix months, till the whole was paid [r]. 1518.

III. Treaty about outrages. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 649.

The third treaty concerned the outrages which might be committed for the future againſt the peace by the ſubjects of either king, and contained certain regulations to procure ſpeedy reparation.

IV. Treaty about an interview. p. 679.

By the fourth, the two monarchs agreed upon an interview in the village of Sandinſelt, between Ardres and Guiſnes.

Cardinal Wolſey is made amends. p. 611.

Theſe treaties being ſigned the 14th of October, the French ambaſſadors gave cardinal Wolſey their maſter's letters patents, whereby he bound himſelf to pay him an annual penſion of twelve thouſand livres Tournois, to ſatisfy him for the loſs of the biſhoprick of Tournay.

Eſpouſals of the dauphin with Mary. p. 666-678.

As ſoon as the two kings had ratified the treaties, and ſolemnly ſwore to the peace at London and Paris, the king and queen of France, acting in the name of the dauphin their ſon, affianced the princeſs Mary, repreſented by the earl of Worceſter [s] her proxy. This ceremony was performed at Paris the 21ſt of December [t].

1519.

Death of the emperor. Guicciard. Herbert.

Europe enjoyed then a profound tranquillity. But upon the death of the emperor Maximilian [u] the 12th of January 1519, new troubles aroſe. By his death, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, England, Scotland, the Low Countries,

[q] The whole was but fifty thouſand, whereof part was paid. See Rymer, p. 642. Our hiſtorians ſay, the arrears that remained due, were twenty three thouſand livres. Hall, fol. 65; and Stow, p. 507.

[r] Tournay was delivered up to the king of France, on Febr. 8, 1519. Hall, fol. 67.

[s] Rapin miſtaking the name for the title, ſays Somerſet.—He was accompanied in his embaſſy to France, by Nicolas Weſt, biſhop of Ely, the lord St. John, ſir Nicolas Vaux, ſir John Pechy, and ſir Thomas Bulleyn. Hall, fol. 66.

[t] This year was inſtituted the college of phyſicians, in London. King Henry's charter for that purpoſe bears date October 23. By the appointment, in this corporation, or college, are included the phyſicians in London, and ſeven miles round that city. The phyſicians named in the charter, are, John Chamber, Thomas Linacre, Fernand de Victoria, Nicolas Halſewell, John Francis, and Robert Yaxley. Rymer's Fœd, tom. XIII. p. 654.

[u] He was king of the Romans, and called emperor, though never crowned by that title. Some ſay, the reaſon was, becauſe he declined the charge and hazard of going into Italy, to receive the imperial crown at the pope's hands. He ſpent his leiſure hours in poetry, writing the hiſtory of his life, in Dutch verſe. As knight of the garter, his obſequy was ſolemnly kept in St. Paul's, by our king and the knights of that order. Herbert, p. 34.

1519. were engaged in wars no less fatal to them than the former. As soon as Maximilian was in his grave, the kings of France and Spain openly declared themselves candidates for the empire, and began to cabal among the electors to obtain their desires. This threw the electors into great perplexity. On which side soever they turned; they saw for themselves, for Germany, for all Europe, advantages and inconveniencies which deserved their whole attention. It would have been the interest of Germany to keep the ballance even between the two monarchs who aspired to the imperial dignity, and to reject both. But by choosing one of the competitors, such superiority would be given him as could not but be fatal to all Europe, and particularly to Germany. I shall not farther insist upon the reasons which the electors had to choose one or reject both. It is well known, on these occasions, the publick good does not always serve for rule and foundation to form decisions of this nature. Leo X. wished, as it was indeed his interest, the electors would agree to choose one of their own body. Charles being possessed of the kingdom of Naples, and Francis of the duchy of Milan, the election of one of these monarchs could not but one day disturb the peace of Italy, and prove destructive to the papal power. Accordingly, the pope used his utmost endeavours to persuade the electors to take that course. But however, he was forced to act privately for fear of making the two candidates his enemies, by openly declaring against them.

Francis and Charles aspire to the empire. Mezerai. Guicciard.

The pope's Interests.

Whilst the resolution of the electors was impatiently expected, Lorenzo de Medici the pope's nephew was seized with a distemper that laid him in his grave. By this unexpected accident, that branch of the family of Medici was reduced to the person of the pope, sole lawful descendant of Cosmo the great, who first acquired the sovereignty of Florence. Some endeavours were used to persuade the pope to restore his country to liberty, but he did not love the Florentines well enough to suffer them to enjoy so valuable a blessing, of which he had taken so much pains to deprive them. Resolving therefore to keep that state, he sent cardinal Julius de Medici, natural son of Julian his uncle, to govern in his name. Shortly after, he annexed the duchy of Urbino to the church, and razed the walls of the capital, for fear la Rovere should think of recovering it.

Death of Lorenzo de Medici. Guicciard.

The pope keeps Florence, and governs it by a legate.

He annexes the duchy of Urbino to the church.

The electors being assembled to proceed to the election of an emperor, Francis and Charles sent ambassadors to the assembly to manage their concerns. The pope would have a nuntio there too, who had orders privately to endeavour to cause

The electors meet to choose an emperor. Guicciard.

cauſed them both to be rejected, but however, to conform themſelves outwardly to the diſpoſition of the electors. Henry VIII. perceiving the difficulties which would occur in the choice of either of the candidates, ſent Richard Pace to the diet to try whether there was any thing to be expected for him. But as he thought of it too late, his ambaſſador found the affair ſo advanced, that he did not think fit to expoſe the king's honour. He writ to him therefore, that indeed ſome of the electors [w] ſhowed an inclination to favour him: that the pope would have likewiſe ſupported him to the utmoſt of his power, had he declared ſooner; but that matters were ſo ordered, that the election would infallibly be over before proper meaſures could be taken to accompliſh his project. And indeed, a few days after, on the 28th of June, Charles king of Spain was declared emperor by the name of Charles V. or rather of Charles Quint, as he was then, and ſtill is called to this day [x].

1519.

Pol. Virg. Henry aſpires to the empire. Herbert.

Charles king of Spain is elected. Guicciard.

The election of Charles was a terrible mortification to Francis I. All the world immediately thought, the jealouſy between theſe two potent princes would infallibly occaſion bloody wars, and this opinion was but too well confirmed by experience. Beſides the king of France's jealouſy, which was doubtleſs one of the chief cauſes of the following rupture, there were differences between them of very great importance, and extremely difficult to adjuſt. Francis I. had pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples. Moreover, by the treaty of Noyon, Charles was bound to reſtore Navarre to Henry d'Albret, within four months after ſigning the treaty, and this article was yet unperformed. On the other hand, Charles, as heir of the houſe of Burgundy, believed he had a right to the duchy of that name. He pretended that after the death of the laſt duke his great grandfather, Lewis XI. had unjuſtly ſeized it upon a bare allegation that it was a male fee, though the contrary was evident. He had ſuffered his title to lie dormant during his minority. But after he was of

Jealouſy of Francis I. Several occaſions of quarrel between Charles and Francis. Guicciard.

w The electors of Mentz, Cologne, and Triers, ſtood ſo affected, that Pace thought if our king had put in ſooner, he would have carried it. Herbert, p. 33.

x Inſtead of ſpending his money in bribing the electors, as Francis did, particularly the marquis of Brandenburgh, he laid it out in raiſing numerous forces, which he brought to Francfort. Whereupon the majority of the electors (viz. the archbiſhops of Mentz and Cologne, the count Palatin, and the duke of Saxony,) being thereby terrified and over awed, agreed to chooſe him. There were then but ſeven electors, which, together with the four juſt now mentioned, were the archbiſhop of Treves or Triers, the marquis of Brandenburgh, and the king of Bohemia. See Guicciard. l. 13. The electorate of Bavaria was appointed in 1648, and that of Brunſwic Luneneburgh-Hanover, in 1693.

1519. age he had thoughts of reviving it, and the imperial dignity lately obtained helped very much to confirm him in that reſolution. The duchy of Milan was another cauſe of diſpute, which would naturally produce a war between the two monarchs. It could not be denied that it was a fief of the empire, and yet Lewis XII. had ſeized it, and Francis I. reconquered it, and was now in poſſeſſion, without either's being inveſted by the emperor Maximilian, or ſo much as deſiring it. Charles therefore could alledge it was his duty to maintain the rights of the empire, and endeavour to diſpoſſeſs the king of France of that duchy. The duke of Gueldres afforded another occaſion of quarrel between theſe two monarchs. He was a profeſſed enemy to the emperor, and France protected him openly. Finally, the treaty of Noyon gave Charles another cauſe of complaint. He pretended, Francis had extorted from him ſo diſadvantageous a treaty, by threatening war when his affairs neceſſarily required his preſence in Spain, to take poſſeſſion of his kingdoms: that therefore the reſignation of the kingdom of Navarre, and the penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns, to which he had been engaged under the ſpecious pretence of a maintenance for the princeſs his future ſpouſe, were nothing elſe but the price of a peace he had been made to purchaſe.

Intereſts of the princes of Europe.

But though the two monarchs looked upon each other with a jealous and envious eye, and wanted not pretences for a war, neither of them durſt however begin before he had ſounded the reſt of the ſovereigns. And how they ſtood affected will alſo be neceſſary to know, for the better underſtanding the ſequel, the intereſts of princes giving to hiſtory a light, which without that aſſiſtance is ſought for in vain.

Of Leo X.

Leo X. was equally afraid of the two monarchs, being ſenſible to which ſide ſoever the ballance inclined, Italy muſt be in danger. If he could have ſet them at variance without making Italy the ſeat of the war, he would freely have done it. But that was not poſſible. Much leſs was it in his power to ſtand neuter. The reaſon is, becauſe he could not hinder the conteſts about Naples and Milan from being decided by arms, and therefore could not avoid interpoſing in a quarrel, which would ſo nearly concern him. He took therefore the courſe which beſt agreed with his temper, and that was to be reſerved and manage both the monarchs, till he found it his intereſt to declare himſelf. But through all his diſguiſes he diſcovered however ſome partiality to the emperor, in the grant of a diſpenſation to hold the empire with the kingdom of Naples, though that was directly contrary to

Mezerai.

the terms on which he had given him the inveſtiture of that kingdom. Francis complained of it, but the pope excuſed it as he could not refuſe, without involving himſelf in troubles from which it would not have been eaſy to be delivered. 1519.

As for Henry VIII. the poſture of affairs between Charles and Francis might have rendered his reign very glorious, had he not entirely given himſelf up to the intereſted counſels of cardinal Wolſey. He had it in his power to preſerve the peace of Europe, by keeping the ballance even between the two rivals, without ſuffering it to incline too much to either ſide. This was his grand intereſt as well as the kingdom's, and accordingly this was his reſolution. Hence it was that he frequently engaged in one or other ſide, but not always as the intereſt of Europe, the welfare of his realm, and his own glory required. Thus whilſt he thought to follow the maxims of good policy, he helped without perceiving it to gratify the paſſions of his miniſter, as will be ſeen hereafter. Of Henry VIII.

Charles and Francis were ſo convinced of the advantages to be reaped from the king of England's friendſhip, that they neglected nothing which they thought would procure it. The beſt or rather the only means to that end was to gain cardinal Wolſey to their intereſts. And therefore, they ſpared neither flatteries nor promiſes, nor preſents, to make him their friend. They took occaſion ſometimes to write to him, on purpoſe to ſtile him their friend, their father. In their letters they extolled his virtue, his prudence, his capacity, in ſuch affecting terms, that he muſt have been blind not to ſee, they had farther views than to expreſs their eſteem for him. Wolſey made good uſe of theſe teſtimonies of their friendſhip, to obſerve to his maſter how formidable he was to theſe monarchs, ſince they did not diſdain even to careſs his miniſter. But withal, it ſerved him to inſinuate how far his own merit excelled that of other miniſters, ſince it was univerſally known. All this produced the effect he expected. Henry deemed himſelf the arbiter of Europe, and remained ſo perſuaded of his favourite's capacity, that he no longer ſaw but with his eyes, nor acted but by his advice. Both monarchs try to gain Henry by means of Wolſey. Herbert. Their careſſes increaſe Wolſey's credit.

Thus Wolſey was then at the top of the wheel. He was favourite, prime miniſter, lord chancellor, adminiſtrator of the biſhoprick of Bath and Wells, archbiſhop of York, ſole legate a latere, Campejus his collegue being recalled. He had a penſion from the emperor, and the king of France, and received an immenſe profit from his chancellorſhip, by the privileges annexed thereto by the king. Beſides this, the The cardinal's preferments.

1519. king never ceaſed making him preſents, and giving him continual occaſions of increaſing his incomes. On the other hand, the pope, the emperor, the king of France, and the republick of Venice, ſtrove with emulation to gain his good-will, and ſeemed, as I may ſay, to glory in their dependence upon him. The beginning of the year, Francis I. ſent him letters patents, whereby he conſented, that he ſhould alone regulate the ceremonies of his interview with Henry, giving him thereby an authentick teſtimony of his confidence in his probity, upon a point of which kings are commonly very jealous. Mean while, the advances ſuch great princes made the cardinal, did not argue ſo much their eſteem for him, as their fear of loſing the friendſhip of the king his maſter. Francis I. to give Henry a freſh mark of his reſpect, deſired him to ſtand godfather to his ſecond ſon, afterwards king of France, by the name of Henry II. Theſe things demonſtrate Henry's happy ſituation, and how glorious his reign might have been, had he wiſely improved theſe advantages. But unfortunately for him, inſtead of acting for himſelf and his own glory, he laboured in effect for his favourite's intereſts.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 691.

Henry is godfather to Francis's ſecond ſon. Herbert.

It would have been hard to conceive to what height the cardinal's pride was carried, if all the hiſtorians had not taken care to deſcribe it, and all in the ſame colours. The legateſhip of Campejus ſetting that cardinal upon a level with him, he could not long bear that equality. By his credit at Rome, he cauſed him to be recalled [y], and himſelf appointed ſole legate, with power to viſit the monaſteries, and all the reſt of the clergy [z]. To obtain this commiſſion, he had taken care to deſame to the pope all the clergy of the kingdom, intimating, how neceſſary it was to commit the reforming of them to his care [a]. But this was only to increaſe

Cardinal Wolſey's extreme pride.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 734. Pol. Virg. Burnet.

y John Clarke, doctor of law, was ſent to Rome for this purpoſe. The pope's commiſſion to Wolſey is dated June 10, 1519. Herbert, p. 32.

z By virtue of his legatine commiſſion, he might ſummon the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and all other biſhops within the king's dominions, to aſſemble at his convocation. He might ſuperintend and correct what he thought irregular within their juriſdictions; appoint all officers in the ſpiritual courts, and preſent to all eccleſiaſtical benefices; conſtitute maſters of faculties, and maſters of ceremonies, to advance his dignity, and exerciſe a viſitatorial power over monaſteries and colleges, and all the clergy, exempt, and not exempt; and this for one whole year, from the date of the bull. Fiddes life of Wolſey, p 100. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 734.

a The clergy were ſo defamed by the cardinal's information, that they were termed, dati in reprobum ſenſum, given up to reprobate ſenſe, and the like, in the original bull among our records, which lord Herbert ſays, he ſhould have inſerted at large, but that it is too long and infamous to the hierarchy and

crease his authority, and subject the whole church of England to his orders. When he saw himself invested alone with the dignity of legate, he let loose, if I may so say, the reins to his vanity. He said mass after the manner of the pope himself, not only bishops serving him therein, but earls and dukes giving him water and the towel. When he walked into the city, two crosses were carried before him by two of the tallest priests that could be found, mounted on the highest horses. One of these crosses was that of legate, and the other that of York. At first these things served only for diversion to the people, who passed their jests upon this external pomp [b]. But presently after, were felt much more grievous effects of the power assumed by the legate. A new court of justice was erected, called the legate's court, the jurisdiction whereof extended to all actions relating to conscience, that is, properly speaking, to all the actions of life, since there is scarce any but where conscience may be some way concerned. John Allen, doctor of law, being made judge of this new court, committed numberless rapines and extortions, under colour of reforming the manners of the people, though he was himself a person of an infamous character [c]. Strict enquiry was made into the life and manners of every body, which gave occasion to the new judge to oppress all that obstinately refused to compound with him. Particularly, he pretended that this jurisdiction reached to all suits arising from wills or marriage contracts, and drew to his court numberless causes, without the king's judges daring to oppose it [d]. On the other hand, the legate treated the clergy with inconceiveable rigour, and conferred all the benefices of the kingdom on his creatures, without troubling himself about the rights of the churches, the monasteries, or the patrons. This is what had ever occasioned violent quarrels between the kings of England and the court of Rome, and given birth to the famous statute of præmunire, daily violated

1519.

He opposes the clergy and people. Pol. Virg. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingsh.

The legate's court erected. Hall. Pol. Virg. Herbert. Hollingsh.

Herbert.

and all religious persons, p. 32. Compl. Hist.—The cardinal intended to visit all the monasteries in England, that discovering their corruptions, he might the better justify the design he had to suppress most of them, and convert them into bishopricks, cathedrals, collegiate churches, and colleges; but was diverted from his design. However, he led the way, to the total suppression of them that followed afterwards. Burnet's Ref. tom. I. p. 29.

[b] Insomuch, that Polydore Virgil says, it drew to a jest, as if one cross did not suffice for the expiation of his sins.

[c] He was thought to be guilty of perjury. Herbert, p. 33. Pol. Virg.

[d] He had a great number of spies and informers dispersed every where, to let him know what livings became vacant, that he might fill them up immediately; and what persons of note died in every town or parish, that he might cite their executors to prove the wills in his court, Ibid.

by

1519. by the legate, the king ſuffering in him things which he would not doubtleſs have allowed in the pope himſelf, and being informed no farther than the cardinal pleaſed. At laſt, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſeeing ſo many oppreſſions, thought it his duty to acquaint the king, who ſeemed ſurpriſed, and charged the archbiſhop to tell the cardinal, that it was his pleaſure he ſhould amend whatever was amiſs [c]. The effect of this remonſtrance was, that the cardinal ſtill more hated the archbiſhop for whom he had already conceived an averſion, for ſubſcribing himſelf in one of his letters, your brother of Canterbury [f]. But ſhortly after, John London, a prieſt [g], boldly accuſing the judge of the legate's court, it was not poſſible to hinder the affair from coming to the king's knowledge. As the judge was convicted of numberleſs miſdemeanours, the king ſo reprimanded the cardinal, that from thenceforward he became, if not better, yet more wary at leaſt.

Herbert. Pol. Virg. Hollingſh.

Cardinal Wolſey aſpires to the popedom by means of the emperor. Herbert.

The grandeur, riches, power, and authority enjoyed by Wolſey in England, were not capable of ſatisfying his ambition, whilſt there was ſtill one ſtep higher to which a churchman could aſcend. He had begun ſome time ſince to take meaſures to become pope, when the ſee ſhould be vacant, and the king of France had now offered him the votes of fourteen cardinals. But ſince Charles was elected emperor, Wolſey thought him moſt capable to procure him the papacy, and probably, continued a private negotiation with him. For that purpoſe, he gradually diſengaged the king his maſter from the intereſt of France, to turn him to the emperor. Mean while, he believed he could not, without too much diſcovering himſelf, hinder the interview of Francis and Henry, which had been deferred till the year 1520.[h]. But he well knew how to prevent the ill effects this interview might produce againſt the emperor his new friend. Beſides, he could not think of loſing the pleaſure of appearing before the court of France with a magnificence little inferior to that of a king, and of ſeeing himſelf in the preſence of the

c Polydore Virgil ſays, the king replied to the archbiſhop, that he ſhould not have heard of theſe things but by him; adding, that no man is ſo blind any where as in his own houſe; therefore, I pray you, (ſays he) father, go to Wolſey, and tell him, if any thing be amiſs that he amend it. Herbert, p. 33.

f When the bearer of the letter informed the archbiſhop what offence the cardinal had taken at his ſubſcription, he ſaid, with ſome ſhew of reſentment, peace, knoweſt thou not that the man is inebriated with proſperity. Hollingſh. p. 848.

g Rapin, by miſtake, calls him a prieſt of London. See Herbert, p. 33.

h Both kings in the mean while agreeing, not to cut off their beards till they ſaw one another. Herbert, p. 34.

Engliſh,

Engliſh, honoured and careſſed by the king of France, and his whole court, as he would probably be. This was an opportunity which a perſon ſo fond of pageantry and oſtentation could not neglect. 1519.

The emperor had reaſon to careſs cardinal Wolſey. He had met in Spain with unexpected difficulties. The Caſtilians and Arragonians were bent to preſerve their privileges, which were continually attacked by the emperor's Flemiſh counſellors. On the other hand, the emperor, on pretence of the cruſade publiſhed by the pope, having demanded a tenth of the clergy, that demand had cauſed throughout Spain troubles which very much embarraſſed that prince. There had been alſo an inſurrection in Auſtria, which was not appeaſed without difficulty. In ſhort, the king of France was privately labouring to raiſe the emperor troubles in Naples, Sicily, Navarre, and to withdraw his allies from him. All this made Henry's friendſhip ſo neceſſary to him, that it is no wonder he ſhould endeavour to win the cardinal to his ſide, ſince the miniſter's credit was the only way to gain the maſter. The king of France uſed the ſame method, which greatly increaſed the cardinal's pride; who ſeeing himſelf courted by theſe two monarchs, had it in his power, if I may ſo ſay, to ſet what price he pleaſed upon his ſervices.

Affairs of Spain.

The emperor and king of France equally court Wolſey's Friendſhip.

Whilſt all the world was impatiently expecting the effect of the jealouſy between the emperor and king of France, the affairs of Scotland ſtill remained in the ſame ſituation, that is, in extreme diſorder becauſe of the regent's abſence. When he went from Scotland, he hoped to return in few months, but was not ſuffered to follow his inclination. Francis I. foreſeeing the want he might have of England, had made a private treaty with Henry, promiſing to detain the duke of Albany in France. Thus Henry obtained by another way, what the parliament of Scotland had plainly refuſed him. It was very eaſy to conceive, why he oppoſed the duke of Albany's return. His deſign was to throw Scotland into trouble and confuſion, to have an opportunity to interpoſe, in the affairs of that kingdom, under colour of ſupporting the intereſts of the young king his nephew. He could not therefore execute it better, than by fomenting diſcord among the nobility, which the regent's preſence might have remedied. But the war which afterwards broke out between Charles and Francis, and wherein he was but too much concerned, prevented the proſecution of his deſigns againſt Scotland. Probably this ſaved the kingdom, which otherwiſe was in great danger of being conquered by the Engliſh.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

France engages to detain the duke of Albany in France. Herbert.

Before

1519. Before I close the year 1519, I must not forget to remark, that this year the emperor received the news of the discovery, and beginning of the conquest of Mexico, and New Spain. The mention of this particular is the more necessary, though it seems foreign to our history, as it was the gold and silver wherewith the new world furnished Spain, and contributed most to render Charles V. so powerful as he will hereafter appear. Besides, money growing more plenty, by the trade carried on by other countries with Spain, the reader must not be surprised to find hereafter more numerous armies, greater magnificence in princes courts, and the dowries of princesses much larger than before. But Spain first improved the gold and silver of the new world, and was thereby enabled, in the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II. to aspire to universal monarchy [i].

Discovery of Mexico and New Spain.

1520. The confidence placed by Francis I. in cardinal Wolsey, in giving him power to regulate his interview with Henry, would have been very honourable for that minister, if, on the other hand, this proceeding had not shown his little esteem for him, as believing him liable to corruption. Be this as it will, Wolsey, by virtue of powers received from the two kings, made the 12th of March 1520, a regulation, importing, among other things, "that the interview should "be on the 4th of June [k], between Ardres and Guisnes; "that the king of England should go towards Ardres, as far "as conveniently he could [l], without passing however the "English pale, and the king of France should meet him at "the place where should stop." Hence, he so ordered it, that Francis paid the first visit to Henry. But he assigned for reason, that the king his master having crossed the seas, on purpose to do his friend honour, it was very just, Francis should in some measure make him amends, by advancing, to receive him, a little beyond the limits of his own territories in some open place appointed by deputies on either side. The rest of the regulation concerned the safety of the two monarchs, their queens, the queen dowager of France, sister

The regulation of the interview between the two kings by Wolsey. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 705. March 12. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

[i] Hernando Cortes, undertaker of the expedition to America, going, in the year 1518, with about four hundred foot, and fifteen horse, and seven little field pieces, into many populous but diversly affected kingdoms, did so dexterously behave himself, that playing the part sometimes of an ambassador, and sometimes of a soldier, he prevailed himself of all. And in conclusion, notwithstanding the opposition of his countrymen and enemies, laid a foundation of a greater dominion than any man before him did. Herbert, p. 34. See Don Ant. de Solis, Hist. of Mexico.

[k] Within four days after the end of May. Rymer, p. 707.

[l] A mile. Ibid.

of

of Henry, Louiſa of Savoy, ducheſs of Angoulême, mother to Francis I. the trains of the princes and princeſſes who were to aſſiſt at the interview, the place where the two kings were to meet and confer together, and laſtly, the diverſions which the two courts were to take. 1520.

During the time between the regulation and the interview, Francis cauſed the cardinal to be ſounded, to know whether, by his means, he could not prevail with Henry to reſtore Calais for a ſum of money. This propoſal was, doubtleſs, attended with ſecret promiſes to the cardinal, anſwerable to ſo great a ſervice, ſince he did not think fit to reject it. He durſt not however ſpeak of it directly to the king, but tried ſo to manage, that others ſhould inſpire him with the thought, that in caſe the king adviſed with him upon it, he might give his opinion more freely. To that end, in his converſation, he would frequently turn the diſcourſe upon Calais, and ſay, as it were accidentally, what have we to do with this Calais, that lies on the continent and coſts us ſo much? it were to be wiſhed we were honeſtly rid of it! this artifice failing, he never ventured to make the king ſo extraordinary a propoſal, and the rather as, being reſolved to engage with the emperor, he was not ſo deſirous to oblige the king of France.

Francis gains Wolſey to get Calais given up. Herbert.

But he dares not propoſe it to the king.

The time of the interview approaching, Henry [m] came to Canterbury the 25th of May, in order to paſs his Whitſuntide there, and then proceed to Calais. But the next day news was brought him, that the emperor was landed at Dover. This arrival ſurpriſed the whole court, and perhaps the king himſelf. But the cardinal had no reaſon to be ſurpriſed, ſince the emperor had the 29th of March, promiſed by letters patents dated from Compoſtella, to give, or cauſe to be given him by the pope, the biſhoprick of Badajos [n], within two months after the conference he was to have in perſon with the king of England, as appears in the collection of the publick acts. Hence it is plain, the emperor's journey to England, had been reſolved ever ſince March, at leaſt between the emperor and the cardinal. But it is uncertain whether the king was informed of it. However, the cardinal was commiſſioned to go and welcome the emperor at Dover, where the king came alſo on the morrow. Then the two monarchs went together to Canterbury, where Henry ſent

Henry ſets out for the interview. The emperor arrives at Dover. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 714.

[m] He ſet out from Greenwich, May 21. Stow, p. 508.

[n] In Eſtremadura; worth five thouſand ducats yearly. The town of Badajos is deemed one of the bulwarks of Spain. The earl of Galloway, who commanded the Britiſh troops in thoſe parts, had his right hand ſhot off here.

for

1520. for his queen, who was extremely glad to ſee her nephew the emperor, having never ſeen him before [o]. The emperor's aim in this viſit was to diſſuade the king from the interview with Francis; but he could not ſucceed, Henry making him ſenſible, he could not recede with honour. But very likely he had alſo in view, the ſecuring of cardinal Wolſey, in order to gain, by his means, the king to his intereſt. It is the common opinion, his journey was not fruitleſs, but that he could obtain the cardinal's favour, only by promiſing to uſe all his credit to raiſe him to the papacy, in caſe Leo X. died before him. Though the emperor had not obtained all his deſires, he departed however very well ſatisfied with his viſit, Henry having promiſed not to enter into any engagement with the king of France to his prejudice [p]. On the 30th of May, Charles proceeded to Flanders, and Henry to Calais [q].

Hollingſh. Pol. Virg.

He promiſes the pontificate to Wolſey.

Hall.

I ſhall not ſtay to deſcribe the interview of the two monarchs between Ardres and Guiſnes, as regulated by the cardinal. Whilſt it laſted, there was nothing but entertainments, tournaments, balls, maſquerades, and other diverſions, wherein the two courts mixed to their mutual ſatisfaction. Every thing on both ſides was ſo magnificent, that the aſſembly was called, the camp of the cloth of gold [r]. But amidſt all the pleaſures which the two courts took together, the affairs however were not neglected. The following articles were agreed upon by the two kings at their conferences: that after Francis ſhould have paid the million of crowns, according to the late treaty, he ſhould give Henry an

The interview of Francis and Henry. Herbert. Stow. Hall. Hollingſh.

Treaty between them. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 719. June 6.

[o] The emperor ſaw likewiſe the queen Dowager of France, Henry's ſiſter, once propoſed for his wife, at the ſight of whom (ſays Polydore) he was ſo ſad, (ſhe being a celebrated beauty) that he could not be perſuaded to dance. Herbert, p. 36.

[p] The treaty of commerce made between England and Germany, in 1506, was alſo now confirmed. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 714, &c.

[q] See the liſts of the noblemen and others that attended the king and queen, in Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 710, 711.

[r] The king cauſed a building 328 foot ſquare to be erected, from which a private gallery reached to the caſtle of Guiſnes. The parts of this great building were artificially framed in England; and afterwards taken aſunder and brought home. The model whereof, lord Herbert ſays, was at Greenwich in his time. The two kings met, on the 7th of June, in the vale of Andren, and alighting, walked hand in hand to a tent of cloth of gold. On the 9th, they came and viewed the camp or place of exerciſe, 300 yards long, and 106 broad, with ſcaffolds on the ſides for the beholders. There were alſo ſet up two artificial trees, with the arms of the two kings and their aſſiſtance, on which were affixed the articles of the juſts, &c. June 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, the two kings, with ſeven aſſiſtants each, encountered all comers, and came off with applauſe. June 16th, was ſpent in feaſting and dancing with the queens and other ladies. June 17th, being Sunday, and the 18th, being foul weather

an annual penſion for life of a hundred thouſand livres Tournois [s], that in caſe the dauphin ſhould become king of England by his marriage with the princeſs Mary, the penſion ſhould be continued to Mary and her heirs for ever; that the differences between the kings of England and Scotland, ſhould be referred to the arbitration of Louiſa of Savoy, the king of France's mother, and the cardinal of York. The two kings parted not till the 24th of June, after paſſing about three weeks together in continual diverſions. 1520.

Henry goes to ſee the emperor at Graveling.

Henry being returned to Calais, was pleaſed before he repaſſed into England, to repay the viſit received from the emperor at Canterbury. To that end, he came to Graveling the 10 of July, and returned the ſame day to Calais. On the morrow, the emperor, with the lady Margaret his aunt, governeſs of the Low Countries, came to ſee Henry at Calais, and ſtayed three days with him. Theſe mutual viſits made Francis extremely jealous, and not without reaſon. Probably, in theſe conferences were laid the firſt foundations of the alliance afterwards concluded between the emperor and Henry. In a few days after, Henry returned into England.

The emperor returns his viſit. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Letter of the doge of Venice to the cardinal. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 724. July 6.

The greateſt princes very juſtly courted cardinal Wolſey. He abſolutely governed his maſter, who, in the preſent ſituation of his affairs, could make the ballance incline to which ſide he pleaſed. The ſenate of Venice foreſeeing that a war would ſoon break out in Italy, endeavoured beforehand to make Wolſey their friend, by ſhewing a great eſteem for him. There is in the collection of the publick acts, a letter from the doge to the cardinal, to congratulate him upon the interview of the two kings, as a work of his conſummate wiſdom [t].

But

weather, they repoſed. The 19th, they continued their courſes. On the 20th the tournay began, where our king particularly got that honour, that a brave French nobleman, with whom he fought, preſented him with his horſe, as a gage of his being overcome. On the 21ſt, the ſport was ſo rough, that four of the aſſiſtants were hurt. On the 22d, the barriers began. The 23d, our king, with his ſiſter queen Mary, went in maſquing habits to ſee the French queen at Ardres, Francis likewiſe going to the Engliſh queen. On the 24th, after many compliments, embraces, and rich preſents, they took leave of one another. Herbert, p. 37. See Hall, who ſeems to have been an eye witneſs, fol. 73, &c.

[s] This ſum was not to be paid till the marriage was ſolemnized, per verba de præſenti, between the dauphin and the princeſs Mary; and then, every year afterwards to king Henry during his life. See Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 719, 720.

[t] In this letter, the doge compliments him in the ſtrongeſt terms, and ſtiles him all along dominatio veſtra reverendiſſima, and in one place, majeſtatis ejus pars altera. But it ſeems the univerſity of Oxford was wont to outdo

1520. But this was only words, whereas the pope, who found he ſhould quickly want the cardinal, thought he muſt gain him by ſomething more ſubſtantial. He granted him, as appears in the collection, on the 29th of July, a penſion of two thouſand ducats upon the biſhoprick of Palencia in Spain, and conſtituted him perpetual adminiſtrator of the ſee of Badajos, without prejudice to the benefices he hau or ſhould have for the future. There is no doubt, this was done with the emperor's conſent, who endeavoured by degrees to gain ſo powerful a miniſter, whoſe credit was very neceſſary in the preſent ſituation of his affairs. He had left Spain full of troubles, occaſioned by the greedineſs of the Flemings, who only ſought to enrich themſelves at the expence of the Spaniards. This had even obliged him to depart with ſome precipitation, for fear of being embroiled in affairs which might have prevented his going to receive the imperial crown. He had left for governors in Spain, Adrian Florentio biſhop of Tortoſa, and the conſtable of Caſtile. But he was no ſooner gone, than ſeveral lords, and ſome cities of Caſtile joined in a league for the defence of their liberties, and expulſion of the Flemings. This league was followed by an open rebellion, which very much embarraſſed the two governors. Mean while, having drawn together a body of troops, conſiſting partly of the garriſons left in Navarre, they formed a good army, and at length defeated and reduced the male-contents to obedience.

The pope grants the cardinal penſions upon Spaniſh ſees. p. 714, 725.

Troubles in Spain.

The emperor is crowned. Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Spain, the emperor was preparing for his coronation, which was ſolemnized the 21ſt of October [u].

The pope ſollicits the elector of Saxony againſt Luther. Luther's defection made then great noiſe in Germany. Leo X. endeavoured to excite all the princes of the empire againſt the doctor, who had boldly appealed to a general council, notwithſtanding pope Pius the ſecond's bull. In ſhort, after fruitleſs trials to win him by promiſes, or frighten him by threats, he publiſhed a bull of excommunication againſt him and his followers. But Luther, regardleſs of theſe thunders, renewed his appeal to a council in very harſh terms. The pope exaſperated that a ſingle monk

He excommunicates him,

outdo the doge, and not ſcruple to beſtow abſolutely on the cardinal the title of majeſty, as appears from ſeveral letters to him, from that univerſity. But it ſeems that appellation was not then appropriated to kings. See Fiddes, p. 178.

[u] At Aix, the ſame day that Solyman was crowned at Conſtantinople; and it is obſervable, that as Charles was the XIth from Albertus, in whoſe time the houſe of the Ottomans began, ſo Solyman was the XIth prince of his race.

ſhould

ſhould thus dare to brave him, deſired the elector of Saxony, then at Cologne, to put him to death, or ſend him to Rome. The elector refuſing, the pope's nuncio ordered Luther's books to be publickly burnt at Cologne, and Luther, in revenge, cauſed the pope's bull and the decretals to be openly burnt at Wirtemberg, and publiſhed a manifeſto in defence of his proceedings. He found himſelf ſupported by the elector his ſovereign, who earneſtly deſired to ſee a reformation in the church. 1520. who appeals to a council. Sleidan. Herbert.

Mean while the duke of Wirtemberg, who at the inſtance of Francis I. had forſaken the league of Swabia, was driven out of his dominions, and the emperor purchaſed them. As the king of France was not then in condition to protect him, he was forced to ſubmit to the emperor's terms, without hopes of being reſtored. The duke of Wirtemberg loſes his dominions.

The troubles ſtill continued among the Scots, who were divided in two factions, whereof Andrew Hamilton, and George Douglaſs * earl of Arran were the heads. During the year 1520, the Hamiltonians found means to conſtrain Archibald Douglaſs earl of Angus, one of thoſe left by the regent to govern in his abſence, to relinquiſh his poſt. After which they would have taken away his life. But with fourſcore men he beat, in the ſtreets of Edinburgh, above a thouſand of his enemies, and drove them out of the city. All this ſerved only to exaſperate more and more the factions againſt one another, ſo that at laſt Douglas received into his party all the friends of the two Humes, beheaded by the regent, in order with their aſſiſtance to withſtand his enemies. Theſe were the ſad effects cauſed by the regent's abſence, whom the king of England hindered from returning into Scotland. Mean while, the truce betweeen the two kingdoms was farther prolonged to the 9th of April this next year, by the king of France's mediation, and the council of Scotland poſitively promiſed to ſend an honorable embaſſy to the king of England to deſire a peace x. Troubles in Scotland. Buchanan. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 727—737.

The poſture of affairs in the beginning of the year 1521, did not promiſe a long continuance of the peace of Europe. 1521.

* Rapin by miſtake calls him earl of Arran; whereas at this time the earl of Arran was James Hamilton. See above, p. 131. note a.

x This year the earl of Kildare was diſcharged from the office of deputy, or lord lieutenant of Ireland, which was conferred on Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, and lord admiral. He went over to his government in the beginning of April, with about a thouſand men, and remained there two years, in which time he had many engagements with the natives, and reduced the earl of Deſmond to reaſon. Hall, fol. 70. Stow, p. 508.

1521. Four ſovereigns enjoyed almoſt the whole, and had a great influence upon the dominions they were not poſſeſſed of. They were all four young, able and ambitious enough to form vaſt projects, which could not be executed without putting all Europe in combuſtion.

Characters and tempers of the principal ſovereigns of Europe.

Of Francis I. Francis I. ſecretly envying Charles V. ſought occaſion to ſhew his concern at ſeeing him on the imperial throne, and was thinking to uſe the pretence of recovering the kingdom of Naples for himſelf, and Navarre for Henry d'Albret. But his deſign of attacking the emperor was founded upon another and more powerful motive, namely, policy, which required his utmoſt endeavours to humble this formidable rival, otherwiſe France might be in great danger. To execute this grand project, it would have been neceſſary for him to be wholly intent upon his affairs, and to be a good oeconomiſt, in order to ſupport the expence in which he was going to engage. But unhappily for him, he was too much addicted to his pleaſures, and very often applied to other uſes, the money deſigned for the war. Moreover, he was too eaſily governed by his miniſters, and ſtill more by the ducheſs of Angoulême his mother, whoſe intereſts were often contrary to his. However, he fancied his affairs in ſuch a poſture, as promiſed a happy ſucceſs of his undertakings. Spain was diſaffected and agitated with inteſtine troubles, which probably would greatly embarraſs the emperor. On the other hand, the Turks threatened Hungary, which the emperor could not abandon without indangering his Auſtrian dominions. In the next place, Francis flattered himſelf with having in the king of England a faithful friend, who would not forſake him, and who ſeemed to be almoſt equally concerned, to prevent the too great advancement of the houſe of Auſtria. In a word, he imagined to have reaſon to expect that the pope, with whom he was in treaty for the conqueſt of Naples, inſtead of helping to encreaſe the emperor's power, would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to humble a neighbour, who could not but be a terror to him, All this was ſtrengthened with Francis's alliances with the Venetians and Switzers, who joining with the pope and the king of England, would of courſe render him ſuperior to his enemy, whoſe kingdoms remote from each other, were leſs capable of giving mutual aſſiſtance. Thus Francis, flattered by theſe appearances, formed extraordinary projects ſuitable to his ambition and age, being then but twenty ſeven years old.

As

As for Charles V. he had not yet done any thing to give a very advantageous Idea of him. His youth had been ſpent under the guardianſhip of the emperor Maximilian his grandfather, or of Margaret of Auſtria his aunt, and ſince he had aſſumed the adminiſtration of the Low Countries, his governor Chievres did all in the name of the prince. His firſt proceedings, after the death of king Ferdinand, begot no great opinion of him, for he had ſcarce ſet foot in Spain, before the country was all in commotion. His advancement to the empire was owing, perhaps, to the little eſteem the world had for him. However, he was then the moſt potent prince in Europe. Beſides the imperial dignity, he poſſeſſed all Spain, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the Low Countries, the archduchy of Auſtria, and many other provinces and lordſhips in Germany. So, with his own forces alone, he was able to withſtand Francis I. aſſiſted by all his allies. Henry VIII. was the only ſovereign that had at firſt embarraſſed him, by reaſon of his union with France. But he had artfully drawn that thorn out of his ſide, by means of cardinal Wolſey. With this he began, as I may ſay, to diſcover his ability, which till then had been as it were concealed. After that he diligently applied himſelf to gain the pope, and ſucceeded to his wiſh. Thus at the time I am now ſpeaking of, he was become very formidable not only by his forces, but alſo by the proofs he had given of his capacity. As ſoon as he was raiſed to the empire, he rightly judged he ſhould find in Francis I. an enemy that would ſpare nothing to make him feel the effects of his envy. For that reaſon he thought early of means to ſcreen himſelf from his attempts, not only by a juſt defence, but even by attacking him firſt. He had two plauſible reaſons: one was, that the crown of France withheld from him the duchy of Burgundy, ſince the death of his great grandfather Charles the laſt duke of Burgundy. The other concerned the duchy of Milan, whereof Francis ought to have received the inveſtiture from the emperor, ſince it was a fief of the empire, and yet he had never vouchſafed to aſk it. He believed moreover to have cauſe of complaint for Francis's extorting from him the treaty of Noyon as was before related. 1521. Of Charles V

In vain therefore do the hiſtorians of both ſides ſtrive to caſt the blame of the rupture upon one or other of the two monarchs. It is certain, both thought at the ſame time of making war, and took meaſures beforehand to execute their

1521. designs, though each privately endeavoured to engage his rival in ſomething that ſhould make him be deemed the aggreſſor. So, as the beginning of a rupture is not to be judged of by the firſt act of hoſtility, but rather by the cauſe, one can hardly be miſtaken in affirming Charles V. and Francis I. to be equally authors of a war which ſet all Europe in a flame. Charles was not above one and twenty years of age, but of a very different character from that of his enemy. Francis was too much addicted to his pleaſures, whereas Charles was too intent upon his affairs, having been uſed to it from his youth. Francis was of a free and open temper, but Charles was much more reſerved. He maturely thought of what he had to ſay or do, and readily made uſe of artifice and evaſion to accompliſh his ends, framing his conduct by that of Maximilian and Ferdinand his grandfathers.

Of Leo X. Guicciard.

Leo X. had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his lot, could he have reſolved to live in quiet. He was abſolute maſter of the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate, to which he had lately added all la Romagna, Modena, Reggio, and the duchy of Urbino. His own, the church's, and all Italy's grand intereſt, was therefore to endeavour by all ſorts of means to keep the ballance even between the emperor and the king of France, and to manage ſo, that neither of theſe two monarchs ſhould become too powerful in Italy. This was very practicable, ſince his dominions being ſituated between thoſe belonging to theſe two princes in Italy, they neceſſarily wanted him, in order to invade Naples or Milan. Thus, by keeping a ſtrict neutrality, he would have probably freed Italy from a war, and preſerved the papal power in its full luſtre. But he was of too active a ſpirit to remain in peace. As he had a great opinion of his addreſs, he ventured to engage in all ſorts of affairs, how difficult ſoever they appeared, becauſe, let what would be the event, he hoped to get clear by ſome artifice. Beſides, he had this in common with all the popes his predeceſſors, that the reſpect for his character removed his fear of being reduced to extremities, in caſe his undertakings were not crowned with ſucceſs. As to the reſt, he was entirely addicted to his pleaſures, ſpending moſt of his time with muſicians and Buffoons, and in ſome ſtill leſs innocent diverſions. This, added to his liberal temper, threw him into ſuch exceſſive expences, that he was poor amidſt his vaſt incomes, and always contriving means to procure money. Hence his extraordinary zeal to form a league againſt the Turks, becauſe it afforded

him

him a pretence to levy tenths upon the clergy, and ſell his indulgences to the great ſcandal of all Chriſtendom *r*. 1521.

Had this pope been of a more narrow genius, he would have doubtleſs maintained the tranquillity of Italy. But as he found himſelf capable of forming and executing great deſigns, he had a mind to render his pontificate illuſtrious by ſome ſignal actions. Unfortunately for him and his ſucceſſors, he reſolved to drive the French, Spaniards and Germans out of Italy, a project which may well be deemed extravagant. To accompliſh it, he was neceſſarily to make uſe of the one to ruin the others, and by thus cauſing the ballance to incline all to one ſide he could not but give maſters to himſelf and all Italy, which he would have avoided by ſtanding neuter. But what chiefly engaged him in this project, was his deſire to ſeize the duchy of Ferrara, and recover Parma and Placentia, which he could not hope to effect, whilſt the French were poſſeſſed of the duchy of Milan. On the other hand, he was a little uneaſy with reſpect to Florence. He could not help fearing that Francis would think of reſtoring the Florentines to their ancient liberty. He reſolved therefore to begin with the French, but took care not to diſcover his deſigns. On the contrary, he continued private negotiations with the king of France as well as with the emperor, and put both equally in hopes of his friendſhip. Mean while, as his intent was not always to remain in this ſituation, he ordered ſix thouſand men to be levied in Switzerland, and ſent for them into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, having demanded a paſſage through the Milaneſe, under colour of providing for the defence of his towns. Guicciard.

Henry VIII. was then more advantageouſly ſituated than any king of England had ever been before him. He was at peace with all Europe except Scotland, which would have been glad to be left in quiet. Though he had now conſumed all the money found in the king his father's coffers, he was however aſſured of being always ſupplied, ſince he was in a good underſtanding with his parliament, and had the art of managing the two houſes with a very ſingular addreſs. Thus being able to raiſe numerous forces, and at liberty to turn them which way he pleaſed, it was doubt- Of Henry VIII.

r This is the pope of whom Bembo his ſecretary reports this ſaying: it has been long and well known how beneficial this fable of Jeſus Chriſt has been to us and our predeceſſors.

1521. leſs in his power to render himſelf umpire of Europe. For that reaſon Charles and Francis with equal ardor courted his friendſhip, being ſenſible, he could invincibly obſtruct their deſigns, and cauſe the ballance to lean to the ſide he ſhould pleaſe to eſpouſe. It was his intereſt to keep always in this ſituation, till obliged to interpoſe in their differences, to hinder the one from riſing to the prejudice of the other. And indeed this was his aim and intention. But unfortunately for him, his weakneſs for his prime miniſter the cardinal was beyond all imagination. This favorite had ſuch an aſcendant over him, that he inclined him which way he pleaſed, always under the ſpecious colour of carrying his glory to a greater height, though in reality he had only his own intereſts in view. We have already ſeen ſenſible proofs of his great influence over his maſter, in what paſſed during and after the late war with France. He had perſuaded him to deliver to the emperor Maximilian the city of Terouenne, which might have been of great ſervice to him, and to keep Tournay, which was of little or no advantage. Afterwards, when he was in poſſeſſion of the biſhoprick of Tournay, he had artfully perſuaded him that the keeping of that place would be an everlaſting monument of his glory. But when he ſaw, he was like to loſe the biſhoprick, and had ample amends offered him, he found other reaſons to convince him that he ought to part with a place which was of no benefit to him. We ſhall ſee preſently that he led him alſo to make a very falſe ſtep in eſpouſing the emperor's part againſt France, whereas his true intereſt was to keep the ballance even between the two potentates. All this was done for the ſake of cardinal Wolſey, who having the ambition to aſpire to the popedom, thought to ſucceed by the emperor's means. The penſion procured him by Charles upon the biſhoprick of Palencia in Caſtile, and the adminiſtration of the ſee of Badajos, at a time when he had not yet received any publick ſervice from him, are inconteſtable proofs that the cardinal had engaged with him, as being ſure of governing his maſter as he pleaſed. Theſe things afforded no very advantageous Idea of Henry's penetration.

Such were the characters, intereſts, and deſigns of the four principal ſovereigns concerned in the new war I am going to ſpeak of. The king of Scotland was yet too young to be reckoned among the directors of the affairs of Europe. The Venetians ſought only to live in peace, being, as I may ſay, exhauſted by the former war. However, they could not

avoid

avoid entering into this alſo. As for the Swirzers, they were ſatisfied with their penſions from France, and generally inclined to obſerve the articles of their alliance with that crown. But they were not entirely ſecured from the ſecret practices continued by the pope's and the emperor's agents with ſome of their magiſtrates, to try to perſuade them not to take part with France. 1521.

Francis I. having formed a deſign to make war upon the emperor, without incurring the blame of the rupture, reſolved to begin with what could not be imputed to him as a premeditated deſign to quarrel. By the treaty of Noyon, Charles was bound to reſign Navarre to Henry d'Albret within four months, in default whereof Francis was free to aſſiſt Henry to recover his kingdom. The affairs of Spain being extremely imbroiled ſince the emperor quitted that country, Francis believed it a fair opportunity to invade Navarre. He was the more inclined to this undertaking, as the two regents of Spain had been forced to draw troops from Pampelonia and other places of that kingdom, to reinforce the army which was to act againſt the fore-mentioned league. He ſent therefore into Navarre in the beginning of March an army under the command of Leſparre of the houſe of Foix, elder brother of Lautrec and Leſcun. This general finding the kingdom without troops and almoſt deſerted, became maſter of it in the ſpace of a fortnight. Had he ſtopped there, perhaps Navarre would have been ſtill at this day annexed in deed, as it is in name only, to the crown of France, ſince the Spaniards were unable to expel Henry d'Albret, from whom the kings of France of the houſe of Bourbon are deſcended. But the deſire of acquiring fame, or procuring the king's advantage, carried Leſparre to enter the province of Guipuſcoa, and beſiege Logrogno. The regents of Spain had no thoughts of recovering Navarre; But when they ſaw the French invading Spain itſelf, they aſſembled their forces to ſtop their progreſs. The malecontents themſelves lately vanquiſhed, accepting a general pardon, led all their troops to the regents. Leſparre ſeeing an army much ſtronger than his coming againſt him, would have retired, but was ſo cloſely purſued that he was forced to come to a battle, wherein he was defeated and taken priſoner. The loſs of this battle occaſioned the loſs of Navarre, which the Spaniards recovered in leſs time than the French had conquered it. Thus the king of France had the mortification to loſe his army to no purpoſe, and flagrantly diſcover to the emperor how he ſtood affected towards him.

Francis I. invades Navarre. Du Bellai. Mezerai.

Leſparre becomes maſter of that kingdom.

He enters Spain.

Guicciard. Herbert.

Is beaten, and taken priſoner.

1521. The ſame time that he invaded Navarre, he raiſed Charles an enemy from another quarter, namely, Robert de la Mark prince of Sedan and ſovereign of Bouillon, who believing to have cauſe to complain of the emperor, for a denial of juſtice to the young princes of Chimay [z], whoſe guardian he was, implored the king of France's protection. Very probably, Francis had offered it before it was deſired. However, Robert de la Mark, ſeeing himſelf ſupported by the king, was ſo bold as to ſend a defiance to the emperor, who was then at the diet of Worms. Shortly after, the earl of Fleuranges, eldeſt ſon of la Mark, put himſelf at the head of four or five thouſand men [a] levied in France, and beſieged Vireton, a place in Luxemburg belonging to the emperor.

Francis ſtirs up Robert de la Mark againſt the emperor. Bellai. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

Then it was that Charles, who had with reluctance agreed to the league of London, thought proper however to make uſe of it in ſummoning the king of England to aſſiſt him, as obliged by the treaty, ſince it was evident, the king of France had raiſed him this enemy. Henry, prepoſſeſſed by the cardinal, was glad of a pretence to caſt the blame of the rupture upon the French king. Mean while, to proceed according to the articles of the league, he ſent an ambaſſador to require him to forbear all hoſtility againſt the emperor, not only in Luxemburg but alſo in Navarre. Francis replied, he was not author of the war between Robert de la Mark and the emperor, and all he could do was to forbid his ſubjects to ſerve or aſſiſt la Mark. As to Navarre, it would have been needleſs to anſwer, ſince it was now out of his power to re-enter it. He performed his promiſe with regard to the war of Luxemburg, and Fleuranges diſbanded his army. Francis took care not openly to ſupport the duke of Bouillon, for fear of affording Henry, who had offered his mediation, a pretence to declare for the emperor. I ſhall purſue this affair, when I have ſpoken of thoſe of Italy, which are of no leſs importance.

The emperor calls upon the king of England to aid him againſt France. Herbert. Henry ſends an ambaſſador to Francis. Bellai. Mezerai.

Who cauſes la Mark to lay down his arms. March 22.

In the beginning of this, or perhaps before the end of the laſt year, Leo X. concluded with the French ambaſſador reſiding at Rome, a treaty whereby he joined in a league with Francis for the conqueſt of Naples. The treaty ran, that all that part of the kingdom of Naples lying between the eccle-

Leo X. joins with France for the conqueſt of Naples. Guicciard. Mezerai.

[z] A lord named d'Aimeries, had ſeized the town of Iſlerge, in Ardennes, belonging to thoſe princes; and d'Aimeries was ſupported by the emperor.

[a] Three thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe. Ibid.

P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 437.

ſiaſtical

ſiaſtical ſtate and Gariglian ſhould remain to the pope: and the reſt ſhould be for Henry the king's ſecond ſon; but during his minority, the kingdom ſhould be governed by the pope's legate, who ſhould reſide at the city of Naples. Whatever the pope's intention was in making this treaty, it may be almoſt affirmed, he acted with inſincerity, becauſe it muſt have been very diſadvantageous to him for the ſame prince to hold Milan and Naples. What may moſt probably be conjectured is, that his intention was to deal by Francis I. as Ferdinand king of Arragon had done by Lewis XII. when he made much the ſame partition with that prince. At leaſt Francis, who had often experienced what the pope was capable of, could never believe he really intended to aſſiſt him in that conqueſt. Wherefore he delayed the ratification of the treaty, to gain time to conſider ſeriouſly of the affair. 1521.

Francis puts off the ratification of it.

Leo X. finding the time for ratifying the treaty was expired, ſuſpected the king of projecting with the emperor ſome agreement prejudicial to the holy ſee. They who act not ſincerely, are ready to think others like themſelves. However, the king of France's affected delays afforded the pope a motive or pretence to conclude another treaty with the emperor, to drive the French out of the Milaneſe, and reſtore the Sforzas. As he continued at once ſecret negotiations with the emperor and the king of France, it would be very difficult to know his real intent, if there was not a notable difference between the two treaties juſt mentioned. That with the French ambaſſador concerned a chimerical project, the execution whereof was almoſt impracticable in the preſent juncture of affairs, and beſides, really contrary to his true intereſt, whereas the other was to his advantage, and agreeable to the projects he had formed. So, probably the firſt was made only to procure better terms from the emperor. Beſides, he had been ever wont to have, as they ſay, two ſtrings to his bow, which he conſidered as the grand myſtery of politicks. His treaty with the emperor was no leſs advantageous, than that he would have made with the king of France. The chief articles were theſe:

The pope leagues with the emperor, Mezerai. Guicciard.

That the pope and emperor ſhould join their forces to expel the French out of the Milaneſe, and reſtore Franceſco Sforza. That prince was then at Trent, having retired thither a little before his brother Maximilian was diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions.

Article of the treaty of the league. Guicciard.

That

1521. That Parma and Placentia ſhould be reſtored to the church.

That the inhabitants of the Milaneſe ſhould provide themſelves with ſalt only at Cervia, a town in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

That the emperor ſhould aid the pope to conquer Ferrara.

That the ſum the emperor gave the pope for the kingdom of Naples ſhould be augmented.

That the emperor ſhould protect the family of Medici.

That he ſhould grant to the cardinal de Medici a penſion of ten thouſand ducats, upon the archbiſhoprick of Toledo.

That Alexander de Medici, natural ſon to Lorenzo late duke of Urbino, ſhould have in the kingdom of Naples, lands to the value of ten thouſand ducats a year.

They prepare for war. Guicciard.

The treaty was kept ſo private that it came not to Francis's knowledge, till the two allies were going to invade the Milaneſe. Mean while they concerted proper meaſures to accompliſh their deſigns. The pope, who had already ſix thouſand Switzers in his ſervice, took care to augment his forces on divers pretences. The emperor ordered the viceroy of Naples to keep the troops of that kingdom ready to march upon the firſt notice, and at the ſame time cauſed levies to be made in Germany to reinforce his army in Italy. Proſper Colonna was declared general of the league.

Colonna general of the league.

Attempts upon Genoa, Milan, and Como. Guicciard.

Whilſt Francis continued in a fatal ſecurity, and left the Milaneſe deſtitute of troops, never imagining he ſhould be attacked in Italy, becauſe he thought himſelf ſure of the pope, the two allies were contriving to ſeize at once, Milan, Genoa, and Como, before they proclaimed war againſt him. For the firſt of theſe projects they employed Hieronimo Morone ſenator of Milan, who being ſuſpected by the French, was baniſhed the city. Morone having aſſembled a great number of exiles [b] in the neighbourhood of Milan, Leſcun, who commanded in the abſence of his brother Lautrec the governor, ſallied out of Milan with ſome troops, and purſued the exiles to Reggio, where they had retired, and even demanded of the governor to deliver them into his hands. The governor refuſing, Leſcun withdrew, and poſted himſelf about ten miles from Reggio, within the pope's territories, and lay encamped ten or twelve days. Then the pope,

[b] Theſe were ſome of the emperor's adherents that had been baniſhed by the French. Guicciard.

who

who only wanted a pretence to declare againſt France, called a conſiſtory, greatly aggravated Leſcun's affront, and declared that in revenge he was reſolved to join with the emperor. But he had already done ſo, and the affair of Reggio was a mere pretence to delude the cardinals. 1521.

Whilſt Leſcun was at Reggio, Adorno baniſhed from Genoa attempted to ſurpriſe that city with ſome gallies ſupplied by the pope and the viceroy of Naples, but could not ſucceed. A few days after, Leſcun diſcovered a plot to ſurpriſe Como, and was fully informed that the pope and the emperor were the authors. It is therefore evident, that in caſe they had ſucceeded in their deſigns, they would have made no ſcruple to appear the aggreſſors. Guicciard.

Leſcun no longer doubting that there was a deſign to invade the Milaneſe, acquainted the king, and withal ſent for the four thouſand Switzers, intended for Milan, who were ready to march. Francis ſurpriſed at the danger the Milaneſe was in, ſpeedily ordered a levy of twenty thouſand Switzers, and ſent Lautrec to Milan, promiſing he ſhould want for nothing. But this promiſe was but very ill performed. Francis orders a levy of Switzers, and ſends Lautrec to Milan. Guicciard.

Mean while, Proſper Colonna having aſſembled at Reggio the army of the allies, beſieged Parma, where Leſcun had now thrown in ſome troops. But before he could take the place, Lautrec having received the ſupplies he expected from Switzerland, forced him to raiſe the ſiege, and purſued him even beyond the borders of the Milaneſe. As he imagined Parma to be out of danger, he had drawn out Leſcun with the garriſon to ſtrengthen his army. But no ſooner was Leſcun out of the city, than the inhabitants declared for the pope, and erected the church's colours on the walls. Colonna beſieges Parma. Bellai. Mezerai. He raiſes the ſiege. Parma declares for the pope.

But this was not the only misfortune Lautrec was to be expoſed to during the campaign. Preſently after, he was deſerted by the twenty thouſand Switzers he had lately received, and conſtrained to retire to Milan, where Proſper Colonna purſued him in his turn with all poſſible diligence. Whereupon Lautrec deſpairing of defending Milan, quitted the town, after ſupplying the caſtle with ammunition, and withdrew to Como, where the four thouſand Switzers he ſtill had forſook him and returned home, becauſe he had no money to pay them. So, Colonna, taking poſſeſſion of Milan, went from thence to make other conqueſts which Lautrec could not oppoſe. In a word, Francis loſt the whole duchy of Milan except a few places, Lautrec is deſerted by the Switzers. Colonna purſues him cloſely. Guicciard. Lautric quits Milan, and Colonna takes it.

Probably

1521. Probably, Lautrec would not have been able to ſupport himſelf long in Italy, had not the pope's death on the 1ſt of December afforded him ſome reſpite. Léo X. is ſaid to die with joy at the news of the good ſucceſs of the league. Some however affirm, his death was haſtened by poiſon [c]. However this be, the news of the pope's death was no ſooner ſpread, but the troops he maintained diſbanded themſelves. Of the twelve thouſand Switzers he had in the army of the allies, but fifteen hundred remained, and the Florentines retired to their own country. Thus Proſper Colonna found himſelf in a few days in as ill a ſituation as Lautrec. The college of cardinals, not knowing what courſe to take, gave no orders, but deferred every thing till the election of a new pope. Mean while, the duke of Ferrara recovered ſome of his towns in la Romagna, and Franceſco Maria della Rovere took poſſeſſion again of the duchy of Urbino. If Lautrec had then been ſupplied with the men and money he was promiſed, he would have doubtleſs expelled the imperialiſts out of Milan. But Francis I. entirely neglecting the affairs of Italy, thought only of defending himſelf in Flanders and Picardy, where he was vigorouſly attacked. He ſtill held however in Italy, Genoa, Cremona, the caſtles of Milan and Novarra, with ſome ſmall places on the lake Gorda.

Death of Leo X. Guicciard.

The army of the allies diſband.

The duke of Ferrara recovers his towns.

La Rovere takes poſſeſſion of Urbino. Guicciard.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Italy, the war at length was begun in the Low Countries, in a manner very diſadvantageous to France. The troops raiſed by Robert de la Mark to beſiege Vireton being diſbanded, Francis thought he had ſatisfied the emperor and the king of England. It was indeed ſufficient take from Henry all pretence of declaring againſt him, ſince by the treaty of league, in caſe one of the allies was invaded, the reſt were not to declare againſt the aggreſſor, till being ſummoned to deſiſt from the war, he ſhould have refuſed. Francis was ſummoned and had deſiſted, conſequently Henry had no cauſe to complain. But it was otherwiſe with the emperor, who was not contented with ſo ſlight a ſatisfaction. He forbore however to complain of the king of France, but was reſolved to be revenged of Robert de la Mark, who had dared to ſend him a defiance. Beſides, he conſidered, if France undertook to defend that prince, as it was very likely, he would incur the blame of

Campaign of the Low Countries, Bellai.

[c] Guicciardini ſays, it was ſecretly whiſpered, but upon conjectures only, that the French king had him poiſoned by means of one Barnabo Malaſpina, his chaplain, who was impriſoned on ſuſpicion; but the proſecution was dropped, and he was diſcharged, by the cardinal de Medici, out of reſpect for the king of France. l. 14.

the rupture, and this was what the emperor and cardinal Wolſey chiefly deſired, in order to uſe that inducement to perſuade Henry to declare againſt France. So, Charles having prepared an army, gave the command to Henry count of Naſſau, who entering the territories of Robert de la Mark, took and razed ſeveral places. Francis was patient, chooſing rather to forſake his ally, than give the king of England a pretence to arm againſt him. Then Robert ſeeing himſelf without refuge, made his ſubmiſſion to the emperor, who granted him a truce for ſix weeks. Mean while, though the emperor had to deal only with a petty prince unable to reſiſt him, and of whom he had been ſufficiently revenged, he continued to reinforce his army. Francis ſeeing ſo many troops in the neighbourhood of Champagne, eaſily perceived, they were not ſolely deſigned againſt Robert de la Mark, and that he might be taken unprovided, unleſs he prepared for his defence. Mean while, he repreſented to the king of England, that he could not avoid taking up arms, in order to reſiſt the emperor, who was preparing to attack him. Henry anſwered, he would ſide with neither, but as a common friend offered to be their umpire. Adding, if they would both ſend their plenipotentiaries to Calais the beginning of Auguſt, cardinal Wolſey ſhould be there to act in his name as mediator. Charles readily accepted ſo advantageous a propoſal, ſince he and the cardinal underſtood one another. As for Francis he durſt not reject it, though he had no reaſon to be pleaſed with the king of England. But he did not yet know that Wolſey was wholly devoted to the emperor. It was therefore agreed, that the plenipotentiaries of the two monarchs, the pope's nuncio, and the cardinal mediator, ſhould meet at Calais the 4th of Auguſt.

1521.

The king of France's repreſentation to Henry; who offers to become mediator. Bellai. Herbert. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 748.

A congreſs at Calais agreed upon.

Mean while, the lord of Liques [d] having levied an army at his own charge, as he affirmed, ſurpriſed Mortagne, and St. Amand, in the Tournaiſis, on pretence of ſome claim of his houſe. The emperor affected to conſider this as a private quarrel, in which he had no concern, though Liques's army was compoſed of his ſubjects. His aim was to oblige Francis to take ſome ſtep which might give occaſion to accuſe him of being the aggreſſor. Herein he only imitated that prince who had attacked him under the name of Robert de la Mark. But ſome time after, the governor of Flanders beſieging Tournay in form, it was not poſſible to put ſo favourable a conſtruction upon that ſiege, eſpecially as what

The emperor tries to lay the blame of the rupture upon the French king. Bellai.

He diſcovers himſelf by cauſing Tournay to be beſieged.

[d] Lord of Hainault.

paſſed

1521. passed then in Italy left the emperor no room to dissemble any longer. It is certain, Francis had been surprised as well in Italy as in Champagne and Flanders. He had intended no doubt to attack the emperor, but did not expect to be invaded first. For that reason he wanted time to prepare his army. Mean while, the imperialists took and razed the town of Ardres.

P. Daniel. Pol. Virg. Hall.

Conference at Calais. Mezerai. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 748, 750.

The time appointed for the congress of Calais [e] being come, cardinal Wolsey repaired thither with a numerous retinue [f], and carried the great seal with him [g]. It appears in the collection of the publick acts, that he was furnished with several of the king's commissions, to be used as he should think proper. By the first, he was constituted the king's lieutenant general to adjust, as mediator, the differences between the emperor and the king of France. By a second, he was impowered to treat and conclude with Francis I. a renewal of the alliance. But probably this was only to show the French ambassadors Henry's impartiality, and pretended design to join with that prince, who should be found to be unjustly attacked. By a third, he had power to conclude a league between England and the emperor, the pope, the king of France, or any other potentate whatever. Thus Henry, without having yet examined on which side the blame lay, left it to his lieutenant to engage him in which party he pleased. But very probably, his resolution was taken already, and the congress of Calais intended only to show he was not resolved, till after a strict information, and to cause the blame of the rupture to be thrown on the king of France. All the proceedings of the cardinal mediator, discovered, that he meant not to procure a peace between the two monarchs, but only to find the king his master a pretence to declare for the emperor.

p. 749.

p. 750. Hall. Stow.

Henry and the cardinal act not with sincerity.

Whilst these affairs were negotiating at Calais, the imperialists besieged and took Mouzon in Champagne. Then they ravaged the country, and plundered the little town of

[e] Which was July 25. In the mean time a six weeks truce was appointed between the emperor and king of France. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 748.

[f] He was attended by Charles Somerset, earl of Worcester, the lords St. John, Ferrers, and Herbert, the bishops of Durham and Ely, the primate of Armagh, sir Thomas Boleyn, sir John Peche, sir John Hussey, sir Henry Guildford, and many others. He came to Dover the 8th of July, and sailed to Calais the 10th. Hall, fol. 86.

[g] For which reason, many English were forced to go to him to receive their dispatches, and at home the constituting of sheriffs was suspended, &c. Which things were urged against him afterwards in his trial. Herbert, p. 44. Hall, fol. 88.

Aubanton,

Aubantón, where the count of Naſſau ſuffered his ſoldiers to commit grievous outrages; after which he laid ſiege to Mezieres. Francis wanting time to aſſemble his army, could not be ready till the end of September: which however was ſoon enough to throw ſuccours into Mezieres, and thereby force the count of Naſſau to raiſe the ſiege. The earl of St. Pol recovered Mouzon ſhortly after, and the count of Naſſau, retired into the earldom of Namur. Champagne being thus freed, Francis ordered his army to march into Flanders, where the imperialiſts ſtill continued the ſiege of Tournay. When his troops were drawn together, he aſſaulted Bapaume, Landrecy, Bouchain, and carried them. Afterwards hearing, the emperor, who had headed his army, was retiring towards Valenciennes, he reſolved to go and attack him, but loſt the opportunity by his own fault. It is ſaid, if he had been as ſpeedy as he might, and ought to have been, he would have infallibly defeated the emperor, who giving all over for loſt, was retired with a hundred horſe only, quitting his army, not to be a witneſs of their deſtruction. Upon this occaſion, Francis I. gave the duke of Bourbon, conſtable of France, great cauſe of diſguſt, by ſetting the duke of Alençon at the head of the vanguard, though that poſt properly belonged to the conſtable, when the king was in the army. It is ſaid, the king gave the conſtable that mortification, to oblige his mother the ducheſs of Angoulême, who hated him. But he had too much reaſon afterwards to repent his complaiſance to his mother.

1521.

The emperor's army takes Mouzon, and ravages Champagne. Bellai. Mezerai. P. Daniel. Siege of Mezieres raiſed. Hall. Herbert. Conqueſts of Francis in the Low Countries. He miſſes the opportunity of defeating the emperor. He diſobliges the conſtable Bourbon.

At the very time Francis I. was attacked in Champagne, he ſent an army into Navarre, under the command of admiral Bonnivet, who arrived about the end of September, at St. John de Luz. At firſt, he pretended to march towards Pampelona. Then, after ſeveral marches and counter marches, he ſuddenly approached, and beſieged Fontarabia. When the breach was made, he ordered the town to be furiouſly ſtormed, but however was bravely repulſed. But the garriſon, being little able to ſtand a ſecond aſſault, ſurrendered by capitulation. This conqueſt was of very great importance, Fontarabia being one of the keys of Spain.

Campaign in Navarre. Bellai. Hall. P. Daniel. Bonnivet takes Fontarabia. Oct. 18.

Whilſt the war was vigorouſly continued in Italy, Champagne, Flanders, Picardy, Navarre, cardinal Wolſey was buſy at Calais in treating with the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and the king of France. The congreſs laſted ten weeks, and the parties could not be brought to agree. In all appearance, the mediator, inſtead of cloſing, helped rather to widen, the breach. It was long debated to know which

Account of the congreſs of Calais. Hall. Herbert.

1521. which had begun the war. This was the chief point with reſpect to Wolſey, who intended to throw the blame on the king of France. Afterwards, when the differences themſelves came to be conſidered, the propoſals of the emperor's plenipotentiaries ſhowed a peace was ſtill very remote. They demanded reſtitution of the duchy of Burgundy, and abolition of the homage due to the crown of France, for Flanders and Artois. The only reaſon they alledged to ſupport their laſt pretenſion was, that it was unbecoming for an emperor to do homage to a king. Theſe two propoſitions were of ſuch a nature, that Francis would hardly have accepted them, even after the loſs of many battles. On the other hand, the French ambaſſadors having notice of what paſſed in Italy, earneſtly demanded reſtitution of Milan, and that the emperor ſhould withdraw his troops from before Tournay. They inſiſted moreover upon the reſtitution of Navarre, to which the emperor was bound by the treaty of Noyon. If the emperor had been afraid of Henry's joining with the king of France, he might have granted part of theſe demands without being forced to diſmember his dominions. But Francis could not reſign Burgundy, without letting the enemy into the heart of his kingdom, nor the homage of Flanders and Artois, without diſhonour. But as the emperor was ſecure of the king of England, he perſiſted in his demands, without any abatements.

Wolſey declares he deſpairs of a peace.

Treaty of little conſequence. Act. Pub. XIII.p.752. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

After the mediator had long feigned to endeavour only to procure a peace, he declared, he ſaw no way to ſucceed. Then, he preſented to the plenipotentiaries a treaty to ſign, containing articles of little importance, namely, that the French and Flemings ſhould have liberty to fiſh for herrings till the end of January: that the two contending monarchs ſhould enjoin their ſubjects to purſue no veſſel into the ports or harbours belonging to the king of England, and commit no hoſtilities within the territories of the ſaid king, during the war: that the pope's nuncio, and the plenipotentiaries at Calais might freely retire with all their train, without receiving any injury from the troops of the two monarchs: that the king of England, and the cardinal legate his lieutenant ſhould be the conſervators of theſe articles, to be ratified within ten days. We have here a very ſenſible proof of the cardinal's inſolence, who, in a treaty drawn by himſelf, preſumed thus to ſet himſelf upon a level with his maſter, by being declared conſervator with the king. Theſe conventions were ratified by the two monarchs the 2d and 11th of October, and there appears not in the collection of the publick

The cardinal's pride.

Act. Pub. XIII.p.755.

lick acts, the leaſt trace of any other treaty made at Calais at that time. 1521.

Du Bellai [h] however ſays in his memoirs, that the king of England having ſent ambaſſadors to Francis I. during the congreſs of Calais, they laboured ſo effectually, that at length it was agreed, the emperor ſhould raiſe the ſiege of Tournay, and withdraw his troops out of the Milaneſe; that Francis ſhould retire into France with his army, and their differences be referred to the arbitration of the king of England. He adds, after theſe conventions, each thought the peace concluded, but that upon the emperor's receiving news of the taking of Fontarabia, he demanded, before the treaty was ratified, the reſtitution of that place, and upon Francis's refuſal, the treaty remained unexecuted. But very probably, this illuſtrious author, who was better acquainted with the particulars of the war, than of the negotiations, was miſinformed. Firſt, becauſe the collection of the publick acts, mentions not this pretended treaty, though we ſee there another of much leſs conſequence concluded at the ſame time. Secondly, we do not find in the collection, any embaſſy from the king of England, either to the French king or the emperor, in the time which muſt have preceeded this treaty. Thirdly, there is no likelihood, the emperor would have withdrawn his troops out of the Milaneſe, that is, would have reſtored Milan to France, and loſt the hopes of acquiring Tournay, which was now reduced to extremities, for the bare advantage of ſeeing Francis retire into his own kingdom. In ſhort, it may have been eaſily perceived, Henry was very far from the thoughts of forcing the emperor to yield to theſe terms, and it will ſtill be more plainly perceived by what follows. Add to all theſe conſiderations, that ſeeing the regard the emperor and the king of France had for cardinal Wolſey, it is not likely they ſhould conclude a treaty without his knowledge, and by the miniſtry of other ambaſſadors, whilſt he was at Calais to do the office of mediator. It may be, theſe propoſals were made to Francis, and he was ſo blind as to imagine they would take place, becauſe he was yet ignorant of the ſecret engagements of the king of England and his miniſter, with the emperor, and becauſe ſuch a report was ſpread in the court of France. Be this as it will, after the taking of Fontarabia, the war continued without inter-

Remark on a paſſage of Bellai's memoirs.

[h] Martin du Bellai, brother to cardinal John Bellai, was much eſteemed by Francis I, and employed by him in his wars, and in important embaſſies. He writ memoirs, containing the moſt memorable tranſactions under the reign of Francis I. to the reign of Henry II.

1521. miſſion, and with great animoſity. Francis I. became maſter of Heſdin about the beginning of November, and Tournay ſurrendered to the emperor by capitulation.

Mezerai. Herbert.

Wolſey goes to the emperor at Bruges. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

Mean while cardinal Wolſey ſtill remained at Calais, under colour of ſearching for ſome farther expedient to procure a peace between the two monarchs. He frequently ſent expreſſes to both, with propoſals which he knew they would not accept. At laſt, feigning a deſire to gain time, he went himſelf to the emperor at Bruges [i], where he was received with as much reſpect as if he had been king of England [k].

and makes a treaty with him againſt France. Herbert.

Here he concluded with the pope and the emperor a league againſt France, by virtue of the powers he had brought with him. By the treaty the pope engaged to thunder the church's cenſures againſt the king of France. Henry was to invade him with an army of forty thouſand men. The emperor and Henry obliged themſelves to break all their engagements with him. Moreover, Henry promiſed to give in marriage to the emperor the princeſs Mary, affianced to the dauphin. Theſe were the chief articles agreed upon by the emperor and the cardinal the 24th of November 1521, which were to be ratified within three months. But they engaged to be ſecret till the time of performance. Thus was Henry perſuaded by his miniſter to oppreſs his ally the king of France, who had done him no injury. The only thing he could complain of, was, that Francis had lately permitted the duke of Albany to return into Scotland, doubtleſs becauſe he perceived the cardinal was meditating ſomething againſt him. It is in vain to inquire what intereſt Henry had to declare againſt France, and cauſe the ballance to incline to the emperor's ſide: no other can be found but the cardinal's, who wanted to be pope at Francis's coſt. The death of Leo X. haſtened by poiſon, as ſeveral affirm, and happening during theſe tranſactions, has made ſome ſuſpect that Wolſey was concerned in it, and the more, becauſe he aſpired to be ſucceſſor to a pope much younger than himſelf; but no proof was ever produced. Certainly Henry would have acquired more glory in continuing umpire of the peace between the two contending monarchs, and in procuring tranquillity to all Europe, than by all the conqueſts, his miniſter flattered him with [l].

The princeſs Mary promiſed to the emperor.

Henry's falſe politicks. Hall. Herbert.

p. 43.

[i] Wolſey ſtaid thirteen days at Bruges. He returned to England, and landed at Dover, Novemb. 27. Hall, fol. 88.

Hitherto

Hitherto cardinal Wolſey had puſhed his fortune to ſuch a height, that it ſeemed difficult to make any addition to it. And yet all this was not capable to ſatisfy him. His legate-ſhip had been prolonged for two years, the beginning of this year. But he thought himſelf to be too much above all other legates, not to have a different commiſſion from theirs. In April he procured from Leo X. a bull, impowering him to make fifty knights, fifty count palatines, as many acolyths [m] and chaplains, forty notaries apoſtolick, who ſhould have the ſame privileges as thoſe made by the pope; to legitimate baſtards, give degrees in arts, law, phyſick, and divinity, and grant all ſorts of diſpenſations. In a word, not content with all the riches he poſſeſſed, or with the means he had to increaſe them inceſſantly, he cauſed alſo the rich abbey of St. Albans to be given him this year in commendam. 1521. Bull to enlarge the legate's power. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 734, 739. Abbey of St. Albans given to Wolſey. p. 760, 775.

It is no wonder, if, being arrived to ſo high a degree of grandeur and riches, his pride increaſed in proportion. Though the king's blindneſs for him was inconceiveable, it was not ſo with the courtiers, who ſaw but too plainly how groſsly he miſled his maſter, who placed ſo great confidence in him. But none dared to take notice of it, ſuch was the dread of his haughty and revengeful temper. The duke of Buckingham, ſon of the duke of the ſame name, who in the reign of Richard III. loſt his head on the ſcaffold, for endeavouring to procure the crown for Henry VII. ſadly experienced how dangerous it was to diſcover what was thought of that proud prelate. He happened one day to ſay, in the hearing of one who betrayed him [n], that in caſe the king died without iſſue, he thought he had a right to the crown, and if ever he aſcended the throne, his firſt care ſhould be to puniſh the cardinal according to his deſerts. Diſgrace and death of the duke of Buckingham. Herbert. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

[m] An inferior church ſervant in popiſh countries, who, under the ſubdeacon, waits on the prieſts and deacons, lights the candles, carries the bread and wine, and pays other ſervile attendance.

[n] Charles Knevet, his ſteward, who was turned out of his place by the duke, upon the complaints of his tenants, was the perſon that informed againſt the duke, and told the cardinal all the particulars which were alledged againſt him. The firſt thing that incenſed the cardinal, was his ſpeaking againſt the interview of the two kings as an idle expence, though no man made a greater figure there than himſelf. Herbert, p. 41. The reſt of the witneſſes againſt the duke were, Gilbert Perke, his chancellor, and John Delacourt, his confeſſor. Hall, fol. 86. The words above mentioned, were ſpoken by the duke, to George Nevil, lord Abergavenny, who, for concealment, was committed to the Tower, as was alſo Henry Pole, lord Montague; and ſir Edward Nevil, the foreſaid lord's brother, was forbid the king's preſence. Hollingſh. p. 863.

1521. The duke's title was not altogether groundleſs, ſince he was deſcended from Anne of Glouceſter, grandaughter to Edward III. Doctor Morton, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, preſſed the duke his father to endeavour to ſeize the crown; but the duke choſe rather to act for the earl of Richmond, than for himſelf, as was ſhown in the reign of Richard III. What the ſon had ſaid concerning his title, was therefore rather imprudent than criminal, ſince he pretended not to the crown unleſs the king died without heirs. Indeed, his title might be ill grounded; but he had done nothing to ſupport it. His crime then conſiſted only in what he had ſaid againſt the cardinal, who, for that reaſon, reſolved to diſpatch him. For that purpoſe, he gained ſome of his domeſticks, and learnt by their means that he had conſulted a certain monk [o], who pretended to foretell things to come, and had conferred with him ſeveral times ſince April, 1512. Probably, the duke, fond of his title, had inquired of the monk whether the king would die without children. And that was ſufficient to give the cardinal occaſion to miſconſtrue all his proceedings. When he believed he had ſufficient evidence againſt him, he began with depriving him of his two principal ſupports; namely, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, his father-in-law, whom he ſent to the Tower on ſome pretence [p], and Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey [q], his ſon-in-law, on whom he conferred the government of Ireland to remove him from London. Preſently after the duke was apprehended [r], and accuſed of high treaſon. The ſubſtance of his impeachment was, that he had ſeveral times conſulted the monk concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown, and affected to make himſelf popular. The duke confeſſed he had talked ſometimes with the monk; but denied it to be with the intent he was charged with. However, he was condemned to die as a traitor, which he could not bear to hear when the ſentence was pronounced [s]. My lord of Norfolk, cried he, you have ſaid as a traitor ſhould be ſaid unto, but I was never one. My lords, continued he, addreſſing himſelf to the peers his judges, I nothing maligne for what you have done to me, but

Hall. Herbert. Stow. Hollingſh.

Hall.

[o] One Nicolas Hopkins, prior of the Carthuſian monaſtery of Hinton, near Briſtol. Hall, fol. 85, 86.

[p] For claiming certain wards, which [illegible] bort, Sur- his Hol- lingſh. p. 855.

[r] By ſir Henry Marney, captain of the king's guard; and brought to the Tower, April 16. Hall, fol. 85.

[s] By the duke of Norfolk, who was for the time conſtituted high ſteward. He was brought to his tryal May 13. Hall.

the

the eternal God forgive you my death, and I do. I ſhall never ſue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him than I deſire. My lords and all my fellows I deſire you to pray for me. When he ſaid he would not ſue to the king for life, his meaning was, he thought it would be fruitleſs, knowing he was the cardinal's victim, who had an abſolute ſway over the king. Indeed, the miniſter had ſo ordered it, that though all the peers of the realm had a right to aſſiſt at the trial, there were preſent only one duke, one marquis, ſeven earls, and twelve barons [t]; and probably, he had ſecured the majority. All the favour the duke received was to be beheaded, inſtead of dying the death of a traitor [u]. This execution was attended with loud murmurs among the people, and ſatyrical libels againſt the cardinal, wherein was ſaid among other things, that it was not ſtrange the ſon of a butcher ſhould delight in ſhedding blood. But this was all the revenge that was taken for this injuſtice. He was too deeply rooted in the king's mind, to fear theſe murmurs, which beſides never reached the king's ears, all about him being either ſpies or creatures of the cardinal. 1521.

The king was then wholly intent upon one affair, namely, the war he had reſolved to make upon France, as if his glory and grandeur had depended upon the ruin of that kingdom, whereas his true intereſt was to ſupport France againſt the emperor, who was now grown too powerful. He was already formidable to all Europe, even without the aſſiſtance of England, how much more by his union with that kingdom? this was owing to cardinal Wolſey's ambition, whoſe counſels to his maſter were always ſelf-intereſted. Probably, France was going to be reduced to a very ſad condition, it being hardly poſſible for her to reſiſt ſo potent enemies, who were to invade her from ſeveral quarters. Francis I. imagined however he had ſtill one refuge by means of the Scots, Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert.

[t] Namely, the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Dorſet, the earls of Worceſter, Devonſhire, Eſſex, Shrewſbury, Kent, Oxford, and Derby; the lords St. John, Delaware, Fitzwarren, Willoughby, Broke, Cobham, Herbert, and Morley. Hall.

[u] He was executed on Tower Hill, May 17, 1521, and was buried in the church of the Auguſtines, in Broad-ſtreet, London. Edward Stafford, deſcended of Edmund, earl of Stafford, who married Anne, daughter of Thomas of Woodſtock, ſon of Edward III. left (by Alianore his wife, one of the daughters of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland) one ſon, Henry, and three daughters; Elizabeth, married to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk; Catherine, to Ralph Nevil, earl of Weſtmoreland; and Mary, to George Nevil, lord Abergavenny. With this duke of Buckingham, ceaſed that great place of high conſtable of England, hereditary in his family. Dugdale's Baron. vol. I. p. 171.

1521. who could make a conſiderable diverſion in England. The congreſs of Calais having plainly diſcovered Henry's partiality to the emperor, he made no doubt of its being an introduction to a rupture. In this belief, though he had engaged to detain the duke of Albany in France, he thought proper to keep him no longer, not thinking himſelf bound to perform a promiſe, the motive whereof was now no more, namely, the mutual friendſhip between him and Henry. He permitted therefore the duke of Albany to return into Scotland, or rather ſent him back, in hopes he would employ part of the Engliſh forces on the borders of the two kingdoms. He very juſtly expected this ſervice from a prince who was devoted to him, and looked upon his ſettlement in France as much more ſolid than that in Scotland, where his regency was to laſt but few years. The duke therefore departed for Scotland, and arriving the 30th of October 1521, after a four year's abſence, reſumed the regency. As he intended to ſerve France to the utmoſt of his power, his firſt care was to oblige the earl of Angus, the queen's ſpouſe, to quit the kingdom, deeming him one of the king of England's principal adherents, and yet the earl took refuge in France.

Buchanan. Hall. Hollingſh.

Whilſt the chriſtian princes were all employed in their temporal concerns, the reformation made great progreſs in Germany by means of Luther's writings, which were read with great eagerneſs. Luther was ſatisfied at firſt with attacking the ſale of indulgences, then the indulgences themſelves, and the pope's power to grant them. This naturally led him to examine the grounds of the papal authority; and being perſuaded there was nothing to ſupport it in ſcripture, he writ upon that ſubject without any regard to the Roman pontiff. He attacked likewiſe in his writings the celibacy of prieſts, monaſtick vows, and private maſſes. Though at the time I am now ſpeaking of, namely, the beginning of the year 1521, he had preached and wrote againſt the pope but three years, he had gained many followers, and ſtill more enemies, not only by his novel opinions, but alſo by his ſharp and ſatyrical ſtile, wherein he threw off all ceremony with reſpect to the church of Rome. The book that made moſt noiſe was entitled, concerning the Babyloniſh captivity. In this book the popes were not ſpared.

Progreſs of the reformation in Germany. Sleidan.

In the ſeveral anſwers which appeared as well againſt [illegible] of Luther, the decretals of the popes, [illegible] Aquinas were urged in favour of [illegible] This gave him occaſion, in his replies, [illegible] in defence of the papal power, alledged

ledged the deciſions of the popes themſelves, and the teſtimony of Thomas Aquinas, who was canonized for carrying the pope's authority as high as poſſible. Beſides, he did not ſhew much regard for that author's writings; which probably, was the chief thing that incenſed Henry VIII. againſt him. As Henry had much ſtudied the works of Thomas Aquinas, and from thence properly had acquired all his theological knowledge, he could not bear to ſee his favorite author thus contemned [w]. He thought himſelf therefore a match for Luther and able to confute his writings. But as Leo X. had by a bull expreſly forbid the reading of his works, and as an anſwer neceſſarily ſuppoſed the peruſal, cardinal Wolſey, applied to the pope for a power to permit ſuch to read them, as deſired it with intent to confute them. This was granted him by a brief dated the 17th of April 1521, the pope little thinking who the perſon was that was going to ſupport his cauſe. 1521. Act Pub. XIII. p. 742.

Henry finiſhed in September his book againſt Luther, entitled, concerning the ſeven ſacraments. He defended indulgences, papal authority, the number of ſacraments, and other articles combated by Luther, proceeding upon Thomas Aquinas's principles as upon undeniable truths. Very probably he was aſſiſted by cardinal Wolſey in compoſing this work, which was preſented to the pope in full conſiſtory [x]. Leo X. who was ſtill living, received it with great joy, and ſpoke of it in the higheſt ſtrains of flattery, making no ſcruple to compare it to the works of St. Auguſtine and St. Jerom. This is no wonder. A book compoſed by a great king in defence of the papal authority, could not be too much eſteemed by a pope. A few days after, Leo aſſembled the cardinals, to conſult with them, after what manner he ſhould requite the king of England's ſervice to the church. After a long debate, they reſolved at laſt to honour that monarch Henry VIII's book againſt Luther, Herbert. Hall. preſented to the pope;

[w] Wolſey alſo much read Thomas Aquinas, and was therefore called Thomiſticus. Pol. Virg.

[x] The manner of delivery was thus: dr. John Clarke, dean of Windſor, our king's ambaſſador, appearing in full conſiſtory, the pope knowing the glorious preſent he brought, firſt gave him his foot, and then his cheek to kiſs; after which he received the book, and made a ſpeech. This copy, richly bound, is kept in the Vatican, where lord Herbert ſays, he remembers to have ſeen it. The book is dedicated to the pope. "In this addreſs your "holineſs may be ſurpriſed (ſays the "king) to find a perſon bred to war, "and the buſineſs of ſtate, engaged "in a controverſy of this nature, with "a man that has ſpent his whole time "in the improvements of learning." Some have thought that this book was compoſed, at leaſt in part, by Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, Stephen Gardiner, and ſir Thomas Moor. Herbert, p. 38, Fiddes, p. 251.

1521. with the glorious title of defender of the faith [y]. In consequence of this resolution, the pope ordered a bull to be drawn, conferring that title on Henry, and all the kings of England his successors [z]. I shall not repeat here the magnificent encomiums the pope gave the king in this bull, and in a letter of thanks for his book [a]. It may be easily imagined, he spared not the most extravagant expressions to flatter a prince, who was so fond of being flattered, and of whom he stood in need, his nuntio being then at Calais, negotiating with cardinal Wolsey a league against France [b].

who gives Henry the title of defender of the faith. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 756. p. 758.

1522. I have already spoke of this league which was really concluded at Bruges. Henry founded his joining with the emperor upon Francis's having been the aggressor, by encouraging Robert de la Mark to take up arms. But besides that Francis denied he was concerned in that undertaking, and had even obliged Robert to desist, it was evident the emperor had prevented him, by joining in a league with the pope, though their league was not so soon made known. The secret attempts upon Como, Milan, Genoa, and the

Henry's reasons for making war upon France.

y It was debated whether he should be stiled protector, or defender of the Roman church; or, of the apostolick see; or, the apostolical, or orthodox king. But defender of the faith was at last pitched upon. This title had formerly been enjoyed by some of our kings his predecessors. Spelman. Fuller, in his church history says, there went a tradition, that Patch, the king's fool, perceiving the king very jocund one day, asked him the reason, and when the king told him it was because of his new tile, defender of the faith, the fool made this arch reply, prithee, good Harry, let thee and I defend one another, and let the faith alone to defend itself. Fiddes life of Wolsey, p. 248.

z The beginning and end of this bull is engraven from the original, with the very hand writing of the cardinals to it, in the XIIIth volume of the Fœdera, p. 756.

a Among other expressions in this letter, there are these words: quasi reputantes, non sine permissu divino, erupisse adversus [illegible] ecclesiam, lu- [illegible] ma- [illegible] pugna- [illegible] Ry- [illegible]

b This year 1521, muskets were invented, which du Bellai says, were first used in this war.——This year also, it being observed there was a great decay of tillage and husbandry, occasioned by the many inclosures made by the nobility and gentry, who, within fifty years, had turned most of their lands into pasture, and kept them in their own hands; from whence, among other inconveniencies, it followed, that the number of husbandmen, and persons capable of defending the country, was very much lessened; many towns and villages were depopulated; and the prices of wool and meat were very much enhanced, as being engrossed by persons who were not obliged to sell: to remedy all this, the king revived the statutes made against inclosures, and issued out his commissions to justices of peace, and other magistrates, to see them put in execution. Stow, p. 512. Hollingsh, p. 862.——The sea overflowing the dikes of Holland, drowned seventy two villages, and above a hundred thousand people.——Also there was so great a dearth in England, that wheat was sold for twenty shillings a quarter. Stow, p. 514.

open

open war in the Milaneſe, by which the king of France loſt that duchy, were clear evidences that the league was concluded before Robert de la Mark's affair. Henry pretended alſo to have againſt Francis another cauſe of complaint, which however had no better foundation; namely, that contrary to his promiſe, he had permitted the duke of Albany to return into Scotland. But if it is conſidered that the duke arrived not in his own country till the 30th of October, and that the league of Bruges was ſigned the 24th of November, it will be eaſy to perceive the league was already reſolved before Henry could know that the duke of Albany was returned into Scotland. But though, upon the firſt notice, he had taken a haſty reſolution to join with the pope and the emperor, was that a juſt cauſe to proced to a war, which would probably ruin France? The truth is, theſe were only pretences to cover the injuſtice of a war undertaken by Henry for the cardinal's intereſt, and perhaps without knowing himſelf the real motives of that miniſter's proceedings. 1522. Hall. Stow. Buchanan.

Henry ſends to the duke of Albany to go out of Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert.

Mean while, Henry perceiving the duke of Albany would embarraſs him if he continued in Scotland, attempted a ſecond time to drive him from thence. To that purpoſe, he ſent Clarenceux his herald, with orders to upbraid him with breach of promiſe, and with returning into Scotland to marry the queen dowager, and deprive the young king of the crown. The pretended reaſon of this laſt charge, was, that the queen dowager being deſirous to have her marriage with the earl of Angus annulled, the duke of Albany had ſeconded her ſuit at the court of Rome [c]. The duke anſwered he was returned into Scotland, by the invitation of the great men: that he had never done any thing to give occaſion to ſuſpect him of aſpiring to the crown, neither had he ever any ſuch thought: that indeed, he had countenanced the queen's ſuit, but without any deſign to marry her having a wife of his own.

He writ to the parliament upon the ſame account. The parliament's anſwer.

Henry was not ſatisfied with ſummoning the regent, but ſent alſo a letter to the parliament of Scotland, containing the ſame accuſations againſt the duke of Albany, and a charge to the ſtates to expel him the kindom. The ſubſtance of the parliament's anſwer was: that what had been reported to his majeſty concerning the duke of Albany's return into

[c] She was offended, it ſeems, at his leaving her at Harbottle, and very much nettled at the love he bore to a certain Scotch lady. She alledged, among other things, at the court of Rome, that ſhe heard her huſband James IV. was living three years after Flodden field, and therefore not dead when ſhe married the earl, ſo much did that report prevail. Herbert, p. 50.

Scotland,

1522. Scotland, to take forcible poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, was uttterly falſe; that the duke did nothing with regard to the king, that could breed the leaſt ſuſpicion, ſince he did not ſo much as offer to change any of his domeſticks, without the conſent of the ſtates, and that it was with the queen's advice and conſent, that they had taken care of the guardianſhip and education of the king: that they could not believe the duke had ever intended to put away his wife and marry the queen, or that the queen had any thoughts of eſpouſing the duke: that as for the treaty with the king of France, to hinder the duke of Albany's return into Scotland, it was never communicated to them, neither had they any knowledge of it: that they could not help thinking ſuch a treaty very ſtrange, ſince they rather imagined, his majeſty ſhould have ſollicited the duke to return to defend the king his nephew againſt his rebellious ſubjects, whereas they ſaw with grief, it was he who fomented the rebellion: that if it continued thus, they did not ſee how it was poſſible to keep a good underſtanding between the two kingdoms: that however, if he would be pleaſed to ſend away the biſhop of Dunkeld from his court, and without interpoſing in the affairs of Scotland, leave to the regent and ſtates the care of governing the kingdom, a truce might be concluded till the embaſſy that was to be ſent to him, was ready. But that, in caſe he would have no truce, unleſs they expelled the regent, they would endeavour to defend themſelves in the beſt manner they could.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 761. Feb. 11.

The queen of Scotland's letter to the king her brother. Herbert.

Queen Margaret, to whom the king her brother had likewiſe writ upon the ſame ſubject, ſent an anſwer, ſharply expoſtulating with him for giving ear to the report concerning her marriage with the duke of Albany. She freely owned, it was with her conſent and advice that the duke was recalled, adding, if he had not been ſo unkind a brother, ſhe ſhould have had no occaſion to ſeek the protection of a ſtranger.

Henry finds means to avoid a war with Scotland. Buchanan. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Henry could not expect any other anſwer, ſince he was conſcious to himſelf, that his accuſations againſt the regent of Scotland were only affected pretences to complain indirectly of the king of France. He ordered however the lord Dacres [d] to march into Scotland with five hundred men, and proclaim on the borders, that if the Scots made not peace with [illegible] by ſuch a time [e], it ſhould be to their peril. But

[d] [illegible] of the Weſt marches.

[e] By the firſt of March. Hollingſhead, p. 872.

he

he did not ſupport this bravado [f]. His ſole aim was to furniſh his party in Scotland with a pretence to refuſe to ſerve the regent, in caſe he attempted to make a diverſion in England in favour of France. And in this he was not diſappointed. In October following, the regent of Scotland raiſing an army to make an inroad into England, was no ſooner come to the borders, but many of the lords refuſed to attend any farther, alledging, they were unwilling to engage the kingdom in an unneceſſary war with England. The oppoſition the duke of Albany found in his army, convincing him he ſhould be able to do nothing conſiderable, he propoſed a truce, which the Engliſh gladly accepted. For, Henry's aim was only to terrify the Scots with a dread of the ſucceſs of a war with England during the minority of their king. So, the duke of Albany ſeeing it was not in his power to ſerve France as he deſired, returned about the end of October to Paris, in order to take freſh meaſures with the king. Thus Henry attained his ends, in avoiding a rupture with Scotland, as a war with that kingdom could not but extremely incommode him, in his preſent circumſtances. 1522.

The regent goes back to France.

Mean while, Francis I. having had ſome intelligence of what paſſed at Bruges between the emperor and the cardinal, and deſiring to convince Henry how directly contrary to the league of London his proceedings were, ſent him letters patents inſerting the article of the treaty, whereby they were engaged mutually to aſſiſt one another. Then he recited what the emperor had done againſt him, as well in Italy, as in Champagne and Flanders, and ſummoned him to perform the treaty he had ſolemnly ſworn. Henry in anſwer ſent a herald to proclaim war againſt him [g], alledging he was obliged to it by the ſame treaty of London, becauſe Francis had firſt attacked the emperor, and moreover had diſappointed him with reſpect to the duke of Albany [h]. Thus war was once more declared between France and England, upon very frivolous, not to ſay unjuſt occaſions. But Wol-

Francis calls upon Henry to aid him againſt the emperor. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 764. Feb. 23.

Henry proclaims war. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Pol. Virg.

[f] King Henry fitted out alſo ſix ſhips, under the command of Chriſtopher Coo, to guard England againſt the inſults of the Scots and French. Stow, p. 514. Hall, fol. 91.

[g] In the end of March. Whereupon king Francis ordered all the effects of the Engliſh merchants at Bourdeaux, and elſewhere, to be ſeized. And Henry did the ſame by the French and Scotch merchants in London, and moreover cauſed them to be impriſoned. Hall, fol. 92, 93.

[h] At this time, Anne Bulleyn, who had lived in the French court ever ſince her going over with Mary, king Henry's ſiſter, and wife of Lewis XII, returned to England. Herbert, p. 46. Burnet's Ref. tom. I. p. 44. Fiddes, p. 268. Du Tillet, p. 397.

ſey

1522. ſey had the art of perſuading the king his maſter to whatever he pleaſed.

A tax impoſed on England. Herbert. Stow.

Henry having without cauſe proclaimed war againſt France, did not dare to call a parliament to demand a ſubſidy. For he could alledge neither any juſt cauſe, nor any neceſſity for undertaking a war deſtructive to the Engliſh merchants. However, money muſt be raiſed, and it was the cardinal's buſineſs, who had embarked him in the war, to find means.

Hall.

The expedient he thought moſt proper was, to order the ſheriffs to ſend a liſt of their names of all above ſixteen years old, with an exact account of what each perſon was worth in land, ſtock, moveables, and money. This was ſuch a ſurvey as was formerly taken in the reign of William the Conqueror, and had given ſo great cauſe of complaint to the nation [1]. This was followed by a general loan of the tenth of his lay ſubjects, and a fourth of the clergy, according to the true value of their eſtates, beſides twenty thouſand pounds which the king borrowed of the city of London. Thus one injuſtice commonly draws on another. The war was manifeſtly unjuſt, and became ſtill more ſo by the means employed to maintain it. Theſe kinds of involuntary loans, to which certain kings of England have ſometimes forced their ſubjects, are a manifeſt violation of the privileges of the people, and tend directly to arbitrary power. If the king may oblige his ſubjects to furniſh him with money, when he ſhall think neceſſary, though it be by way of benevolence or loan, it may be aſſured, he will very ſeldom, or perhaps never think himſelf obliged to call a parliament. It is true, Henry was neither the firſt nor laſt that uſed this extraordinary method to raiſe money. But, though he was ſo fortunate as to receive no prejudice by it, ſome of his

Hall. Hollingſh.

[1] Stow gives an account of this ſurvey from an original warrant directed to the conſtable of a hundred, who was commanded to charge the conſtables of every pariſh within the ſaid hundred to appear perſonally before certain commiſſioners, and to bring with them the names of all perſons above ſixteen years old, dwelling within the ſaid hundred, and to enjoin them to repair to a certain place aſſigned, with their arms, and declare what their names are, and [illegible] they belong, and who is lord [illegible] town or hamlet, and who [illegible] and who parſons of the [illegible] and what their benefice is worth, and who owners of every parcel of land within the ſaid precincts, and what is the yearly value of every man's land, what ſtock on the lands, and who the owner thereof; alſo what ſtrangers dwell there, and what buſineſs they follow; alſo the value and ſubſtance of every perſon above ſixteen years of age; alſo what penſions go thence to religious and ſpiritual men. Which being certified, the king rejoiced, finding his kingdom ſo wealthy (ſays Polydore Virgil.) See Stow's Ann. p. 515. This warrant was dated at Brentwood, March 27, 1522.

ſucceſſors

ſucceſſors who were pleaſed to imitate him, were not ſo happy. 1522.

The general loan made a great noiſe over all the kingdom. Every one openly exclaimed againſt the cardinal, who was the author. But he little regarded the people's clamours, becauſe he was ſupported by the king. However, though at firſt he had given orders to exact loans with the ſame rigour, as if they had been a tax impoſed by the parliament, he met with ſo many obſtacles, that he was apprehenſive of raiſing in the kingdom commotions not to be appeaſed at his pleaſure. So, the tax was levied much more gently than at firſt was intended. This cauſed ſo great a miſtake in the cardinal's calculation, that the king was forced at laſt to recur to the uſual method of a parliament to maintain the war, as we ſhall ſee preſently. The London merchants were the moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers of the levying this tax. They were required to declare upon oath the real value of their effects; but they firmly refuſed it, alledging, it was not poſſible for them to give an exact account of their effects, part whereof was in the hands of their correſpondents in foreign countries. At length by agreement, the king was pleaſed to accept of a ſum according to their own calculation of themſelves.

Murmurings againſt the cardinal.

The London merchants oppoſe the tax.

Cardinal Wolſey's concern at not ſucceeding in this affair according to his wiſh, was not comparable to his trouble at being diſappointed in another, which touched him more nearly, and for which he had ſpared neither money nor pains. I mean his election to the papal dignity, of which he thought himſelf ſure. Leo X. dying the beginning of December the laſt year, when his obſequies were over the cardinals entered the conclave, where they were not a little embarraſſed concerning the election of a new pope. Julio cardinal de Medici aſpired to the papacy, and had many votes for him. But the emperor's party and ſome cardinals gained by Wolſey, openly oppoſed the election of Julio. Mean while, as it is required to have two thirds of the voices to be choſen pope, if the cardinal de Medici had not enough for himſelf, he had however enough to exclude any other. And this long detained the cardinals in the conclave [k]. Though the emperor

The cardinal is diſappointed of his hopes of the papacy.

Management of the conclave. Guicciard. Pol. Virg.

[k] The conclave is in the vatican, where there is a long gallery full of cells, which are choſen by the cardinals by lot. The funeral of the deceaſed pope laſting nine days, on the tenth each cardinal goes to his cell, and are ſhut up in the conclave with one ſervant, called a conclaviſt, with each a ſecretary and gentleman to attend them, carry their meſſages, and manage their intrigues. The conclave is guarded by the militia of the city, to

1522. ror had promiſed Wolſey his intereſt, he intended not to keep his word. His deſign was to cauſe Adrian Florentio biſhop of Tortoſa, native of Utrecht, and formerly his preceptor, to be choſen, reckoning when he ſhould be pope, he would be entirely devoted to him. But this affair was managed ſo artfully, and withal ſo privately, that the cardinals of his party, without diſcovering their intent, were ſatisfied with breaking the cardinal de Medici's meaſures, till an opportunity offered to carry their point.

Herbert. Stow. Hollingſh. Mean while, Wolſey left no ſtone unturned. As he built all his hopes upon the emperor's intereſt, he writ to him to put him in mind of his promiſe, repreſenting the advantages to have a pope at his devotion. At the ſame time he ordered Pace, who was then at Venice, inſtantly to repair to Rome, and do him what ſervice he could. The emperor was very much embarraſſed in relation to Wolſey. He had promiſed to uſe all his intereſt in his favour, though nothing was farther from his thoughts. It was his intereſt to have a pope at his devotion. But he knew cardinal Wolſey too well, to imagine ſuch a pope would be guided by his counſels. It was neceſſary therefore, in order not to loſe Wolſey's friendſhip, to cauſe Adrian to be choſen without the emperor's appearing to be concerned in the election. As he had gained that Miniſter to his intereſt, ſolely by the promiſe of procuring him the papacy, he could not doubt, that if he ſaw himſelf deceived, he would turn his maſter againſt him. Wherefore the emperor concealed his deſigns, and was ſo faithfully ſerved in the conclave, that they could not be diſcovered, neither had Adrian ever one vote in the daily

Guicciard.

to prevent their receiving any letters; and the diſhes of meat (which are received in at a window by the conclaviſt) are ſearched by the maſter of the ceremonies for the ſame reaſon. The cardinals meet every morning and evening in the chapel for a ſcrutiny, which is done by writing their ſuffrages in the billets done up in two folds, and ſealed with two ſeals. In the firſt fold, the conclaviſt writes the name of the cardinal his maſter votes for, becauſe the cardinal's hand would be known. In the ſecond, the cardinal writes his own name; and on the outſide, the conclaviſt [illegible] any motto the cardinal [illegible] by which they [illegible] own billets when they are [illegible] fold containing the elec[illegible] not opened till the pope is choſen, and then he opens all to know who elected him. When the billets are ready, they put them, after a ſhort prayer, into a chalice upon the altar, and appoint two of their number to read the names of the cardinals aloud, and keep account of the votes for each. And this they do till two thirds of the votes fall upon one perſon; and if they do not, the billets are all burnt. The court of Rome conſiſts at preſent of the pope and ſeventy cardinals; viz. fifty cardinal prieſts, fourteen cardinal deacons, and ſix cardinal biſhops, who are for the moſt part of the pope's privy council. See Puffendorf's Introduction to the Hiſtory of Europe; and Relig. Cuſtoms, vol. I.

ſcrutinies,

ſcrutinies. Mean while, he kept cardinal Wolſey in hopes, and threw upon the cardinal de Medici's faction, the obſtacles which occurred in the performance of his promiſe. At laſt, when they that were in the emperor's ſecret, and managed his affairs in the conclave, were ſecure of a ſufficient number of votes, one day as the cardinals were met to make a ſcrutiny, ſome one propoſed cardinal Adrian biſhop of Tortoſa then in Spain. He enlarged upon the great qualities of that cardinal, and the advantages which would accrue to the church by his promotion. Whereupon they who were of the party voted one after another for Adrian, as if they had been inſpired, and perhaps without knowing one another's deſign, ſo dexterouſly had the buſineſs been managed. The reſt that were not in the ſecret, ſeeing two thirds of the voices for Adrian, voted the ſame way, leſt a fruitleſs oppoſition might turn to their prejudice. Thus the election was made with unanimous conſent, and paſſed for a miraculous inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt. It is not likely that Wolſey was ſuch a dupe, as to believe the emperor was not concerned in Adrian's election, ſince the thing was ſo plain. The new pope, who aſſumed the name of Adrian VI. had been his preceptor, and upon his recommendation was made cardinal, and was now regent in Spain. Beſides, there is no likelihood that the cardinals would have thought of chooſing a Barbarian, for that's the honourable appellation the Italians beſtow on thoſe that are not of their nation, if the election had not been managed by the emperor. However this be, Wolſey ſhowed no reſentment, whether he waited for an opportunity to be openly revenged, or thought proper to keep fair with the emperor againſt another vacancy. For it was probable there would be one very ſoon, the new pope being old and infirm. Adrian VI. was elected in January 1522, but it was Midſummer before he came to Rome.

1522.

Adrian VI. choſen pope. Hollingſh.

Wolſey hides his reſentment.

The emperor having made a pope at his devotion, and ſettled his affairs in Flanders and Germany, reſolved to return into Spain, where his preſence was neceſſary. But as he had cauſe to fear ſome change at the court of England, on account of what had paſſed in the late conclave, he thought proper to viſit Henry in his way. This viſit was neceſſary, as well to confirm with that prince the articles agreed on at Bruges, as to try to preſerve cardinal Wolſey's friendſhip, without which he could not expect to preſerve the king's. He landed the 26th of May at Dover, where the cardinal waited on him with a magnificent train, and Henry came

The emperor ſets out for Spain, and goes by England. Herbert. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

He is received with great

himſelf

1522. himſelf two days after [l]. From thence, he conducted the emperor to Greenwich, and then to London [m], where he was received with all the honour and reſpect uſual on ſuch occaſions. The cardinal legate forgot not to ſhow his grandeur by ſaying high maſs [n] before the two monarchs, aſſiſted by ſeveral biſhops, and ſerved by dukes. As he had reſolved to hide his reſentment, the emperor had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his reception, and found a ready compliance with all his deſires. After ſome ſtay at London the king invited him to Windſor, where he was inſtalled of the order of the garter, into which his brother Ferdinand alſo had been admitted the 23d of the foregoing April [o]. This done, the two monarchs received the ſacrament together, and ſwore to the treaty of Bruges.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 767. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

He is made knight of the garter. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

He ſigns with Henry the treaty of Bruges. Herbert.

The preamble of the treaty ran, that the emperor and king of France had referred their differences to the arbitration of the king of England, who had ſent the cardinal of York to Calais to decide them: that in theſe conferences it was long debated to know, which of the two monarchs had been the aggreſſor, and after mature deliberation the cardinal had declared, it was the king of France, as well by means of Robert de la Mark, as by invading Navarre: that therefore the king of England was obliged by the treaty of London, to aſſiſt the prince attacked againſt the aggreſſor. That moreover, he had himſelf cauſe to complain of the king of France for breach of promiſe, in ſending back the duke of Albany into Scotland, and for diſcontinuing the payments of the ſums due to him. Upon all theſe accounts, Charles and Henry deeming themſelves free and clear from all engagements with the king of France, had reſolved to contract a ſtrict alliance, and ſeal it with a marriage between the emperor and the princeſs Mary, Henry's daughter, upon the following terms. Of theſe terms I ſhall recite ſuch only as may be of ſervice to the ſequel of the hiſtory. Thoſe concerning the marriage were to this effect:

l See the names of the noblemen and others, that attended the king and the cardinal to Canterbury, in Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 767. Hall ſays, Wolſey ſet out for Dover the 20th of May; being accompanied by two earls, thirty ſix knights, a hundred gentlemen, eight biſhops, ten abbots, thirty chaplains, all in velvet and ſattin, and ſeven hundred yeomen. He came to Dover the 26th. In the mean time, Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorſet, with the lord Delaware, and a large retinue of knights and gentlemen was ſent to Calais, to wait on the emperor. fol. 93.

m On the 6th of June. Stow, p. 516.

n On Whitſunday. Ibid.

o On St. George's day, and had the order and habits ſent him to Noremberg. He was afterwards emperor. Herbert, p. 47.

That the emperor ſhould eſpouſe by proxy Mary, daughter to Henry, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be twelve years old. 1522.

That her dowry ſhould be four hundred thouſand crowns, out of which ſhould be deducted what the emperors Maximilian and Charles had borrowed of the king of England. Articles of the treaty. Herbert.

That in caſe the marriage ſhould not be accompliſhed by the emperor's fault, he obliged himſelf to pay four hundred thouſand crowns to the king of England, who bound himſelf in the ſame ſum to the emperor, in caſe the marriage was hindered on his part.

The terms of the league were:

That before the end of May 1524, the emperor ſhould enter France on the ſide of Spain, and the king of England in Picardy, each with an army of thirty thouſand [p] foot, and ten thouſand horſe.

That they ſhould make neither peace nor truce without a mutual conſent.

That if any places ſhould be conquered upon France, they ſhould be reſtored to him of the two allies, who had a right to them; and to prevent all diſputes, each ſhould declare his pretenſions before the firſt of May 1524.

That if the king of England intended to ſubdue Scotland, or reduce Ireland to an entire obedience, or the emperor to recover Gueldres or Friſeland; if the Scots invaded England, or the duke of Gueldres made war upon the emperor; in all theſe caſes the two monarchs ſhould be bound to aſſiſt one another.

That they ſubmitted to the ſpiritual juriſdiction of the cardinal of York as legate, and required him to pronounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt him of the two that ſhould firſt violate the treaty.

That the treaty ſhould be kept private, ſo that the common enemy might have no knowledge thereof.

That the pope ſhould be entreated to enter into the league as a principal contractor, and reputed as ſuch, provided he accepted it within three months.

That the Venetians ſhould be likewiſe admitted, provided they renounced their alliance with France.

That the two monarchs ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the Switzers to forſake the French, or at leaſt to be neutral.

[p] Rapin by miſtake, ſays forty thouſand. Whereas in the original it is only thirty thouſand or more. See Herbert, p. 48.

1522. The ſame day the treaty was ſigned, the emperor ſigned alſo letters patents, promiſing to pay Henry whatever was due to him from Francis, in caſe Francis, on account of the preſent league, ſhould refuſe to continue the payments to which he was obliged.

The emperor's bounty to Wolſey. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 769. June 8. p. 770. July 4.

But cardinal Wolſey had not waited to do his own affairs till the king's were finiſhed, for on the eighth of June the emperor by letters patents had engaged to pay him the penſion of twelve thouſand livres [q], which the king of France gave him for the biſhoprick of Tournay. Some days after, he obliged himſelf to pay him a penſion of two thouſand five hundred ducats, till the like penſion was aſſigned him upon the vacant churches in Spain, in lieu of that he received out of the biſhoprick of Badajos, which the emperor deſired to diſcharge. But the emperor's bounties to cardinal Wolſey were amply recompenſed by a great ſum lent him by the king before his departure.

Henry lends him money. Ibid. Guicciard. Herbert.

The emperor makes the earl of Surrey admiral of his fleet. Herbert. Hall. Hollingſh.

During the emperor's ſtay in England, which was about five weeks, he ſo won the affection of the whole court by his civilities, careſſes and preſents, that he was almoſt ſure of leaving none but friends about the king. He gained the good will of the Engliſh, chiefly by conſtituting the earl of Surrey admiral of his fleet [r]. The commiſſion was drawn whilſt the emperor was at London, before his journey to Windſor. As he was to make ſome farther ſtay in England, the earl of Surrey taking with him both the Engliſh and Flemiſh fleets, made two deſcents into France, and carried away a rich booty [s]. Then he returned and convoyed the emperor to Spain [t].

Affairs of Italy. Guicciard. Mezerai. Herbert.

I muſt now briefly relate the ſucceſs of the wars which were waging in ſeveral places. The death of Leo X. had put the affairs of the allies in Italy in a very ill ſituation.

q Or nine thouſand crowns of gold de ſoleil, Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 769.

r Lord Herbert has inſerted the patent, (which is dated June 8.) as well for the rareneſs of it, as the honour of the perſon, p. 49. Comp. Hiſt. vol. II. —The earl returned to England, Jan. 25, 1522, from his government of Ireland, whereto he was ſucceeded [illegible] Butler, earl of Ormond. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 766. Hall, [illegible] —And on December the fourth [illegible] the ſaid earl of Surrey was [illegible] treaſurer. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 777.

s He landed June 13, near Cherbourg, and after having deſtroyed the adjacent country, returned to Portland: he landed a ſecond time on July 1, near Morlaix, in Bretagne, with ſeven thouſand men, and burnt and plundered that town; from whence he brought away a great booty. Herbert, p. 50. See a liſt of the moſt remarkable Engliſh gentlemen in this expedition, in Hall, fol. 99, 100.

t The emperor embarked at Southampton, July 6. Hall, fol. 99.

The

The troops of the church and of Florence had relinquiſhed the army, immediately after the news of the pope's death. Beſides that, Proſper Colonna receiving no more ſupplies of money, either from Rome or the emperor, was forced to diſband moſt of his remaining troops, and to keep but what was abſolutely neceſſary for the defence of Milan. Mean while, the emperor ordered a levy of ſix thouſand Landſquenets [u], which Franceſco Sforza, and Hieronimo Adorno a Genoeſe, were to lead into Italy. Shortly after, Lautrec received a reinforcement of ſixteen thouſand Switzers, which rendered him ſuperior to the allies, and yet he could not hinder the Landſquenets from joining the emperor's army. His only refuge was to try to bring the imperialiſts to a battle, and for that purpoſe he beſieged Pavia; but Proſper Colonna found means to throw ſuccours into the place without running any hazard. Whereupon Lautrec deſpairing of ſucceſs, raiſed the ſiege and encamped at Monzas and Colonna, who was afraid for Milan, poſted himſelf at Bicocca, a country ſeat with a large park, capable of being eaſily fortified as ſurrounded with a deep ditch. Here Colonna intrenched himſelf in ſuch a manner, that he could not be attacked without raſhneſs. Lautrec had no inclination to attack the imperialiſts in that poſt, but could not poſſibly help it. His Switzers would have money, and he had none to give them. Louiſa of Savoy the king's mother having applied to other uſes the four hundred thouſand crowns deſigned for the army in Italy. Mean while, the Switzers preſſed their general either to give them money, or lead them to battle, elſe they were reſolved to return home. This put him at length upon aſſaulting the camp at Bicocca, where he was repulſed with great loſs [w]; after which, the Switzers quitting him, he was conſtrained to repaſs the mountains, not being able to withſtand the imperialiſts. Preſently after Colonna became maſter of Genoa. This rich city being taken by ſurpriſe, whilſt a capitulation was negotiating, was miſerably ſacked. In ſhort, Francis had nothing left in Italy but the caſtles of Milan and Cremona, and even theſe were very cloſely blocked up.

1522.

Iſſue of the campaign in 1522 in Italy.

The Switzers in the French army oblige Lautrec to fight.

Lautrec is defeated at Bicocca.

He returns to France.

Colonna takes Genoa.

Bizan.

In other parts where the war was carrying on during this campaign, France was more proſperous. After admiral Bonnivet had taken Fontarabia, the Spaniards inveſted that

The Spaniards raiſe the ſiege of Fontarabia.

Mezerai, &c.

[u] So German foot ſoldiers were called formerly. Hall calls them lance knights.

[w] There were three thouſand Switzers ſlain. Guicciard. l. 14.

1522. place, and continued the ſiege, without being able to accompliſh their enterpriſe. At laſt, marſhal de Chabanes being ſent into Bearn to take the command of the French army in the room of marſhal de Chatillon, who was dead, raiſed the ſiege, and appointed one Frauget governor of Fontarabia, who afterwards behaved very ill.

The imperialiſts and Engliſh do no great matters in Picardy. Bellai. Mezerai, Hall. Hollingſh.

In Picardy and Champagne, the imperialiſts and Engliſh having joined their forces performed nothing of moment. The two armies, commanded by the count de Bure for the emperor, and by the earl of Surrey for the king of England [x], were ſo ſuperior to thoſe of France, that the duke of Vendôme who commanded in Picardy was not able to reſiſt them. So, having furniſhed the towns with ammunition, he contented himſelf with inceſſantly annoying them with a ſmall body of troops. In September the two generals beſieged Heſdin, but after having been five or ſix weeks before the town, were forced to retire. From thence they marched to Dourlens, and finding the place deſerted, and the gates pulled down, ſet fire to it. Then intending to approach Corbie in October, the bad weather, and the care the French had taken for the defence of the place, hindered their undertaking the ſiege. After that, the imperialiſts retired into Artois, and the Engliſh returned home [y].

Francis's fault in leaving Lautrec without money.

Thus all the efforts of the emperor and the king of England would have done Francis no great miſchief this campaign, if he had not himſelf been the cauſe of his ill ſucceſs in Italy, by neglecting to find the Switzers money. Indeed, if Lautrec had not been forced to attack the imperialiſts at Bicocca, probably he would have been maſter of Milan before the end of the campaign. Charles V. then perceived, that to gain any conſiderable advantages upon France, much greater efforts were to be uſed, and for that reaſon continued to careſs cardinal Wolſey, in order to ſecure the king his maſter's aſſiſtance. In the collection of the publick acts, there is a letter of his to the cardinal, full of obliging expreſſions, plainly denoting his want of him. "I "return you thanks (ſaid he to him) for the good affection

The emperor careſſes the cardinal very much. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 776. Nov. 11.

[x] The earl of Surrey had about ſixteen thouſand men. The foreward of his army was led by Robert Ratcliff, lord Fitzwalter; the rear by ſir William Sandes, and ſir Richard Wingfield; and the main body by the earl himſelf. Sir Edward Guildford, was captain of the horſe. Hall, fol. 101, 103.

[y] After having burnt and plundered ſeveral villages. They took fourteen thouſand ſheep, fourteen hundred oxen and cows, thirteen hundred hogs, and ſix hundred mares and horſes. Hall, fol. 102, 103.

"you

" you have always ſhown me, deſiring you to continue it, 1522.
" as I firmly believe you will, for you are ſenſible that I
" place my whole confidence in you." Again, " I entreat
" you to give the ſame credit to my ſaid ambaſſadors as to
" myſelf, and ſhew yourſelf, on this occaſion, as I take you
" to be, my good and faithful friend, for I ſhall have a
" grateful remembrance of it."

The extraordinary method uſed by the cardinal to raiſe money having been very diſagreeable to the Engliſh, he judged it more proper to proceed for the future in the uſual way; and therefore the king aſſembled a parliament the 15th of April 1523 [z]. The convocation meeting at the ſame time according to cuſtom [a], the cardinal reſolved to eſtabliſh a good precedent in favour of the king, by exacting from the clergy a conſiderable ſubſidy. His character of legate gave him ſuch an intereſt with that body, that he was almoſt ſure of obtaining whatever he was pleaſed to demand. But to find leſs difficulties, he removed on divers pretences ſome of thoſe from whom he feared to meet oppoſition, and gained others by promiſes or threats. Matters being thus ordered, he demanded of the clergy a ſubſidy of one half of their annual revenues, payable in five years. Richard Fox biſhop of Wincheſter, John Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, and a proctor of the inferior clergy, one Philips, would have oppoſed this exaction; but the cardinal treated them in ſuch a manner, as diſcouraged the reſt from ſupporting them. So the ſubſidy was granted, though the clergy privately murmured, that the pope's legate who ought to maintain their rights was the firſt to violate them. 1523.

The cardinal demands of the clergy a ſubſidy for the king. Herbert. Hall. Burnet. Stow.

This affair being thus ended with reſpect to the clergy, the cardinal repaired to the houſe of commons, where he made a long ſpeech, endeavouring to ſhow the neceſſity of the war the king had undertaken, by aggravating the pretended injuries he had ſuffered from the king of France. He concluded with demanding a ſubſidy of the fifth part of the goods of every lay ſubject to be paid in four years [b]. This demand cauſed warm debates among the commons. Several repreſented, that if the kingdom was actually invaded, hardly could the king require ſuch a ſubſidy, much leſs for a war

He receives a mortification in the houſe of commons. Herbert. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

[z] Which met at the Black Friars, in London. Herbert, p. 55.

[a] See a particular account of this convocation in Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. tom. III. p. 24.

[b] The charges of the war with France, were computed at eight hundred thouſand pounds; and the ſum demanded was four ſhillings in the pound. See Hall, fol. 109. Herbert, p. 55. Stow's Survey, B. III. p. 177.

1523. wantonly undertaken, and rather for the intereſt of the emperor than of England. However as the court party were very numerous in the houſe, it was reſolved to grant the king a ſubſidy, which was but one half of what was demanded. The cardinal, who was uſed to be complied with, was extremely offended at the oppoſition of the commons. He went again to the houſe, and told them, he deſired to reaſon with thoſe who oppoſed his demands. But the commons replied by their ſpeaker [c], that it was the order of that houſe to hear, and not to reaſon, but among themſelves. At this reply, the cardinal withdrew, extremely mortified, perceiving he could only prejudice the king's affairs, in attempting to treat the commons with the ſame haughtineſs he treated the reſt of the world. His ſollicitation however had ſome effect, ſince there was an addition made to the ſubſidy [d].

Herbert. p. 56.

Act of attainder againſt the duke of Buckingham. Herbert.

Beſides this affair, for which properly the parliament was called, nothing remarkable paſſed in the ſeſſion, except an act of attainder againſt the late duke of Buckingham, who had been condemned by a ſentence of his peers. As all the world was ſatisfied this ſentence had been procured by indirect and irregular methods, and the cardinal publickly accuſed of having ſacrificed that lord to his vengeance, he had the credit to obtain this act, in order to divert the blame thrown upon him. But withal, the parliament ſhewed that the act was paſſed out of mere condeſcenſion, ſince by another, Henry Stafford ſon of the deceaſed was reſtored to his eſtate and honours [e]. A ſtatute was made alſo this ſeſſion, impowering the king for his life to repeal all attainders of high-treaſon by his letters patents under the great ſeal [f].

The king has power to repeal attainders. Herbert.

Theſe

c The famous ſir Thomas Moor.

d At firſt every man of twenty pounds a year was to pay two ſhillings in the pound; and from twenty pounds downward to forty ſhillings a year, one ſhilling in the pound; and under forty ſhillings, every head of ſixteen years old or more, four pence in two years. But afterwards, by the liberal motion of ſome, particularly of ſir John Huſe, a knight of Lincolnſhire, thoſe of fifty pounds a year and upwards were induced to give one ſhilling more for three years to come, which at length being continued to the fourth year, and extended to thoſe who were worth five pounds in goods, was all that could be obtained. Hall, fol. 110. Herb. p. 56.

e He was only reſtored in blood, and not to honours and lands. However, the king by letters patents, bearing date the 25th of September this year, granted to him and Urſula his wife, daughter of ſir Richard Pole, by Margaret of Clarence, part of the lands of the late duke his father, among which was the caſtle and manor of Stafford. Dugdale's Baron. vol. I. p. 171.

f This parliament was, on July 31, adjourned to Weſtminſter, where it ſat till the 13th of Auguſt, and then was diſſolved. The moſt remarkable ſtatutes enacted now where theſe: 1. That no foreign artificer in England ſhall take any apprentice, but what is born under the king's obeiſance; or have

These were the first attempts made in this reign to render the king master of the debates of the parliament. Cardinal Wolsey was the first author, and unfortunately for the subjects, the king too well improved his minister's instructions. 1523. Character of Wolsey. "Such favourites as this have but too much cause to fear the parliament, and therefore strive to the utmost of their power to lessen its authority, by enlarging that of the sovereign who supports them. But their labour is in vain; very few fail at last of falling into the hands of that authority they have endeavoured to destroy. Wolsey is one of those who have the most openly abused their favour, not only against the nation's but also the king's interest, which was much less dear to him than his own. He was never contented with estates or honours. The 24th of March this year he procured for himself the bishoprick of Durham, one of the richest in the kingdom in lieu of Bath and Wells, which he was willing to resign. Two months after, Adrian VI. prolonged his legateship for five years, after the expiration of the term granted by Leo X. Thus estates and honours were incessantly heaped upon him, without however any possibility of satisfying his greediness. Indeed, he carried his desires much higher, since he still aspired to the papacy, Adrian's age and infirmities giving occasion to think his pontificate would not last long. He still expected to be raised to that high dignity by the emperor's means, and therefore forgot nothing to preserve his favour. To this doubtless must be ascribed the honourable reception given this year to Christiern king of Denmark and Sweden, who had married the emperor's sister. This prince having by his cruelties rendered himself odious to his subjects, and for that reason been expelled his dominions, arrived in England about Midsummer with his queen and was received as a king unjustly oppressed, and not like one that had by his barbarities drawn his misfortunes upon himself. Henry was not contented to do him all possible honour, but moreover renewed with him the treaty of alliance between England and Denmark, as if that prince had still been in possession of his dominions.

Adrian gives him the see of Durham, and prolongs his legateship. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 783, p. 788, 795. Wolsey still aspires to the papacy.

Christiern king of Denmark is received in England. Hall. Hollingsh.

Henry renews the alliance with Christiern. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 795. Jan.

This was the fruit of cardinal Wolsey's interested counsels, who never regarded either honour or justice in gratify-

have above two journeymen that are not so; and that they shall have a proper mark for their wares, upon pain of forfeiting ten pounds. 2. There is one confirming the college of physicians. 3. By another, the marriage of the six clerks in chancery is allowed. 4. It was ordained, that no person, of what estate, degree, or condition soever, shall kill any hare in the snow, with a dog, or otherwise, upon pain of forfeiting six shillings and eight pence for every offence. For the rest see the Statutes.

1523. ing his paſſions. He expected every thing from the emperor, and therefore uſed his utmoſt endeavours to increaſe that monarch's power, that he might be better able to perform his promiſe. It was not the cardinal's fault that France was not utterly ruined. At leaſt he formed this year in conjunction with the emperor projects tending to the entire diſſolution of that antient monarchy.

Project againſt France founded on the conſtable of Bourbon's rebellion. P. Daniel. Herbert. Stow.

Though by the treaty of Bruges, ratified by the emperor and Henry at Windſor, they were not to enter France till 1524, an opportunity which offered cauſing them to take other meaſures, they reſolved to anticipate their expedition, and invade the king of France in three different places. The emperor was to have a ſtrong army on the frontiers of Spain, to become maſter of Fontarabia and Bayonne. Henry was to employ his forces in Picardy jointly with thoſe of the Low Countries, and the conſtable of Bourbon, who had ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by the emperor or perhaps by his own offer, was to make an inroad into Burgundy. As moſt of the events of the following years turn upon that prince's diſguſt, it will be requiſite briefly to mention the reaſons.

Cauſes of the conſtable's diſguſt. Mezerai. P. Daniel. Hall.

The duke of Bourbon, prince of the blood royal of France, had received the conſtable's ſword ever ſince the firſt year of Francis I. He had all the qualifications neceſſary for that high poſt. Perhaps he had too much merit, ſince, if we believe Mezerai, Louiſa of Savoy mother to Francis wiſhed to have him for her huſband. But as he feigned not to underſtand what ſhe deſired, he made her his irreconcileable enemy. From that time, he perpetually received mortifications from the king, over whom the ducheſs his mother had too great an aſcendant. The firſt mentioned in hiſtory was when in 1521 the king commanding the army in perſon, gave the conduct of the van to the Duke of Alençon, contrary to the prerogative annexed to the office of conſtable. But this was nothing in compariſon of another, which however is related in the hiſtory of France only upon uncertain reports. The king telling the conſtable he ſhould be glad to marry him to the ducheſs his mother, received an anſwer ſo injurious to the ducheſs [g], that he gave him a box on the ear. This fact is not perhaps ſufficiently atteſted. But however, it is certain the ducheſs's affection for the conſtable turned to hatred. From thenceforwards he was looked upon with an evil eye at court, and no more truſted with the command of the king's armies. This was ſufficient to

Mezerai.

[g] Reflecting on her looſe behaviour. P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 501, 504.

give

give him great diſguſt. But his enemy not being ſatisfied with theſe mortifications, which ſeemed to her too ſlight a revenge for her contemned love, commenced a ſuit againſt him for his whole eſtate. The cauſe was natural to be tried by the parliament of Paris but the ducheſs put it into the hands of the chancellor and ſome other commiſſioners her creatures, which convinced the conſtable that his ruin was determined. So perceiving no way to avoid ſo fatal a blow, his deſpair cauſed him to throw himſelf into the emperor's arms. A Flemiſh lord [h] was the manager of the negotiation, wherein the king of England interpoſed, as being equally concerned with the emperor to create troubles in France. It is hard to know exactly when the negotiation began; but we find in the collection of the publick acts of England, the treaty was advanced the 17th of May 1523. We ſee there Henry's commiſſion to Richard Sampſon and Richard Jerningham, to treat with the duke of Bourbon [i] in order to draw him into the league. This commiſſion empowered the envoys alſo to receive of the ſame prince a promiſe or engagement to own Henry for king of France, to do him homage and ſwear fealty to him. It cannot be inferred from hence, that the conſtable entered into any ſuch engagement but only that Henry intended to draw him into it. However, by the treaty made by the duke with the two monarchs, after the conqueſt of France he was to have for his part Provence, to be erected into a kingdom, and was to marry Leonora the emperor's ſiſter widow of don Emanuel king of Portugal [k]. The duke was to bring into the field an army of his friends and vaſſals, to whom the emperor promiſed to join ſeven or eight thouſand men. This army was to act in the bowels of the kingdom, whilſt the emperor and Henry invaded Bearn and Picardy.

1523.

P. Daniel.

He enters into engagements with the emperor, and Henry.

Du Bellai. Herbert. Hollingſh. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 794.

P. Daniel. Herbert.

Mean while, Francis I, ignorant of the deſigns of his enemies, was ſolely employed in preparing to recover the duchy of Milan, where he intended to command his army in perſon. He haſtened his preparations the more, becauſe the Venetians were ſtrongly ſollicited to join with his enemies, on pretence that he amuſed them with the vain hopes

Francis prepares to go into Italy.

Guicciard. P. Daniel.

[h] The count de Rœux. P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 508. Together with William Knight, doctor of law, the Engliſh reſident with the lady Margaret, and ſir John Ruſſel. Herbert, p. 58.

[i] The name of Bourbon is in blank, but it is certain that it is the conſtable which is there meant. Rapin.

[k] The emperor promiſed to appoint her his heir, in caſe he and his brother Ferdinand died without iſſue; and to give her a dower of two hundred thouſand crowns. P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 508.

of

1523. of ſeeing him ſpeedily in Italy with a powerful army. But notwithſtanding all his diligence, it was not poſſible to avoid that misfortune. The Venetians ſeeing no French army arrive, and dreading to be expoſed to the emperor's indignation, entered at laſt into the league againſt France about the end of July [1].

The Venetians declare againſt him.

Adrian ſuffers himſelf to be deceived by the enemies of France. Guicciard.

On the other hand, pope Adrian VI. laboured with all his power to procure a truce between the chriſtian princes, fancying after that there would be no difficulty to unite them together in a war againſt the Turks. But as his genius was mean, and very different from that of Leo X. and Julius II. his predeceſſors, inſtead of making the princes ſubſervient to his deſigns, he was himſelf without knowing it inſtrumental to thoſe of others. The emperor told him he heartily deſired the truce, but intimated the neceſſity of its being for ſome time, in order to reap the intended advantage. He thereby laid an invincible obſtacle in the way, becauſe the king of France being lately diſpoſſeſſed of the duchy of Milan, would never hearken to a long truce, which would afford his enemies time to ſecure their conqueſt. That monarch's oppoſition gave the emperor and the king of England occaſion to engage the pope to proceed farther, by hinting to him that after the example of ſome of his predeceſſors, he ſhould exert his apoſtolick power, which no chriſtian prince would preſume directly to oppoſe. Pleaſed with theſe hopes.

He enjoins a three years truce among chriſtian princes. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 790. May 1. Herbert.

Adrian publiſhed a bull dated the 30th of April, enjoining by virtue of the power committed to him by God, a three years truce between all chriſtian princes under pain of excommunication and interdict, againſt thoſe that ſhould refuſe to obſerve it. But the king of France diſregarding ſuch a truce continued his preparations for the Milan expedition, and ordered his troops to march towards Italy. Then the pope was told, that Francis alone, by his non-compliance and obſtinacy, hindered the chriſtians from joining their forces againſt the Turk. By theſe ſecret practices the good pope was gradually brought to conclude a league againſt France with the emperor, the king of England, Ferdinand archduke of Auſtria the emperor's brother, the duke of Milan, the Genoeſe, and the Florentines. This league was ſigned the 3d of Auguſt, a few days after the Venetians had deſerted France.

Francis rejects it.

The pope joins with the enemies of France.

Italy ſeemed by this league to be ſecured from all invaſions. And indeed, Proſper Colonna, who commanded in Milan,

[1] June the 28th, according to P. Daniel, p. 499.

ſo

ſo little expected to be attacked, that he neglected to take neceſſary meaſures for the defence of that duchy. Mean while, Francis purſued his project, and the more, as he heard there were no preparations at Milan. The emperor ſeemed wholly to neglect the defence of that State, on purpoſe to draw Francis into Italy, reckoning that his abſence would promote the duke of Bourbon's deſigns. Nay, it is ſaid, that to induce Francis to abſent himſelf from his kingdom, Henry had cauſed him to be privately told, there was no danger from him that year in Picardy. 1523.

Francis is induced by the affected careleſſneſs of his enemies to paſs into Italy.

Affairs being in this ſituation, Francis departed for Lyons in order to paſs into Italy. In the mean while, the emperor was preparing an army in Spain to beſiege Fontarabia and Bayonne. But the army was raiſed very ſlowly, becauſe it was not to act till Francis was engaged in the war of Milan. On the other ſide, the count de Bure [m] his general in Flanders, remained quiet, waiting to join the Engliſh, who the better to deceive the king of France were not to land at Calais till the end of September. In ſhort, the emperor ordered eight thouſand Landſquenets to march in ſmall diviſions into Franche Comté, who were to join the duke of Bourbon as ſoon as he was ready. Upon that prince's revolt the allies built all their hopes, imagining that Francis being in Italy, France thus unexpectedly invaded in ſo many places at once would make no great reſiſtance. Theſe hopes were the better grounded, as Francis having no intelligence of the duke of Bourbon's plots, had no troops at all in Burgundy, few in Guienne and Bearn, and Picardy was in an ill ſtate of defence.

He ſets out for Lyons. Du Bellai. Mezerai. Project of the allies. Herbert.

Mean while, the conſtable, not to be obliged to attend the king, pretended to be ſick at Moulins. But Francis, whilſt on the road to Lyons, happened to be informed by two of the conſtable's ſervants, that their maſter held private correſpondence with the emperor. Surprized at the news, he turned out of his way to go to Moulins, where he told the duke, who ſtill feigned to be ſick, what had been diſcovered to him. The duke freely owned, the emperor had ſounded him by the count de Rœux, but that he had refuſed to hearken to his propoſals: that he deſigned to inform his majeſty of it, but being prevented by his illneſs from coming to court, he durſt not truſt any perſon with the ſecret. Whether the king believed what the conſtable ſaid, or thought he could not arreſt him in his own territories, he was contented with

The conſtable feigns ſickneſs at Moulins. The king is informed of the conſpiracy. He goes to Moulins. The conſtable owns he was ſounded by the emperor. Du Bellai. P. Daniel. Herbert. Stow. Hall.

[m] Florentius, of Egmont.

ordering

1523. ordering him to follow him to Lyons. The duke ſet out indeed as if he had intended to follow the king, being carried in a litter on pretence of his ſickneſs, and travelling by very eaſy journies. But upon notice that two of his confidents were arreſted at court, he privately withdrew from his attendants, and taking with him only Pomperan one of his gentlemen, he eſcaped through by-ways, and ſafely arrived at Trent in Germany.

The king orders him to come to Lyons.

He flies into Germany.

The conſtable's flight convincing the king, there was ſome grand plot in France to be executed during his abſence, he relinquiſhed his deſign of going into Italy, and contented himſelf with ſending his army [n] under the command of admiral Bonnivet, who paſſed the Alps about the end of Auguſt or the beginning of September. About the ſame time the emperor aſſembled his army in Spain, the Landſquenets arrived in Franche Comté, and the Engliſh landed at Calais, to act in Picardy in conjunction with the Flemings. It will be abſolutely neceſſary briefly to relate what paſſed during this campaign in theſe four ſeveral places.

The king ſtays in France, and ſends Bonnivet to Italy. Guicciard. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

The war is begun in four ſeveral places. Hall.

The caſtle of Milan, where Lautrec had left a garriſon, ſurrendered the 14th of April. So the French had no place of importance in the Milaneſe, except the caſtle of Cremona, which too was ſo cloſely blocked up, that there was no likelihood of its holding out long. On the other hand, as France could expect no farther aſſiſtance from the Venetians, and as all the reſt of Italy was joined in a league againſt her, Proſper Colonna who commanded in Milan did not doubt that the king would deſiſt from his deſign of carrying war into the Milaneſe. For that reaſon, he had neglected to repair the fortifications of the capital city which were in an ill ſtate, the ramparts being fallen down in ſeveral places. However upon advice that admiral Bonnivet was going to paſs the Alps, he drew together all his forces to try to defend the paſſage of the Teſin; but he came too late. The French had made ſuch ſpeed, that he was forced to retire to Milan in the utmoſt diſorder. Nay, he reſolved to abandon that city, if by an unaccountable negligence, they had not given him ſome days time to repair the works. He had but fifteen thouſand Men, with which he could not expect to defend againſt an army of above forty thouſand ſo large a city, which alſo was open in ſeveral places. However, as he had learnt by long experience, that it muſt not always be thought the enemies will do what is moſt for their advantage, he never

Campaign in Italy. Guicciard. Mezerai. Herbert.

n Conſiſting of three and thirty thouſand men. Guicciard. l. 15.

ceaſed

ceaſed repairing the places which wanted it moſt, deeming he could but withdraw at laſt in caſe the French were as expeditious as they ought to have been. If Bonnivet had marched directly to Milan, he would have found the gates open. But after taking Novarra and Vigerano, and paſſing the Teſin without oppoſition, he prepoſterouſly imagined a few days more or leſs would ſignify nothing. So having loſt to no purpoſe four or five days, he gave the emperor's general time to put Milan in a poſture of defence [o]. At laſt, approaching the city when it was too late, he found it incapable of being attacked by the good management of Colonna. Whereupon he reſolved to encamp at Chiaravalla, in hopes of cutting off the proviſions of Milan, and of having the imperialiſts at his mercy. But he took his meaſures ſo ill, that after perſiſting in his deſign till the end of November, he was forced himſelf to remove from Milan for want of proviſions. All he did during that time was to relieve the caſtle of Cremona, reduced to the laſt extremities [p]. Such was the ſucceſs of Bonnivet's campaign, which might have been more glorious for him, and more advantageous for the king his maſter, had he taken juſter meaſures and improved his ſuperiority. Colonna died ſhortly after, and Lanoy viceroy of Naples took the command of the imperial army. The ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, that nothing remarkable paſſed in thoſe parts till the end of the year, when the duke of Bourbon came and took the command of the emperor's troops, not without Lanoy's great diſguſt, who unwillingly reſigned his poſt to a foreigner. 1523.

The allies, as I ſaid, were reſolved not to invade France till September, becauſe it was to be preſumed, the king would then be employed in Italy. For this reaſon it was the beginning of that month before the emperor aſſembled his army in Spain. Lautrec, who commanded in Guienne, hearing the Spaniards were drawing together, haſtened to the frontiers, to provide for the defence of Bayonne and Fontarabia, which were moſt expoſed. Frauget, an officer of note, was governor of Fontarabia, having been left there the laſt year by marſhal de Chabanes. Lautrec relying upon Frauget's Campaign in Bearn. Mezerai. P. Daniel. Herbert.

[o] Galeazzo, viſcount of Milan, meeting him, and deſiring him to ſtay till he had raiſed a tumult in the city, (which he aſſured him of in two or three days) made Bonnivet loſe the opportunity, Herbert, p. 59. According to others, Galeazzo put Bonnivet in hopes, that this city would ſurrender by capitulation, whence he might reap great advantages, and at leaſt get a large ſum of money. P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 516.

[p] And which Janot d'Herbouville, the governor, had kept for the French near two years together, after the taking of the town. Ibid.

bravery

1523. bravery and experience, left him in the ſame poſt, after having reinforced the garriſon, and laid in ſome ammunition. After that, he did not queſtion, the place would be able to maintain a long ſiege. Theſe precautions being taken with regard to Fontarabia, he repaired to Bayonne. He was no ſooner arrived, than the Spaniſh army appeared before the walls, ſupported by a fleet, which threw the inhabitants into great conſternation, the town being weak towards the ſea. But Lautrec ſo managed it, that the Spaniards were diſappointed, though they had expected to carry the place without oppoſition. Perceiving therefore, that the ſiege would employ them too long, they ſuddenly raiſed it, and inveſted Fontarabia, which was baſely ſurrendered by Frauget, in very few days. [q]. He was like to have loſt his head for a fault of that conſequence. But though he preſerved his life, he ſaved not his honour being publickly degraded.

The Spaniards become maſters of Fontarabia. P. Daniel.

Campain in Champagne. Du Bellai.

The emperor was not ſo ſucceſsful in Burgundy and Champagne. Lamothe of Noyers, the duke of Bourbon's officer, was gone ſome time ſince into Germany, to conduct into Burgundy, count de Furſtemberg, who, with ſeven or eight thouſand Landſquenets, was to join there the duke of Bourbon. Though this project ſeemed to be fruſtrated by the duke's flight, count de Furſtemberg however entered Champagne with his army. He immediately took Coiffy and Monteclair, ſmall places which made no great reſiſtance. But the duke of Guiſe, who commanded in that province, knowing Furſtemberg had no cavalry, aſſembled all the nobles of the country, and forming ſome ſquadrons, cloſely followed the Germans. Furſtemberg finding himſelf too weak in the heart of the enemy's country, and having no horſe to oppoſe to thoſe of the duke of Guiſe, reſolved to retire into Lorrain. He could not however make his retreat without receiving a terrible check near Neufchâtel, where the duke of Guiſe defeated the beſt part of his troops.

Furſtemberg defeated by the duke of Guiſe.

Whilſt the war was carrying on in Italy, Bearn, and Champagne, Henry embarked his troops under the command of the duke of Suffolk [r], who landing at Calais, joined the count de Bure, the 20th of September. Theſe two bodies made

[q] Being deſirous to ſa e his goods. Herbert, p. 59. But P. Daniel lays the blame on don Pedro, ſon of the marſhal of Navarre, who held intelligence with the Spaniards, tom. VII. p. 529.

[r] Charles Brandon. He was attended by ſeveral lords and gentlemen, whoſe names ſee in Hall, fol. 113. The vanguard was commanded by the lord Sandes; the right wing by ſir William Kingſton; the left by ſir Everard Digby; the rear by ſir Richard Wingfield; and ſir Edward Guildford, was

made together an army of twenty five, or thirty thouſand foot, and about ſix thouſand horſe. The duke de la Trimouille, who commanded in that country, was ſo inferior in number of troops, that he durſt not keep the field. All he could do was to throw ſuccours into the places moſt expoſed, and ſpeedily inform the king of what paſſed in thoſe parts. Francis I. being then at Lyons, was extremely embarraſſed to withſtand ſo many unexpected invaſions. 'Tis ſaid, that deceived by falſe advices from England, he had been in hopes Picardy for this year would be unmoleſted, and yet, he ſaw it was there his enemies intended to make their greateſt effort. In this perplexity, he immediately diſpatched the duke of Vendôme, with all the troops he could aſſemble, both to defend Picardy, and ſecure Paris, where he did not queſtion, the alarm was very great. Indeed, the duke of Suffolk, and the count de Bure paſſing by Terouenne, Heſdin and Dourlens, had taken Roye and Montdidier, and were advanced as far as Corbie. But the news of the duke of Vendôme's march cauſing them to be more circumſpect, they thought proper to proceed no farther, and the rather becauſe the ſeaſon began to be very incommodious, and they were afraid of being engaged between the dukes of Vendôme and la Trimouille. Theſe conſiderations induced them to think of retreating. In their return, they became maſters of Bouchain, the governor whereof brought him the keys, though they had no thoughts of attacking the place. Then leaving an Engliſh garriſon in Bouchain, they retired into Artois. But preſently after, the French recovered that town. Thus the progreſs of the confederate army was not ſo great as Francis had reaſon to fear. Had the army taken the field ſooner, he would have been greatly embarraſſed. But, as I ſaid, the hopes the emperor, and the king of England had conceived of the duke of Bourbon's undertaking, was the cauſe of their not beginning the campaign in any place, till about the end of September. 1523.

Campaign in Picardy, where the Imperialiſts and Engliſh make no great progreſs. Bellai. P. Daniel. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Hall.

When Adrian VI. came into the league, he had no deſign to ruin France, in order to compel Francis to wage war with the Turks, but he had been told, it would be a certain means to oblige that prince to conſent to the truce. Mean while, without the pope's knowing any thing of it, the em-

Death of Adrian VI. Guicciard.

was captain of the horſe. This army conſiſted of ſix hundred demi lances, two hundred archers on horſeback, three thouſand archers on foot, five thouſand bill men, two thouſand ſix hundred pioneers and labourers; to whom were added ſeventeen hundred men out of the fortreſſes of Guiſnes, and Calais. So that his whole army was thirteen thouſand one hundred ſtrong. Hall, fol. 114.

1523. peror and Henry had combined to invade France, and divide it between them. Probably, if he had lived to the end of this year, he would have ſeen that their deſigns did not correſpond with his, but he died about ſix weeks after ſigning the league againſt France. He was a good man, of a character very different from thoſe of his predeceſſors. Inſtead of thinking to enlarge the eccleſiaſtical ſtate by unjuſt confiſcations, he had given the duke of Urbino the inveſtiture of his duchy. He had done the ſame by the duke of Ferrara, knowing that the former popes had quarrelled with theſe princes only to gratify their deſire of enriching their own relations. He would have even reſtored Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara, if the clamours of his council, who could not underſtand that juſtice ought to be the foundation of policy, had not prevented him. He thought likewiſe of reforming the court of Rome, but death ſuffered him not to execute his deſign. All theſe proceedings, ſo remote from thoſe of his immediate predeceſſors, who had uſed the courtiers and people of Italy to ſee the popes purſue the looſe maxims of temporal princes, cauſed it to be ſaid, that he was indeed an honeſt man, and a good chriſtian, but an indifferent pope. Accordingly the Italian writers ſpeak of Adrian VI. in terms importing no great eſteem for him.

His character. Guicciard. Cimar. Sardi.

Guicciard.

The beginning of this year, cardinal Julio de Medici, who retired to Florence upon the death of Leo X. returned to Rome, and was very civilly received. In a ſhort time, he gained the good will of the pope to ſuch a degree, that he ſupplanted the cardinal of Volterra, the prime miniſter, and cauſed him to be committed to the caſtle of St. Angelo. From thence forward he had the ſole management of the pope's affairs, gaining more and more his eſteem, by putting on the devout, and expreſſing a great zeal to unite all the chriſtian princes againſt the Turk. By this artifice he led him to publiſh the bull for a triennial truce, and at length to ſign the league againſt France. A miniſter like this was doubtleſs, too politick for ſuch a pope. Adrian VI. died the 14th of September, at the very time the armies began to take the field. Had he lived any longer, he would without doubt, have perceived, the league he had imprudently engaged in, was by no means proper to procure the union, he ſo much deſired among the chriſtian princes.

Julio de Medici, prime miniſter to Adrian VI.

Cardinal Wolſey having notice of the pope's death, writ to the king to inform him of it, deſiring his aſſiſtance and protection.

protection *. The next day he writ to him again, praying him to recommend him to the emperor, by a letter under his own hand. He flattered himſelf that the emperor would have a grateful ſenſe of his late ſervice, in cauſing the king his maſter to declare againſt France, and would now at leaſt keep his word with him, ſince he had no preceptor to be elected as in the former conclave. But if the Italian hiſtorians are to be credited, the emperor little thought of procuring him the papacy, and the conclave much leſs, who met preſently after Adrian's deceaſe. Of the thirty nine cardinals which were in the conclave, Julio de Medici had fifteen or ſixteen at his devotion, beſides three who had promiſed not to be againſt him, if he was like to ſucceed in the conclave; ſo that he had only ſeven or eight to gain, in order to have two thirds of the voices. But this was not eaſy. Cardinal Colonna, his adverſary, was at the head of a much more numerous party, who would have infallibly carried it, if the cardinals of that faction could have as readily united in chuſing a pope, as in preventing the election of Julio. This made the conclave hold fifty days. As for Wolſey, if he had any cardinals for him, they could not be many, ſince he had againſt him the Frency party, and the emperor's adherents were the ſame with thoſe of Julio de Medici. In ſhort, Colonna's faction not agreeing upon the choice of a pope, becauſe the head would have one elected who was not liked by his friends, his indignation at their obſtinacy cauſed him to be reconciled with the cardinal de Medici. Guicciardini ſays, Julio gave him a promiſe under his hand to make him his vice chancellor and preſent him with his palace, one of the moſt magnificent in Rome. Be this as it will, Colonna giving him ſeven or eight votes which were at his diſpoſal, there was no farther obſtacle to his election. It being reported in the conclave, that the cardinal de Medici would be elected the next ſcrutiny, moſt of the cardinals ſtayed not till day appeared, but went and made their court to the perſon who was ſoon to be their maſter. Their example drew in the reſt, who finding it not in their power to hinder the election, were willing alſo to ſhew, they freely concurred. So, that very night, between the 18th and 19th of November, all the cardinals went and paid obeyſance to the new pope, and the next

1523.

Cardinal Wolſey endeavours to obtain the papacy. Herbert. Burnet. Fiddes.

Recital of what paſſed in the conclave. Guicciard.

* He proteſts, in that letter which is dated September 30, that he thought himſelf unfit for the papal dignity, and that he deſired much rather to end his days with the king. Which was ſtrange diſſembling. See Burnet's Ref. tom. III. p. 19.

1523. morning his election was confirmed by a ſolemn ſcrutiny, wherein he had all the voices. Thus it is that the holy ghoſt influenced the cardinals in the choice of a pope, who, contrary to their intention, was to be the cauſe of the deepeſt wound the church of Rome had ever received. The new pope aſſumed the name of Clement VII. on account of St. Clement's day, which was to be very ſhortly ſolemnized. He was natural ſon of Julian de Medici, uncle to Leo X. But this defect of birth, though contrary to the canons, was not conſidered. Leo X. who made him cardinal in the beginning of his pontificate, took care to have it legally atteſted, that Julian promiſed his mother marriage. So, taking for granted that a bare promiſe was equivalent to a marriage, he declared Julio legitimate. Alexander VI. took the ſame courſe when he made Cæſar Borgia his baſtard ſon cardinal. He produced witneſſes, who depoſed, that Cæſar was born of a married woman, whence it was inferred the child was to be deemed the huſband's ſon. In this manner did the vicars of Jeſus Chriſt abuſe laws divine and human to gratify their paſſions.

Wolſey hides his diſguſt.

The news of Clement's election was a great mortification to Wolſey, who, after the promotion of Adrian VI. had expected to be pope upon the firſt vacancy. He muſt have been extremely incenſed with the emperor, who had twice deceived him. So, it may be aſſured, conſidering his vindictive temper, he reſolved from that moment to be revenged. But as he could not execute this reſolution without his maſter's aſſiſtance, he was to take care not to diſcover that he acted from a motive of revenge; otherwiſe he would have run the hazard of being diſappointed. He concealed therefore, under the maſk of a feigned moderation, the reſentment he harboured in his breaſt, and contented himſelf with telling the king, that ſeveral had voted for him in the conclave, but his abſence had turned to his prejudice, and the ſituation of the affairs of Italy cauſed the cardinals to chuſe Julio de Medici. A few days after, the king's ambaſſador at Rome had orders to notify to the new pope, the king's and Wolſey's joy at his promotion [t]. At the ſame time, Wolſey deſired the continuance of his legateſhip, affirming, that by reaſon of the king's prerogative,

Fiddes Coll. p. 82.

Fiddes, ibid. p. 96.

He demands the continuance of his legateſhip. Herbert.

[t] A diſpatch was ſent for that purpoſe to John Clarke, biſhop of Bath and Wells, ſecretary Pace, and dr. Thomas Hanyball, maſter of the rolls, and reſident at Rome. Herbert, p. 59.

it

it was not worth to him a thouſand ducats a year. Clement VII. was entirely of the emperor's party, and knowing of what conſequence the king of England's aſſiſtance was at the preſent juncture of affairs in Europe, gladly embraced the opportunity to gratify cardinal Wolſey, and make him his friend, by whoſe means he might gain the favour of the king his maſter. In this diſpoſition, he granted the cardinal more than he deſired. By a bull of the 9th of January 1524, he gave him the legantine power for life. This is the firſt and perhaps the only inſtance of a perpetual legateſhip. 1523.

Clement grants it for life. Herbert.

Wolſey was now raiſed to the higheſt point of grandeur that a ſubject can aſpire to. He was archbiſhop of York, biſhop of Durham, Abbot of St. Albans, cardinal legate a latere for life, lord chancellor of England, prime miniſter and favorite, careſſed by the emperor, reſpected by the pope, regarded by all the princes of Europe, with almoſt an abſolute power in England, where nothing material was tranſacted, either in ſpirituals or temporals, but by his ſole direction. It is eaſy to ſee, ſo many advantages were but too capable of rendering him proud and inſolent. He looked upon the king's ſubjects as ſlaves, and unfortunately for them, inſpired the king by degrees with the ſame principles, and inſinuated to him, that he ought to conſider the parliament only as an inſtrument to execute his will. Theſe inſinuations were but too effectual, as will be ſeen in the ſequel. In order to render him independent of the parliament, he perſuaded him to exact from his ſubjects [a] at once, the ſubſidy given by parliament, and payable in four years. Every one aſcribed to the cardinal this illegal proceeding, which eſtabliſhed a very dangerous precedent. But he little regarded the complaints of the people, ſince he was ſecure of the king's countenance, and the pope's protection.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 18. Wolſey becomes every day more proud.

He cauſes the ſubſidy payable in four years to be paid at once. Herbert. Hall. Stow.

He undertook this year a thing he would never have ventured upon, had he not been fully ſatisfied that the pope could not be without the king's aſſiſtance. And that was, to cauſe ſeveral religious houſes to be ſuppreſſed, in order to appropriate the revenues to two colleges, which he intended to found at Oxford and Ipſwich. If the pope had reaped any advantage, his conſent would not have been very ſtrange. But that he ſhould agree to the ſuppreſſion of ſeveral monaſteries to gratify a private perſon, is what could

He forms the project of founding two colleges. Herbert. Stow. Fiddes.

[a] From all perſons worth forty pounds. Hall. Herbert, p. 60.

1523. hardly be expected, and perhaps had never happened. Accordingly, the pope would never have granted it, had not the ſatisfying the paſſion of this ambitious miniſter been abſolutely neceſſary to his deſigns. The cardinal's project was to found a magnificent college at Oxford by the name of cardinal college, which was to conſiſt of one hundred eighty ſix perſons, with ſalaries. The other college was to be founded at Ipſwich, the place of his birth, but only for grammar, and to qualify young ſcholars for his college at Oxford. But as theſe projects were not accompliſhed this year, I ſhall ſpeak of them on another occaſion, and cloſe the year 1523, with an account of what paſſed in Scotland, where affairs were no more undiſturbed than elſewhere.

Henry forms deſigns deſtructive to Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Hall.

Henry being engaged in a war with France, juſtly dreaded the diverſion the Scots might make on the frontiers. On the other hand, the king of Scotland's minority frequently tempted him to become maſter of that kingdom, after the example of Edward III. his predeceſſor, who diſpoſſeſſed the king his nephew at a like juncture. The factions in Scotland increaſing his hopes, he never ceaſed to foment them by means of his adherents, who were very numerous, becauſe he had wherewithal to give penſions. He uſed for pretence his being obliged by nature to take care of the king his nephew's concerns, who was not of age to diſtinguiſh what was advantageous from what was prejudicial. So, as an affectionate uncle, he did his endeavour to remove the duke of Albany, under colour there was danger of that prince's ſeizing the crown. He knew he ſhould never accompliſh his deſigns ſo long as Scotland was guarded by ſuch an Argus. The queen his ſiſter had made him very uneaſy in joining with the regent, becauſe he was thereby deprived of all pretence of ſaying the king was in danger. Indeed, it was not likely, as the parliament of Scotland wiſely intimated in their anſwer, that the queen ſhould join with the regent to deſtroy the king her ſon. Henry however, to give ſome colour to the accuſation, was pleaſed to ſuppoſe, the queen his ſiſter deſigned to marry the duke of Albany. But finding at laſt, this ſuppoſition had not the deſired effect, he had recourſe to another expedient, which was, to gain his ſiſter by promiſing to procure her the regency. That done, he preſſed yet more earneſtly the parliament of Scotland to remove the duke of Albany, and confer the regency on the queen. But, to render his inſtances more effectual, he reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to hinder the duke's return into Scotland. To that end, he ſent out a fleet to take him in his paſſage.

He foments their diviſions;

and would remove the duke of Albany;

and make his ſiſter regent.

ſage *. At the ſame time, he ordered the earl of Surrey to march into Scotland x, to ſhow the Scots what they were to expect in caſe they did not give him ſpeedy ſatisfaction. The Scots being without a leader, and unprepared againſt this invaſion, ſuſtained great damages during the campaign. The earl of Surrey took Jedworth, and carried fire and ſword into the country y, without meeting any oppoſition. Mean while, Henry's adherents ceaſed not to cry, that a peace muſt be made with England, ſince it was the only way to ſave Scotland from utter deſtruction. Henry ſupported them by offering to the king his nephew his only daughter Mary in marriage, and magnifying the advantages the Scots would receive from the alliance. But withal, he required of them that they ſhould break all their engagements with France. It was however very unlikely, he ſhould ſeriouſly think of giving his daughter to the king of Scotland, ſince ſhe was affianced to the emperor, and he ſtrictly united with that prince. Beſides, ſuch a marriage would have been of no advantage to himſelf or the nation. To this the oppoſite party replied, the king of England ſought to diſengage Scotland from France, only the more eaſily to ruin the kingdom, and that to make an alliance with England by abandoning France, was the ready way to be ſlaves to the Engliſh: that this was not the firſt time the kings of England by ſuch marriages had attempted to become maſters of Scotland, and the worſt was to be feared from neighbours who had ever aſpired to the poſſeſſion of all Great Britain. In a word, the deſtroying with fire and ſword a country whoſe friendſhip was courted, was a ſtrange way of deſiring an alliance, and propoſing a marriage. All theſe reaſons were anſwered by the other party. But it tended only ſo to increaſe diſorder and confuſion among the Scots, that it was impracticable for them to come to any reſolution. Mean while, Henry, who only intended to terrify them, by making them feel the effects of his arms, ordered the earl of Surrey to quit Scotland,

1523.

He invades Scotland; Buchanan. Herbert.

and offers his daughter in marriage to the king his nephew. Buchanan. Herbert.

Oppoſition of the contrary party. Pol. Virg.

The Engliſh army retire. Buchanan.

* Sir William Fitzwilliams, with thirty ſix great ſhips cruized on the coaſts of France, and Anthony Pointz, with a good fleet, guarded the weſtern ſeas. As Fitzwilliams was cruiſing about, he diſcovered twelve French ſhips, in which the archbiſhop of Glaſcow, and other perſons of quality were, whom the duke of Albany had ſent before him into Scotland. Giving chaſe to theſe ſhips, two of them were loſt near Dieppe and Boulogne. Herbert, p. 56.

x With ſix thouſand men. And ordered Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorſet, warden of the Eaſt and middle marches, and the lord Dacres, warden of the Weſt marches to join him. Herbert, p. 56. Hall, fol. 114.

y He took all the caſtles in Merch and Teviotdale. Buchanan.

1523. and return into England. But he had ſcarce ſent his men into winter quarters, when the Scots made inroads on the borders of England, which obliged him to march a ſecond time into Scotland, where he became maſter of Jedburrough.

The duke of Albany deceives the vigilance of the Engliſh, and goes to Scotland. Buchanan, Hall.

Mean time, the duke of Albany hearing what paſſed in Scotland, burned with deſire to repair thither, to appeaſe by his preſence the troubles cauſed by the king of England's adherents, and to ſtrengthen the French party which was in danger of being ſurmounted by the other. Francis I. had granted him an aid of three thouſand foot, and two hundred men at arms, to enable him to make a diverſion upon Henry. But it was not poſſible to tranſport theſe troops into Scotland, whilſt the Engliſh fleet kept the ſea to hinder their paſſage. Policy therefore was to be recurred to. For that purpoſe, he feigned to deſiſt from his deſign of going into Scotland, and ſent his troops into quarters remote from the coaſt, with orders however to be ready to march upon the firſt notice. The tranſport ſhips were likewiſe ſent away to certain ports, from whence they were ordered to ſail to the appointed rendezvous the moment they heard from the duke. This ſtratagem deceived the Engliſh admiral, who being informed by his ſpies, that the duke of Albany was returned to court, and had diſmiſſed his troops and veſſels, thought there was nothing more to fear this year, and ſo returned with the fleet into England. The duke was no ſooner informed of it, but he aſſembled his troops and ſhips, and embarking about the middle of September, arrived in Scotland the 24th [z], the ſame day the earl of Surrey became maſter of Jedburrough.

He marches with an army to the borders. Buchanan. Pol. Virg. Hall.

The regent's arrival revived the courage of the French party, who began to be greatly diſmayed, and drew from the king of England ſeveral perſons who had only favoured him out of fear. Some time after, the regent ſummoned the nobility to Edinburgh, and endeavoured to convince them that the kingdom would be in great danger, unleſs the king of England's deſigns were timely and vigorouſly oppoſed. But all his eloquence was not capable of cauſing a change of opinion in thoſe who preferred Henry's penſions to all the arguments that could be alledged. However, he aſſembled an army, and advanced towards the borders, where he arrived the 22d of October. But when he came

z With Richard de la Pole, brother of the earl of Lincoln, beheaded in the 5th of this reign, and three thouſand French. Herbert, p. 57.

to

to march into England, he met with the ſame obſtacles that had ſtopped him the laſt year. That is, the generals and officers of the Engliſh party refuſed to follow him, maintaining it was manifeſtly againſt the intereſt of Scotland to provoke the Engliſh, and therefore it was ſufficient to be upon the defenſive. They added, if the deſign was to ſerve France, it could not be done better than by keeping an army on the frontiers, which would oblige the Engliſh to have the like in thoſe parts. But in the preſent circumſtances of Scotland it was too much to hazard a battle, the loſs whereof would prove the ruin of the kingdom. In ſhort, the regent ſeeing it was in vain to perſuade them to follow him, ordered Werk caſtle to be aſſaulted by the French troops; but they were vigorouſly repulſed. Mean while, upon notice of the earl of Surrey's approach at the head of a numerous army [a], he did not think proper to expect him, but choſe to retire. Indeed, it would have been too dangerous to give battle with an army wherein the Engliſh had ſo many favourers. The ſeaſon being no longer proper for one or other to keep the field [b], the earl of Surrey, content with having ſtopped the Scots, ſent his troops into winter quarters, and the regent followed his example. 1523. They refuſe to follow him into England. Hall. Hollingſh. The earl of Surrey approaches. The regent retired.

Whilſt the flames of war were kindled in almoſt all parts of Europe, the reformation made great progreſs in Germany, and began even to ſpread in Switzerland, France, and England. In the beginning of this year the canton of Zurich, moved by the preaching of Zuinglius, renounced divers articles of religion they had hitherto profeſſed, though Zuinglius and Luther differed about the euchariſt [c]. Many likewiſe in France and England began to diſlike a religion, that ſeemed to be founded more upon the pope than upon Jeſus Chriſt. Adrian VI. hearing of the daily progreſs of Luther's doctrine in Germany, diſpatched a nuntio to the diet of Nuremberg, to exhort the German princes to deſtroy Luther Progreſs of the reformation. Sleidan.

[a] Forty thouſand men. There were beſides ſix thouſand in Berwick. Buchanan, l. 14. Hall, fol. 115.

[b] It was about the middle of November. See Hall, fol. 116.

[c] Their differences about conſubſtantiation much hindered the progreſs of the reformation. And not being able to be compoſed, Zuinglius's party were called Sacramentarians, and Luther's, Ubiquitarians. Calvin ſucceeded Zuinglius, who by his doctrines of predeſtination, &c. ſo widened the breach between the Lutherans and Calviniſts that they became irreconcileable. Inſomuch that the Lutherans at Leipſick, where they are very rigid, have ſet up in their great church the picture of Ignatius Loyola, Calvin and the Devil in one frame, with this inſcription, the three great enemies of Chriſt and the Chriſtian religion. Such enmity does the differing in opinion prepoſterouſly breed among Chriſtian ſects, eſpecially where both ſides are in the wrong!

1523. and his followers. He confeſſed however, in a letter to them upon the ſame ſubject, that many abuſes and diſorders were crept into the church [d], throwing the blame upon thoſe who had governed before him. But he ſaid, to reform all at once, would be the way to ſpoil all, and therefore it was neceſſary to proceed by degrees in this reformation. Luther having ſeen the letter, publiſhed it in German with notes of his own, wherein he ſaid among other things, that the degrees the pope mentioned were ſo large, that there was a hundred years interval between each of them. On the other hand, the diet taking advantage of the pope's confeſſion, demanded a free council in Germany, where every one ſhould be obliged upon oath to ſpeak his real opinion, and that numberleſs abuſes under which Germany had ſo long groaned, ſhould be reformed.

Luther anſwers the king of England's book. Sleidan.

Mean while, Luther ſtill continued to write in defence of his doctrine. Among other things he publiſhed an anſwer to the king of England's book, wherein he uſed no ceremony. This behaviour obliged Henry to complain of him to the princes of the houſe of Saxony. At the ſame time he exhorted them to hinder the publication of Luther's German bible, for fear the tranſlation ſhould be prejudicial to the truth. But his letter had no great effect.

1524. The progreſs of the reformation was not yet conſiderable enough to be regarded by the chief ſovereigns of Europe, whoſe thoughts were wholly intent upon war. Clement VII. refuſed to renew the league, though himſelf had engaged his predeceſſor in it, and declared he would ſtand neuter. This declaration at firſt extremely embarraſſed the duke of Bourbon, becauſe the emperor not having provided for the payment of his troops, it was not poſſible for the duke to ſatisfy them, ſince the pope and the Florentines withdrew their uſual ſupplies. He found means however to draw ſome money from the inhabitants of Milan, and at laſt perſuaded the pope to give him twenty thouſand ducats, and cauſe the Florentines to furniſh him with fifty thouſand, on condition of ſecrecy.

Affairs of Italy. Guicciard. Capella. P. Daniel.

Not long after, the duke of Bourbon receiving a ſupply of ſix thouſand Landſquenets, and the Venetian army under the command of the duke of Urbino joining him, he took the field with thirty-five thouſand men. Mean while, Bonnivet was greatly embarraſſed. He had not above twenty thou-

[d] His words are, In hac ſunctâ ſede aliquot jam annis Multa Abominanda fuiſſe.

ſand

ſand men, having loſt the reſt of his army by death or de- 1524.
ſertion during the laſt campaign. But what was worſe, he had no money to pay his troops. This was a misfortune common to both ſides. It is true, he expected ten thouſand Switzers, and five thouſand Griſons, but foreſaw they would be of little ſervice, becauſe he had not wherewithal to content them at their arrival. This made him reſolve to go in queſt of the imperialiſts, and give them battle. But as they were informed of his condition, they determined to avoid it; though they were ſuperior in number, in the expectation of diſperſing his army without an engagement. And indeed, the five thouſand Griſons who were coming to join the admiral, and were advanced as far as Bergamo, not receiving the money promiſed them, immediately returned. As for the ten thouſand Switzers, they arrived indeed at Jurea, and even advanced to the banks of the Seſia; but it was not poſſible to perſuade them to continue their march for want of money to pay them. Mean while, the imperialiſts became maſters of ſeveral towns, which very much annoyed the French camp, and at laſt forced the admiral to retire to Novarra. In the mean time, the caſtle of Cremona, which the French had hitherto kept, ſurrendered to the imperialiſts.

The French army repaſs the Alps. Guicciard. Bellai.

Bonnivet, finding that the Griſons were returned, that the Switzers would not ſtir without being ſecure of their pay, and that his men deſerted in great numbers, reſolved at laſt to repaſs the Alps. As ſoon as the duke of Bourbon had notice of his march, he purſued him with all ſpeed, to compel him to a battle. There were even between the two armies ſeveral ſharp ſkirmiſhes, in one of which the brave Bayard was ſlain. But notwithſtanding all the efforts of the imperialiſts, Bonnivet retreated in good order. When the French had repaſſed the mountains, the places they ſtill had in the Milaneſe ſurrendered by capitulation to the imperialiſts.

The French loſe the Milaneſe.

The emperor's and Henry's deſigns upon France. Guicciard. Bellai. Mezerai. Herbert.

The French were no ſooner out of Italy, but the emperor and the king of England thought of means to invade Francis in his own kingdom. They had expected great matters from the duke of Bourbon's revolt, but hitherto it was not poſſible to make any uſe of it, becauſe the conſpiracy was diſcovered too ſoon. The affairs of Italy having proſpered beyond expectation, they reſolved to make uſe of the duke of Bourbon to carry war into France, imagining if he could have ſome conſiderable advantage, he would cauſe part of the kingdom to rebel. The duke himſelf fed them with theſe hopes, becauſe that was the thing which

rend'red

1524. rendered him conſiderable. He would have been glad to act in ſome place near his own territories, from whence he expected great ſupplies. But it was thought more proper that he ſhould enter Provence with an army, by reaſon he could eaſily be aſſiſted by the Spaniſh fleet, which kept at Genoa; whereas by engaging in the middle of the kingdom, the fleet would be of no ſervice. This reſolution being taken, Henry readily promiſed to find the duke a hundred [c] thouſand crowns a month, on condition that after the firſt month, he ſhould be free to diſcontinue the payment, provided he acted himſelf in Picardy at the head of a royal army, from the firſt of July to the end of December.

The duke of Bourbon prepares to enter Provence.

Henry binds himſelf to find him money.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 794, 795. Guicciard.

Though the emperor had put the duke of Bourbon in hopes he would lend him all his army in Italy for his expedition into Provence, he could not however diſpenſe with leaving a good part at Milan, and other places of that duchy, under the command of Lanoy viceroy of Naples. On the other hand, the Venetians withdrew their troops, becauſe they had promiſed by their private treaty only to defend the Milaneſe. So, the duke of Bourbon began his march the 24th of June much weaker than he expected [f], and entered Provence the ſecond of July. He preſently became maſter of Aix and ſome other places, and at laſt came before Marſeilles, the taking whereof was the chief end of his expedition. But a few days before, Renzo de Ceri an Italian captain in the French ſervice had entered with a ſtrong garriſon. Whereupon the duke found he ſhould meet with more reſiſtance than he had imagined, but however he opened the ſiege.

The duke of Bourbon marches into Provence. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

Mezerai.

He beſieges Marſeilles. P. Daniel. Pol. Virg.

Mean while Francis I. having intelligence of Bourbon's march, ordered his forces to be aſſembled, and ſome troops ſent to Avignon, for fear the enemy ſhould ſeize it. There he reſolved to aſſemble his army, and came himſelf to command in perſon. It is needleſs to ſpeak either of the ſiege of Marſeilles, or of the king's great diligence in aſſembling his troops. It ſuffices to ſay, that the very day he departed from Avignon, in order to fight the imperialiſts, namely, the 10th of September, the duke of Bourbon raiſed the ſiege of Marſeilles, and retired into Italy. Whilſt the king was at Avignon, he received the news of his queen's death, who died at Blois in July.

Francis I. flies to its relief;

and forces the duke to retire into Italy. Bellai. P. Daniel.

[c] According to the computation in Rymer, it amounted to one hundred, and twenty-four thouſand crowns. tom. XIII. p. 795.

[f] He had thirteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. Rapin.

The

The duke of Bourbon's retreat entirely changed the face of affairs. Francis I. who had been in danger of loſing Provence, ſaw himſelf at the head of above forty thouſand men, ready to be employed in any important undertaking. So, perceiving that the imperialiſts took a great compaſs to retire into Italy, he reſolved to improve that advantage, and the ſuperiority of his army, to recover the Milaneſe. This reſolution being taken, he began his march, and tried to reach Milan before them. On the other hand, the duke of Bourbon having notice that the king was taking the ſhorteſt road to Milan, made incredible ſpeed not to be prevented, perceiving that thereon would depend the preſervation of the duchy. Thus the two armies marching by different routs, arrived the ſame day, one at Albe, the other at Vercelli. A few days after the duke of Bourbon joined the viceroy of Naples at Pavia. 1524.

The king marches into Italy another way. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

The two armies arrived on the ſame day.

Whilſt the imperial army was in Provence, the court of England was otherwiſe diſpoſed than before, and ſeemed to intend to follow new maxims. Henry made no diverſion in Picardy, though he had paid but one month of the ſubſidy he was to give the duke of Bourbon. This was ſufficient to create ſuſpicions in the emperor, which were confirmed by Henry's unſeaſonable demand of the money lent him at his departure from England [g]. He could not believe, Henry would demand his money at ſo improper a time, inſtead of performing his own engagements, unleſs he intended to ſeek an occaſion of quarrel. His uneaſineſs ſtill increaſed upon advice from his ambaſſador in England, that a perſon [h] was come from France to London from the ducheſs of Angoulême regent of that kingdom, and had long and frequent conferences with cardinal Wolſey. All this added to the cardinal's revengeful temper, whom he had vainly amuſed with hopes of the papacy, made him juſtly apprehenſive that the king of England was thinking to abandon him and join with his enemy. However, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, there was no other meaſure to take, ſince all depended on the ſucceſs of the war which was going to be renewed in Italy, where his generals were not a little embaraſſed.

Henry alters his deſigns, and forſakes the emperor. Herbert. Guicciard.

Hall. Herbert. Stow.

As ſoon as the duke of Bourbon and the viceroy of Naples were joined, they conſulted upon what was to be done at ſo ill a juncture. At firſt, they reſolved to leave ſtrong

The imperialiſts abandon Milan.

[g] And likewiſe the yearly penſion that uſed to be paid Henry by France, (ſee above, p. 194.) as alſo the cardinal's penſion of two thouſand five hundred ducats, &c. Guicciard. l. 15.

[h] John Joathim, a Genoeſe. Hall, fol. 135.

garriſons

1524. garriſons in Pavia and Alexandria, and take refuge in Milan. But the plague had made ſuch ravage in that city, every thing there was in ſo great confuſion, and money and proviſions ſo ſcarce, that they were forced to deſiſt from their deſign and abandon Milan. So, having well ſtored Pavia and Alexandria, they withdrew to Soncino, where Franceſco Sforza alſo repaired with them.

Guicciard. P. Daniel. Hall.

The French enter the city. The caſtle is beſieged. Guicciard. Bellai.

Mean while, Francis I. continuing his march towards Milan, and hearing the imperialiſts were retired, cauſed his troops to enter the city, and ordered the caſtle to be inveſted. If, inſtead of going to Milan he had marched directly to the imperialiſts, who were little able to withſtand him, he would have infallibly diſperſed them. But Bonnivet's unfortunate advice induced him not only to march to Milan, which muſt have fallen into his hands if he had defeated or routed the imperialiſts, but alſo to reſolve to beſiege Pavia. When he appeared before that place, the generals of the imperialiſts began to take courage, in expectation that the length of the ſiege and the winter ſeaſon would afford them time to take ſome meaſures. Mean while, they ſpeedily ſent for a ſupply of ten thouſand Germans. The pope, the Venetians, and the Florentines failing them all at once upon the French king's coming into Italy, their only refuge was the length of the ſiege of Pavia which began in November.

Falſe ſtep of Francis I. He beſieges Pavia.

The imperialiſts raiſe troops in Germany.

The pope treats privately with the king. Guicciard. Herbert.

Clement VII. who in the late pontificate had openly declared againſt the king of France, being in great perplexity, ſent a nuntio to the two armies to procure a truce; but not ſucceeding, he made his peace with the king of France. Moreover, he propoſed to him the conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples, and concluded with him a private treaty, promiſing free paſſage to the French troops.

Francis ſends a detachment to Naples. Bellai. Mezerai. Clement diſſembles with the emperor,

Preſently after, Francis detached five or ſix thouſand men under the command of the duke of Albany, who had left Scotland the beginning of the ſpring, with orders to march towards Naples. As they were neceſſarily to paſs through the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, Clement VII. pretended for ſome time, to oppoſe it, to make believe it was againſt his will. When the French were in the middle of his dominions, he publiſhed his agreement with the king of France, as if newly made, and ſent the emperor notice, excuſing himſelf on the neceſſity and conſtraint he was under. Though the emperor was very flegmatick, he could not help ſhowing, on this occaſion, an extreme reſentment againſt the pope. He ſaid, it was ſolely at the inſtance of Leo X. that he had undertaken the defence of Italy: That Clement himſelf had preſſed

who is much incenſed againſt him. Guicciard.

ted Adrian VI. to ſign the league, and now he was become pope, forſook him in his greateſt need, and left him to proſecute alone a war kindled by himſelf: that however he hoped to come off with honour, and to the confuſion of thoſe who ſo baſely deſerted him. The event ſhowed however, the pope had done him ſignal ſervice, in perſuading his enemy to carry war into the kingdom of Naples, ſince he thereby cauſed him to divide his forces. But it is uncertain whether the pope had any ſuch intention. 1524.

Another accident farther contributed to deprive Francis of his great ſuperiority over his enemies. Renzo de Ceri, who defended Marſeilles, having received the king's orders to embark ten thouſand men on the gallies, and join the duke of Albany, who expected him in Tuſcany, took Savona in his way. This ſucceſs which ſeemed very advantageous for Francis, turned to his real misfortune, as it put him upon ſending a freſh detachment to Savona, under the conduct of the marquiſs of Saluzzo, to take againſt Genoa what advantages ſhould offer. The two detachments for Naples and Savona[1], ſo weakened the French army, that the imperialiſts no longer feared to take the field, in order to prolong the ſiege of Pavia, till the arrival of the German ſuccours, which the duke of Bourbon himſelf was gone to haſten. And indeed, within a few days Peſcarra became maſter of Caſſano, a poſt very convenient for his purpoſe. With this event ended the year 1524. But before I proceed to the next, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention what had paſſed this year in Scotland.

Francis ſends another detachment to Savona. Guicciard.

The imperialiſts take the field.

They annoy the beſiegers.

The duke of Albany returning into France in May, the queen dowager and the earl of Arran of the houſe of Hamilton, adviſed the young king, who was between thirteen and fourteen years old, to aſſume himſelf the reins of the government. This advice was very intereſted, but James was too young to perceive it. He followed it, and ſummoning the ſtates, declared the authority of the regent was ended, and for the future all orders were to be received from the king himſelf. After that, the queen and the earl of Arran governed in the king's name. This change was not made with univerſal approbation. The earls of Lenox and Argyle, concerned to ſee the earl of Arran in poſſeſſion of the government, under colour of the king's anticipated majority, ſent for the earl of Angus from France, to ſupport themſelves by his intereſt, becauſe he was entirely fallen

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Hall.

End of Albany's regency.

[1] Both which were ſixteen thouſand men. Herbert, p. 62.

out

1524. out with the queen his wife. Upon that lord's arrival, they combined with him, and on pretence of freeing the king from the pretended captivity, the queen and the earl of Arran held him in, levied troops and took Sterling, after which they marched to Edinburgh where the king was. At their approach, the queen and the earl carried the king into the caſtle, but as they had not taken care to lay in proviſions, were forced in few days to deliver the king to the three lords, who aſſumed the title of regents. Thus the king was again put in guardianſhip under theſe three lords, who agreed to rule by turns, four months each. The earl of Angus begun, and as he was in the king of England's intereſt, ſent ambaſſadors to treat of the king of Scotland's marriage with the princeſs Mary, according to Henry's own ſcheme. To facilitate this negotiation, the truce which was to expire the 1ſt of December, was prolonged to the 26th of January 1525.

Hall.

The earl of Angus is declared regent.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 20, 21, 23--28. Hall. Hollingſh.

As England was very quiet during the whole year 1524, the affairs of that kingdom will not take me up long. I ſhall only obſerve, that Clement VII. finding himſelf in a very ill ſituation between the emperor and the king of France, ſhewed great regard for the court of England, whoſe aſſiſtance he thought he might want. To that purpoſe, he confirmed the king's title of defender of the faith, conferred on him by Leo X [k]. and, to pleaſe cardinal Wolſey, ſuppreſſed St. Frideſwid's priory in Oxford, on the ground whereof the cardinal intended to build his college, and appropriated the revenues to the new foundation. But as this was not ſufficient for the maintenance of the college, the cardinal procured powers to viſit all the religious houſes, notwithſtanding their immunities, and particularly thoſe of the Franciſcans, who pretended to be exempted. This was to make a certain liſt of ſuch as might be ſuppreſſed, in order to transfer the revenues to his colleges. The bull which gave him theſe powers, was dated the 21ſt of Auguſt. On the 11th of September following, the pope granted him another bull, empowering him to ſuppreſs as many monaſteries as he pleaſed to the value of three thouſand ducats a year for the ſame uſe [l].

Clement confirms Henry's title of defender of the faith. p. 13.

He ſuppreſſes monaſteries for the cardinal's colleges. p. 15.

Bull granted to the cardinal. p. 18.

Another bull. p. 23. Hall. Stow.

In the beginning of December, cardinal Laurentius Campejus, who had been the pope's legate in Germany, was

[k] This bull is dated March 5, and has a golden ſeal appendent to it, which is engraved in Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 14.

[l] In this bull the pope ſays, there were ſome monaſteries which had not above five or ſix perſons. Ibid. p. 24.

made biſhop of Saliſbury with the king's conſent. We muſt now return to the ſiege of Pavia, to behold an event which made a very great alteration in the affairs of Europe, wherein England was deeply concerned [m]. 1524.

Cardinal Campejus made biſhop of Saliſbury. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 29.

Francis I. ſtill perſiſted in the ſiege, though without making much progreſs, becauſe of the rigour of the ſeaſon, and the imperial army, which being poſted at Caſſano, annoyed his convoys very much. Beſides, he had made three detachments, one to beſiege the caſtle of Milan, another for Naples, and a third for Savona. On the other hand, the duke of Bourbon came from Germany about the end of January, with a ſupply of ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe [n], which made the imperial army two and twenty thouſand ſtrong. As the generals wanted money, and for that reaſon were not ſure of hindering the army from diſbanding, they reſolved to attempt the relief of Pavia. To that end, they began to march the 3d of February towards the town, bent to improve what opportunities ſhould offer. But as the camp of the beſiegers was ſtrongly intrenched, they waited three weeks before they executed ſo dangerous a reſolution, which might be attended with terrible conſequences. Mean while, the Griſons having recalled their ſix thouſand men in the French ſervice, and theſe troops departing, notwithſtanding all the king's endeavours to detain them [o], the duke of Bourbon thought he ſhould no longer defer attacking the enemy's camp. This reſolution was executed the even of St. Matthias [p], with a ſucceſs very fatal to Francis, ſince his army was routed, and himſelf unfortunately taken priſoner [q].

1525.

Guicciard. Bellai. Mezerai. The duke of Bourbon brings troops from Germany.

The French are attacked, and their king made priſoner. Guicciard.

The

[m] In the beginning of the year 1524, ſir Anthony Fitzherbert, one of the juſtices of the Common Pleas, ſir Ralph Egerton, and dr. Denton, dean of Litchfield, were ſent commiſſioners into Ireland; where they reformed ſeveral abuſes, and conſtituted Gerald Fitzgerald, deputy of that kingdom, of which the earl of Ormond was appointed treaſurer. Hall, fol. 130. Hollingſh. p. 883. —— About this time alſo, divers things were newly brought into England, whereupon this ryme was made:

Turkeys, Carps, Hops, Piccarel and Beer,
Came into England, all in one year.

[n] Five hundred men at arms, and ſix thouſand Landſquenets. Guicciard. l. 15.

[o] Beſides, three thouſand Italians, whoſe commander Genovanni de Medici was hurt, diſbanded themſelves. Herbert, p. 62.

[p] Being the emperor's birth day. Guicciard.

[q] In this battle Richard de la Pole, often mentioned before, was ſlain. Stow, p. 522. It appears from Du Tillet, that June 20, 1523, king Francis concluded a treaty with ſome male-

1525. The ſucceſs of this battle filled all Europe with conſternation and dread. The emperor was without a rival, and in condition to overrun Italy with his victorious army, whilſt the king of England his ally, had it in his power to give France a mortal wound on the ſide of Picardy. Conſequently, the balance of Europe being taken away, the ſovereigns, for the moſt part had great reaſon to dread falling at laſt into ſlavery. The Venetians alone, perfectly knowing the danger, propoſed to the pope a league againſt the emperor, not queſtioning the king of England would alſo join in it, becauſe it was his intereſt. This league added to the forces France could ſtill bring into the field, and the ſupplies which might be received from the Switzers by paying them well, would have been ſufficient to keep the emperor in awe, if it could have been ſpeedily concluded. But the pope preferring his own intereſt to that of Europe in general, haſtened his treaty with the viceroy of Naples, who acted in the emperor's name. By this treaty, the emperor, among other things, was to give the inveſtiture of Milan to Franceſco Sforza. There were alſo three ſeparate articles concerning the pope in particular, namely, 1. That the inhabitants of the Milaneſe ſhould furniſh themſelves with ſalt from the pope's territories. 2. That the emperor ſhould compel the duke of Ferrara to reſtore to the church the town of Reggio, ſeized after Leo X.'s death. 3. That the pope ſhould have the diſpoſal of the benefices in the kingdom of Naples. By this treaty, which was of no force till ratified by the emperor, the politick viceroy found means to defer the project of league againſt the emperor, propoſed by the Venetians, and to render the other powers jealous of the pope. This was the greateſt ſervice he could poſſibly do his maſter on this occaſion.

The emperor becomes formidable to all Europe.

The Venetians propoſe a league againſt the emperor. Guicciard.

The pope durſt not venture upon it. He treats with the emperor. Guicciard.

Mean while, the emperor's generals were greatly embaraſſed after ſo glorious a victory, for want of money to pay their troops. They had indeed received a hundred thouſand ducats from Florence, but that not ſufficing to pay the arrears and ſubſiſtence of the army, they were forced to diſband the beſt part of the troops, when by the treaty with the pope, they were ſure of having no league to fear. Beſides Triulzi, who was beſieging the caſtle of Milan, had

The emperor's generals at a loſs. They diſband part of their army. Guicciard.

malecontents in Ireland, wherein he engaged to ſend over fifteen thouſand men, not only to conquer part of that kingdom, but alſo from thence to invade England, and procure the crown for the ſaid Richard de la Pole, who had ſome pretenſions to it, as being ſon of Elizabeth, ſiſter of king Edward IV. Du Tillet, p. 397, 412.

now

now repaſſed the Alps, and the duke of Albany was only thinking of retiring into France with his army. This diſbanding of troops, would have been of very great conſequence to the emperor, whoſe intereſt it was to prevent by his moderation the meaſures which the alarmed ſtates of Italy might take againſt him, if his generals had proceeded accordingly. But proſperity cauſing them to be wanting in policy, they treated the ſtates of Italy, and eſpecially the Venetians, with a haughtineſs that gave them occaſion to think their liberty in danger, and made them reſolve to uſe all poſſible endeavours to avoid the threatened ſlavery. 1525.

The emperor could better diſſemble his ſentiments. He received the news of the victory of Pavia, and the French king's captivity, with great moderation, forbidding any demonſtrations of joy, and ſaying, chriſtians ought to rejoice only for victories over infidels. He ſeemed to ſympathiſe with Francis's misfortune, and, as I may ſay, to put himſelf in his place, by acknowledging it to be a mere chance, and no prince, how brave ſoever, exempt from the like accident. Preſently after he called his council to debate what was to be done with the priſoner. His confeſſor, who ſpoke firſt, was for releaſing him without terms. He repreſented to him, that by ſuch a generous action, he would not only acquire immortal fame, but alſo make the king of France his real friend, who, not to be outdone in generoſity, would doubtleſs ſtrive to expreſs his gratitude: that with his help, he would give law to Germany and Italy, without being obliged to demand the aſſiſtance of other inferior princes. But the duke of Alva anſwered all theſe arguments, and concluded it was beſt to reap from this victory, all the advantages it could naturally procure; and the emperor embraced his opinion. This plainly ſhows, that his pretended moderation was but a diſguiſe to hinder the princes of Europe from being alarmed, and from concerting meaſures to oppoſe the execution of his ambitious deſigns.

The emperor's moderation at the news of the victory of Pavia. Guicciard.

He debates about what is to be done with his priſoner. His confeſſor's advice. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

The duke of Alva's opinion, which is followed.

To continue this diſguiſe, he ſent the count of Beaurain into Italy with certain terms, on which he was willing to releaſe his priſoner. He was very ſure Francis would not accept them. But it was his intereſt to make the world believe it was not his fault that the French king was not releaſed. Wherefore, it was every where induſtriouſly reported, that the emperor had ſent the king very reaſonable terms. But great care was taken not to publiſh them. Among other things, he demanded for himſelf the duchy of Burgundy [r].

The emperor offers terms for Francis's liberty. Guicciard. P. Daniel. Herbert.

[r] And that Francis ſhould renounce all pretenſions to Italy. Guicciard. l. 16.

1525. Moreover, he had a mind to join to the duke of Bourbon's territories, Provence and Dauphiné, and erect the whole for that prince into a kingdom independent of the crown of France. Laſtly, he demanded that Francis ſhould give the king of England entire ſatisfaction, concerning what was due to him. The firſt of theſe conditions in juſtice and equity, contained nothing ſtrange. King Lewis XI. took poſſeſſion of the duchy of Burgundy, after the death of the laſt duke, under colour of a title which was conteſted, and of which however he made himſelf judge. It could not therefore be taken ill, that the emperor ſhould demand reſtitution of what was wreſted from Mary of Burgundy his grandmother, at leaſt, till the cauſe was legally decided. But what was ſurprizing, and very hard in the emperor's propoſals, was, his deſire to eſtabliſh in the heart of France, an independent kingdom, to gratify a rebellious ſubject, the prime author of the king's misfortune. Probably, he inſiſted on this article only to make the firſt paſs the better, or to give occaſion for a rupture, Francis I. rejected theſe conditions with the utmoſt indignation [s], and ſwore, he would rather be a captive all his life than accept them [t]. But he offered, in his turn, conditions which he thought very advantageous to the conqueror, namely, that he would marry Leonora queen dowager of Portugal the emperor's ſiſter, and give the duke of Bourbon his ſiſter the ducheſs of Alençon, who had lately loſt the duke her huſband: that he would agree to hold the duchy of Burgundy as the queen dowager's dowry, and leave it to their male heirs: that he would reſtore to the duke of Bourbon, all his confiſcated eſtates: that he would renounce all claim to Naples and Milan: that he would ſatisfy the king of England concerning what was due to him: finally, that he would pay the ſame ranſom as king John, when taken priſoner at the battle of Poictiers. But the emperor was not ſatisfied with theſe offers. He ſtill inſiſted that the duchy of Burgundy ſhould be reſtored to him without condition. Moreover, he affirmed that Francis had no right to Naples and Milan, and therefore his offer to relinquiſh it, was needleſs and chimerical.

The king rejects them.

He offers others. Guicciard. Herbert.

The emperor rejects them.

[s] Adding, that it was not in his power to alienate any of the demeſns belonging to the crown of France, without the conſent of the parliament, and other perſons veſted with the government of the kingdom. Ibid.

[t] When the articles were preſented to Francis, he was ſo diſpleaſed at them, that he is ſaid in a fury to draw his dagger and cry, it is better for a king of France to die thus: upon which Hernando de Alençon who was preſent, haſtily took the dagger from him. Herbert, p. 66.

It

It was not without reaſon that the emperor perſiſted in his demands. It is eaſy to judge the conſternation of France, after the loſs ſhe had lately ſuſtained, the king was a captive, and almoſt all her generals taken or ſlain in the battle of Pavia. The kingdom being exhauſted by continual wars under this and the former reigns, was deſtitute of men and money. The Switzers were diſheartened. The canton of Zurich which had refuſed to furniſh the king with troops for the war, was ſtill in the ſame diſpoſition from a principle of conſcience. Zuinglius, who had great intereſt in that canton, perſuaded the ſenate, that to barter the blood of their citizens for money, and ſerve the ambition of princes, was an infamous thing. But though all the cantons had been equally inclined to find troops, it was well known, they would not do it without being paid; and to procure the money was no eaſy thing. On the other hand, there was reaſon to fear, the king of England would improve the opportunity to invade France through Picardy, whilſt the emperor attacked the provinces bordering upon Spain. In fine, there was nothing to be expected from Italy, ſince the pope had made his peace with the emperor, it being impoſſible the Venetians would alone maintain the war for the ſake of France. Thus was ſeen on all ſides juſt cauſe of alarm. Certainly, had the emperor and Henry renewed their league, and vigorouſly attacked France, that kingdom in its preſent ill circumſtances, muſt have been ruined. But at the time the regent, and all true Frenchmen were under theſe apprehenſions, a ray of hope appeared, which hindered their courage from ſinking entirely. The pope and the emperor could not agree, though outwardly they ſeemed willing to unite. The Venetians were inclined to join in a league with the other ſtates to oppoſe the emperor's progreſs. In ſhort, the king of England, inſtead of taking advantage of the king of France's misfortune, generouſly took his part. On the other hand, Franceſco Sforza, ſeeing himſelf as it were the emperor's ſlave, ſtrove to throw off his yoke, and though he miſcarried his attempt however produced a good effect, as it ſhewed the emperor the diſpoſition of the princes who entered into the plot, which it will be neceſſary to explain, in order to give a diſtinct idea of the affairs of thoſe times, wherein England was concerned. But firſt it muſt be ſeen what became of the captive king.

1525.

Great conſternation in France. Guicciard.

Several things concur to revive the courage of the French. Guicciard.

The unfortunate priſoner was kept in the caſtle of Pizzighitone till Eaſter, but with ſo much uneaſineſs on the part of the imperialiſts, that they durſt not remove their troops

Francis I. is carried into Spain, June.

1525. from that quarter, for fear of his being reſcued. At laſt, Lanoy hearing, the Venetian ambaſſador at Rome had frequent conferences with the pope, was afraid ſome plot was forming to deliver the priſoner. Wherefore, without imparting his deſign to the duke of Bourbon, whom perhaps he miſtruſted, he reſolved to convey him into Spain. But this was difficult, ſince he had no naval force, and the French gallies were at ſea. To remove this obſtacle, he inſinuated to the king, that the only way ſpeedily to obtain his liberty was to confer in perſon with the emperor: that as the emperor was a generous prince, and had ſhown a concern for his misfortune, their interview could not but produce a good effect, and promote a ſpeedy peace. Francis agreed to it, full of hopes that he ſhould do more himſelf in two or three conferences with the emperor, than his miniſters in many months. He even lent the viceroy his gallies to carry him into Spain, where he arrived about the middle of June.

Guicciard. P. Daniel.

He is ſhut up in the caſtle of Madrid. Guicciard.

He flattered himſelf, he ſhould be treated in Spain as king John was in England: but at his arrival, he had the mortification to be confined in the caſtle of Madrid, where the emperor, inſtead of treating with him in perſon, did not ſo much as pay him a viſit. All he could obtain was a ſafe conduct for his ſiſter the ducheſs of Alençon, who came to Madrid in September. She was empowered by the regent her mother to negotiate with the emperor. But at laſt ſhe was forced to return and nothing obtained. When ſhe came to Madrid, ſhe found the king her brother ſo ill, that his recovery was deſpaired of. As there was no room to doubt, that his grief at ſeeing his liberty ſo remote occaſioned his illneſs, the emperor poſted from Toledo to Madrid, to viſit and comfort him, in the apprehenſion of loſing by his priſoner's death the advantages he expected from his captivity. He put him therefore in hopes of his deliverance in the two viſits he made him, though in general terms, which however produced the deſired effect, ſince the king recovered his health. But when after his recovery he would have renewed the negotiation, he quickly perceived he was farther from his deliverance than he imagined. The emperor ſtill inſiſted upon the reſtitution of Burgundy, and when the king offered to eſpouſe the princeſs Leonora and hold that duchy as her dowry, Charles excuſed himſelf as having promiſed to give the queen his ſiſter in marriage to the duke of Bourbon. It was no ſmall mortification to Francis to ſee one of his ſubjects preferred before him. But what troubled him ſtill more was,

The ducheſs of Alençon comes to treat about him.

He falls ſick.

The emperor viſits him. Guicciard.

Difficulties about the peace.

that he ſaw it to be only a pretence to retard the concluſion of the treaty. So, in the deſpair the emperor's rigor threw him into, he gave the ducheſs of Alençon a writing under his hand, whereby he conſented and even ordered, that the ſtates of France ſhould crown the dauphin his ſon. This in France is called the edict of Madrid. But the parliament of Paris thought not fit to record it, either becauſe it was againſt the laws of the realm, or they deemed ſuch an imperfect edict to be of no authority ſince the king was not free. It may be, Francis thereby deſigned to let the emperor ſee, that inſtead of having a king in his power, he ran the hazard of having only a prince without dominions. 1525.

Francis orders the dauphin his ſon to be crowned.

The parliament of Paris refuſe. P. Daniel.

Whilſt the emperor amuſed his priſoner in Spain, he acted with no greater ſincerity with the pope, who did not know what to think of his proceedings. The victorious monarch had courted him very earneſtly. But after making a treaty with him by the viceroy of Naples, he long delayed to ratify it, and at laſt had ſent his ratification without including the three ſeparate articles. He ſaid, that as to the duke of Ferrara, he could not oblige him to deliver Reggio to the pope, being a fief of the empire. As to the ſecond article, whereby the emperor was bound to oblige the inhabitants of the Milaneſe to take their ſalt of the pope's ſubjects, he ſaid, that concerned only the duke of Milan, and for his part he could not promiſe for others. That for the benefices of Naples, he could not agree to that article, unleſs a limitation was added, which rendered it of no effect, namely, that what had been practiſed in the reigns of the former kings of Naples ſhould be conformed to. The pope finding, the emperor refuſed to ratify theſe three articles, would not accept of the ratification, and they both remained upon the ſame terms as before the treaty. But the emperor had obtained his deſires, ſince he had obſtructed the league which was projecting againſt him, in rendering the pope ſuſpected by the reſt of the ſovereigns.

The emperor deals deceitfully with the pope.

He ſends an imperfect ratification of the treaty of Rome. Guicciard.

The pope rejects it.

There was another thing which ſhewed the emperor's inſincerity, namely, having ſent the inveſtiture of Milan to Franceſco Sforza, he clogged it with the condition that Sforza ſhould pay him twelve hundred thouſand ducats in recompenſe for his charges in keeping that duchy for him. As it was evident, Sforza could not poſſibly perform this condition, it was no leſs ſo that the emperor only ſought a pretence to continue maſter of Milan. Theſe things alarmed the pope, who heard beſides, that the council of Spain was not favourable to him. And indeed, ſome of the emperor's

The emperor offers the inveſtiture of Milan to Sforza, on a condition not to be performed. Guicciard.

The pope falls off more and more.

1525. miniſters had adviſed him to chaſtiſe the pope for joining with France at ſo critical a juncture, and compel him to reſtore Modena to the duke of Ferrara, and Bologna to the Bentivoglios.

The Venetians endeavour to form a league againſt the emperor. Guicciard.

On the other hand, the Venetians ſeeing there was no likelihood, that the emperor really intended to reſtore Sforza, could not but be alarmed at his keeping the duchy of Milan. Wherefore, they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the pope and the king of England to join with them and France againſt the emperor, well knowing that otherwiſe all Italy would fall under the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria. A letter of Andrea Gritti their doge to cardinal Wolſey of the 31ſt of March, extant in the collection of the publick acts, ſhows, that theſe able politicians had formed this project ſhortly after the battle. The letter indeed is only an ambaſſador's credentials, who had orders to treat with the king upon a very important affair. But at ſuch a juncture, this important affair could be only the league they were projecting.

Act Pub. XIV. p. 36.

The pope continues undetermined.

Mean while, the pope was extremely embarraſſed. In attempting to manage too artfully, he made ſo many falſe ſteps, that he knew not which way to turn. This is frequently the caſe of thoſe, who quitting the great road walk through by-ways. Clement VII. could not reſolve either to be ſatisfied with the emperor's offers, or enter into a league againſt him. In this uncertainty, he choſe to follow the example of Leo X. and Julius II. his predeceſſors, that is, to treat with the emperor and his enemies at the ſame time, in order to be determined by the events in what would be moſt advantageous. To that end, whilſt he was treating at Rome with the Venetians, he ſent cardinal Salviati to Spain, to negotiate with the emperor, putting into his hands a diſpenſation, deſired by that monarch, to marry his niece Iſabella of Portugal. But the diſpenſation was not to be delivered to the emperor till after the concluſion of the treaty.

Guicciard.

Sforza is kept in ſervitude by the imperialiſts. Guicciard.

The affairs of Italy being in this ſituation, another accident happened, which plainly ſhowed the emperor only ſought to amuſe all the ſovereigns by a feigned moderation, whilſt in truth he was ſolely thinking of extending his dominions. His league with Adrian VI. and the reſt of the ſtates of Italy, was founded upon Franceſco Sforza's reſtoration to the duchy of Milan. As this was the common intereſt of Italy, ſo was it likewiſe the only bond by which the emperor had found means to unite all the potentates againſt France, then

in

in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe. That league had ſucceeded according to the deſires of the allies. The French were driven out of Italy, and Sforza reſtored. But though the emperor had pretended to give him the inveſtiture, he had not yet done it, becauſe Sforza was not able to pay the twelve hundred thouſand ducats he demanded. He was made to hope he ſhould obtain more moderate terms, but that was only to amuſe him, and remove his as well the pope's and Venetians ſuſpicion, that the emperor intended to keep the duchy for himſelf, or give it to his brother the archduke Ferdinand. 1525.

What was then but a bare ſuſpicion, ſoon became a certainty. The duke of Bourbon going into Spain, to take care of his concerns, Ferdinand d'Avalos, marquis of Peſcara, was commiſſioned by the emperor to command in Italy. Shortly after, Peſcara affected to appear very diſſatisfied, and openly to complain of the emperor's ingratitude. He carried his diſſimulation ſo far, that at laſt he inſpired Jeronimo Moronè, the duke of Milan's chancellor, with the boldneſs to ſound him, to ſee whether by his means the Spaniards might be driven out of the Milaneſe. Peſcara hearkened to his inſinuations, had ſeveral conferences with him, and managed ſo dexterouſly, that he engaged Moronè to cauſe the duke himſelf to ſpeak to him about the affair. Moronè's project was to kill all the Spaniards in the duchy of Milan, and make Peſcara king of Naples. As this could not be effected without foreign aid, Peſcara propoſed to engage in the plot, the pope, the regent of France, and the Venetians. Accordingly, theſe three powers came into it, and promiſed their aſſiſtance. When matters were almoſt ripe, Peſcara received the emperor's orders to diſpoſſeſs the duke of Milan entirely. He began with ſeizing Moronè, and then conſtrained the duke, who was not able to reſiſt, to reſign the city of Milan and all the reſt of the towns in his poſſeſſion. Only the caſtle of Milan Sforza would not deliver, which was therefore immediately beſieged. Thus the emperor had a plauſible colour to render himſelf maſter of the duchy, and the pope and Venetians could not complain of his puniſhing Sforza's treachery, ſince there were evident proofs that they themſelves were concerned in the plot.

The emperor lays a ſnare for Sforza in order to diſpoſſeſs him. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

Peſcara takes away all his places, and beſieges the caſtle of Milan.

The artifice practiſed by the emperor to ſeize the Milaneſe, ſerved only to confirm the Venetians in their reſolution to hazard all to hinder that duchy from remaining in the hands of the houſe of Auſtria. Without troubling themſelves to juſtify their conduct, they plainly told the Spaniſh ambaſſa-

The Venetians inſiſt upon Sforza's reſtoration. Guicciard.

1525. dor, who preſſed them to join with the emperor, that Sforza's reſtoration was a preliminary they would never depart from. If Clement VII. had ſhown the ſame reſolution, the emperor would have been a little embarraſſed. But the pope by acting too politickly ſuffered himſelf to be deceived, as he had been before. He had a legate in Spain, who was treating with the emperor, whilſt himſelf was negotiating at Rome with the French and Venetian ambaſſadors a league againſt that monarch. He impatiently waited the ſucceſs of his legate's negotiation, and as the concluſion was long delayed, he appointed a day to ſign a league with France and Venice. But in the interval, receiving advice that his treaty was concluded at Madrid, he would hear no more of the league. Soon after, the emperor ſent him by an expreſs the treaty concluded in Spain, which he found ſo equivocal and ambiguous, that he refuſed to ratify it. The Spaniſh ambaſſador pretending to be himſelf ſurpriſed at the ambiguities of the treaty, ſtrenuouſly maintained, they were undeſigned, and told the pope, he might draw the treaty as he pleaſed, and engaged to have it ſigned by the emperor within two months. This delay was only to hinder the pope from entering into the league during that time, and Clement ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by the aſſurance wherewith the ambaſſador ſpoke. This was tranſacted in December 1525, and in the ſame month died Peſcara.

The pope is in ſuſpence to declare himſelf.

He ſuffers himſelf to be over reached by the Spaniſh ambaſſador. Guicciard.

Peſcara's death.

Having thus ſhown the ſituation of affairs in Italy, we muſt ſee what paſſed at the court of England, where was no leſs caballing than at Rome and Venice, ſince it was then really debating to preſerve the balance of Europe, which leaned too much to one ſide. The equality between the two houſes of France and Auſtria was properly what made England conſiderable, and conſequently was an advantage not to be neglected. But there were other reaſons that incited Henry to forſake the emperor, and join with France. Though the treaty of Bruges or Windſor ſeemed to have inſeparably united the emperor and Henry, it is however certain, they were not pleaſed with one another, becauſe each was deſirous to make their union ſubſervient to his own affairs, without any regard to his ally. Probably cardinal Wolſey, who was very angry with the emperor, did not a little contribute to diſpoſe his maſter to a rupture.

Henry thinks of ſiding with France. Guicciard. Hollingſh.

The emperor and Henry are diſſatisfied with one another.

The princeſs Mary, Henry's daughter, was affianced to the emperor, and yet the king her father had offered her to the king of Scotland. On the other hand, the emperor had not ſcrupled to conclude his own marriage with Iſabella of Portugal,

Cauſes of their falling out. Guicciard.

Portugal, as if he had not been engaged to Mary, and from hence these two monarchs showed they had very little regard for one another. Charles hearing that Henry was treating of a marriage between his daughter and the king of Scotland, took that occasion to throw upon him the rupture of his marriage. In March [u] he sent into England the lord of Buren, and the president of the council of Mechlin, to require the king to send him immediately the princess, pay down the covenanted dowry, and pursuant to their league, enter Picardy with a powerful army, as he should have done the last year. It was easy for Henry to perceive, the emperor sought only to justify himself, without any intention to accomplish his marriage with Mary, and this way of proceeding was not very proper to preserve a good understanding. But on the other hand, the emperor had no less reason to complain of him. Henry had promised to find a hundred thousand crowns a month for the duke of Bourbon's expedition into France, or to make a powerful diversion in Picardy. But after setting the affair on foot by the first monthly payment, he had stopped there without making any attempt against France, Nay, he had demanded the money due to him, when he knew the emperor was not able to pay him. This proceeding seemed to demonstrate he only sought a pretence. Moreover, the emperor was informed, that in October last, when Francis I. was marching into Italy, a person without character [w] came to London from the regent, and had several conferences with cardinal Wolsey. But then Charles had promised to invade France on the side of Spain, without having done any thing towards it. And yet he took it very ill that Henry should disappoint him. Thus these two monarchs who were thought so strictly united, and whose union made France and Italy tremble, were in reality estranged from one another, and ready to quarrel. In all appearance, the conferences of the person from France with cardinal Wolsey had taken effect. Besides, the cardinal who was very revengeful, must have been extremely incensed with the emperor for deceiving him twice, after a positive promise to help him to the papacy.

1525.

March. Herbert. Hall. Hollingsh.

Wolsey contributes to the rupture.

It was in the beginning of March that the emperor's two ambassadors discharged their commission. But before they had received an answer, the news of the battle of Pavia,

Henry shews a regard for France. Herbert. Hall.

[u] They arrived in London, March 5. Hall, fol. 136.

[w] John Jachim de Passau. See above.

and

1525. and the taking of the king of France reached England [x], by a letter from the governeſs of Flanders, with another from Lanoy, written on the very day of the battle. As the court of England then ſtood inclined, this news was by no means agreeable. Nevertheleſs, as it was ſtill neceſſary to diſſemble, Henry ordered a ſolemn maſs to be celebrated at St. Paul's, where he was pleaſed to be preſent in perſon [y], without however cauſing te deum to be ſung [z]. His aim was to make the emperor's ambaſſadors believe, it was on account of the victory, and withal to ſhow a regard for France, by avoiding to expreſs any joy at her misfortune.

Herbert.

Henry adviſes with his council about the courſe he ſhould take.

Some days after, the council was aſſembled to conſider what was to be done at this juncture. The queſtion was, whether the opportunity ſhould be embraced to make conqueſts upon France, in proſecuting the king's title to that kingdom, or whether it was more expedient to aſſiſt and preſerve France entire, and oppoſe the growing power of the houſe of Auſtria. As to the firſt point, it is certain, if on this occaſion, England had ſtrictly united with the emperor, and made vigorous efforts on the ſide of Picardy, France in her preſent condition would have been irrecoverably loſt. For, inſtead of being able to withſtand the arms of theſe two powerful enemies, it was not poſſible for her to reſiſt the emperor without the king of England's aſſiſtance. But on the other hand, it was conſidered, that France could not be ruined without rendering the emperor too powerful: that he was already in poſſeſſion of Spain, and had alſo an eye upon Portugal, by marrying his niece Iſabella as it was publickly reported: that his late victory in Milan gave him ſuch a ſuperiority in Italy, that probably the pope and the Venetians would not be able to make head againſt him: that he poſſeſſed almoſt all the Low Countries with large and rich provinces in Germany; not to reckon the imperial dignity which was become as hereditary in his family: that if by a powerful diverſion, an opportunity was given him to conquer the French provinces bordering upon Spain and Italy, the most the king could expect was, to ſhare France with *him*: for it was to be feared, that afterwards the emperor would become his enemy, and the more formidable, as there would be no proportion between their forces, nor any ſtate in

[x] On March 9. Hall, fol. 136. Herbert, p. 64.

[y] March 12. Accompanied by the ambaſſadors of the pope, the emperor, Scotland, Venice, Milan, and Florence. The day before, there were bonfires in London on account of the victory. Hall, fol. 136.

[z] Hall affirms the contrary. Ibid.

rope

ope capable of ſupporting the weakeſt: that therefore, ſup- 1525.
poſing the king had in France all the ſucceſs he could wiſh, in aggrandiſing himſelf in that kingdom, he would only be involved for the future in an unequal war with the emperor, who very probably would never be ſatisfied till he had diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh of their conqueſts: that what had paſſed between Lewis XII. and Ferdinand, in reſpect of the kingdom of Naples, was a clear evidence how difficult it is for ſuch partitions long to ſubſiſt: that upon all theſe accounts, it was more for the intereſt of England, to make a vigorous effort to ſupport France, and enable her to be always a balance to the power of the houſe of Auſtria: that the happineſs and glory of England conſiſted in the equality between the king of France and the emperor, ſince thereby England was always in condition to remain arbiter of Europe, and make herſelf courted by both ſides: that there was no other way to cauſe trade to flouriſh, wherein conſiſted all her ſtrength, and without which the Engliſh could never hope to render themſelves formidable: that if, on the contrary, it was reſolved to compleat the deſtruction of France, and a war ſhould afterwards happen with the emperor, of which there was great probability, at once would be loſt the trade with France, Spain, Italy, Flanders, Germany, which would quickly reduce England to extreme poverty: that at leaſt, it would thereby be out of her power to have land and ſea forces ſufficient to balance the emperor's power. In ſhort, if France came to be divided between the emperor and the king, Scotland would certainly join in alliance with the emperor, and continue to annoy England by frequent diverſions as ſhe had always done in favour of France. To theſe conſiderations another of greater weight was added, namely, that a league with the emperor to conquer France was not the ſame thing, as one with the regent in defence of that kingdom: that in the firſt, the emperor's ſole aim would be to make the Engliſh forces ſerve to enable him to puſh his conqueſts elſewhere; but at the ſame time he would oppoſe directly or indirectly the king's increaſe of power: that this was the uſual policy of princes when they joined with thoſe weaker than themſelves: that it could be the leſs doubted that the emperor would follow this maxim, as even before the battle of Pavia, he had ſhewn, that he conſidered the king only as his inſtrument to promote his deſigns in Italy; but that the king joined with France, the two allies having the ſame view, would as is uſual in defenſive leagues act unanimouſly: that on the other hand, in the preſent juncture, France not being

1525. being able to ſupport herſelf without the aſſiſtance of England, would readily accept what terms ſhould be impoſed upon her, which was an advantage more real and certain than any to be expected from the invaſion of that kingdom: in a word, nothing could be more glorious for the kingdom, than to relieve France in her diſtreſs and free her captive king: that by ſo doing he would truly acquire the title of arbiter and deliverer of Europe, and make of the king of France a friend, who probably would eternally remember ſuch a favour.

Henry reſolves to ſupport France. He uſes for pretence the injuries done him by the emperor.

Theſe were the reaſons that induced the king and council to take part with France. They were perfectly agreeable to the king's and the cardinal's inclinations, and to the meaſures they had now begun to take. The only buſineſs was to ſeek a pretence to break with the emperor by throwing upon him the blame of the rupture. This is a thing to which princes are very attentive. When they wage unjuſt wars, they would perſuade the world that they are founded upon juſtice and equity, without any motive of envy, jealouſy, ambition and avarice. The war Henry was meditating againſt the emperor was, as we have ſeen, wholly founded upon policy. And that would have been ſufficient to juſtify it. But he choſe rather to ground it upon the pretended injuries received from the emperor. The reaſon of this conduct is evident. It ſeldom happens that policy and equity agree, and Henry, like moſt princes, had rather be counted a great politician than an honeſt man. However, the reſolution being taken to ſupport France, Cuthbert Tunſtal biſhop of London and ſir Robert Wingfield were ſent into Spain, to demand of the emperor ſeveral things which it was known he would not grant. Firſt, That as the war was made at a common charge, it was reaſonable the king of England ſhould partake of the fruits of the victory of Pavia. That therefore, purſuant to their alliance, it ſhould be ſtipulated in the treaty with the captive king, that Henry ſhould be reſtored to what belonged to him in France. Secondly, That if this could not be obtained by fair means, the emperor, according to the treaty, ſhould prepare to invade France from Spain, whilſt the Engliſh acted in Picardy, and that the war ſhould not ceaſe till the king of England had acquired all that belonged to him: that the emperor ought to be the readier to aſſiſt the king of England in obtaining his deſires, becauſe by his marriage with the heireſs of England, all theſe acquiſitions would finally devolve to him. Thirdly, That as it was ſaid in the treaty of Windſor, the two allies ſhould mutually deliver all uſurpers upon each other's right, Henry required, purſuant

He ſends ambaſſadors to Spain. Hall. Stow. Herbert. His demands upon the emperor.

purſuant to that article, that the king of France ſhould be delivered to him the ſame day princeſs Mary was conſigned to the emperor. 1525.

Theſe demands were for the moſt part of ſuch a nature, that the emperor eaſily perceived, Henry only ſought a pretence to break with him. Indeed, he could not receive the princeſs Mary, ſince he was determined to marry Iſabella of Portugal, and much leſs would he deliver the captive king, and ſo part with the advantage he expected from his victory. Having therefore framed his anſwer in general terms, denoting his unwillingneſs to grant what was demanded, he afforded Henry the pretence he was ſeeking to join with the regent of France. When this reſolution was divulged, the court of England took care to publiſh the reaſons of the rupture with the emperor. They were briefly theſe: that the governeſs of the Low Countries, inſtead of providing for the war her quota of forces, had privately treated with France: that the Flemings had broken the treaty of commerce in ſeveral articles [a]: that the emperor had not paid the king the ſums due to him: that in the terms on which he had offered to releaſe the king of France, he had very negligently and in general only mentioned Henry's right, as a thing of little moment: that he was now treating of his marriage with the princeſs of Portugal, in contempt of the princeſs Mary to whom he was contracted. Laſtly, That the Turks being about to invade Chriſtendom [b], it was neceſſary that all chriſtian princes ſhould join their forces againſt them, which could not be done without a general peace; but this peace could not be effected, whilſt the emperor remained in arms to aggrandize himſelf at the expence of other princes. Theſe are the reaſons alledged in vindication of the king's conduct. But the true reaſon was the juſt jealouſy with which the emperor's power inſpired England and the reſt of Europe. However, Henry did not think proper to proclaim war againſt the emperor, being unwilling by ſo raſh a ſtep, to prejudice his intended treaty with France. He contented himſelf with ordering his ambaſſadors in Spain to intercede in his name, in behalf of the captive king, though he expected little from that interceſſion. Mean while, he acquainted the regent of France, that if ſhe would

The emperor anſwers in general terms.

Henry reſolves to ſide with France. Herbert.

He publiſhes the reaſons. Herbert.

Embaſſy of France to London.

[a] They had not only inſolently treated divers of our merchants, but, contrary to a remonſtrance made in that behalf, had raiſed the value of our coin, and thereby ſecretly derived great ſums into their country. Inſtead of the Flemings, Rapin hath, by miſtake, Florentines. See Herbert, p. 65.

[b] They had now taken Belgrade and Rhodes, and thereby opened ſeveral ways into Italy and Germany. Herbert.

ſend

1525. ſend ambaſſadors to treat with him, there might follow a treaty advantageous to the king her ſon and to both kingdoms. The regent immediately appointed Jean Joachim de Paſſau lord of Vaux, the ſame that had begun the negotiation with cardinal Wolſey, and Jean Brinon preſident of Roan. Their commiſſion was dated at Lyons, June the 9th.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 37, 45. Hollingſh.

Wolſey reſolves to levy money without the parliament. Herbert. Stow. Hall. Hollingſh.

Whilſt the treaty between France and England was negotiating at London, Henry, knowing how it would end, committed the raiſing of money to cardinal Wolſey's care. The moſt natural way was to apply to the parliament. But Wolſey was too haughty to expoſe himſelf to a refuſal or conteſt with the houſe of commons, as it had once before happened. So, reſolving to uſe a ſpeedier means and more agreeable to his temper, he granted commiſſions in the king's name [c], to levy throughout the kingdom the ſixth part of every lay-man's goods, and the fourth of the clergy's [d]. Theſe commiſſions were no ſooner publiſhed, but the nation was in a great fermentation. This method of raiſing money was univerſally deemed a manifeſt breach of magna charta, and an incroachment of ſo great conſequence, that there was like to have been a general rebellion. The king being informed of it, immediately iſſued out a proclamation, diſavowing theſe commiſſions which had been publiſhed in his name, and declaring he would exact nothing of his people by force, nor demand any thing but by way of benevolence, as practiſed in the reign of Edward IV. But it was quickly perceived, this was only an artifice to extort under another name, what the people refuſed to give by force. For, the benevolence demanded by the king was almoſt equal to what was at firſt required by way of authority. The Londoners being taxed firſt, the magiſtrates excuſed themſelves as benevolences were aboliſhed by Richard III. The cardinal exclaimed againſt it as if it had been the moſt extravagant aſſertion in the world. He told them Richard III. was a tyrant and uſurper, and therefore laws made in his reign could not limit the ſovereign's power. But as this argument had no great effect, he ſent for the chief of the common council of the city one by one

The king diſavows it.

He demands a benevolence.

The city of London oppoſes it. The cardinal keeps his ground. Hall. Stow.

c To the moſt conſiderable perſons in each county. Hall, fol. 137.

d The cardinal pretended, that this money was to be applied towards carrying war into France. See Hall, fol. 137, 138. He demanded of perſons that were worth fifty pounds, three ſhillings and four pence; of ſuch as were worth twenty pounds, two ſhillings and eight pence; and of thoſe that had from under twenty pounds to twenty ſhillings, twelve pence in the pound. Hall, fol. 138.

to

to intimidate them, desiring at any rate to compass his ends without being obliged to call a parliament. But whilst he was thus employed, there was an insurrection near London *, which probably would have drawn in the whole kingdom, if a timely stop had not been put to it. The speedy course that was taken to disperse the seditious succeeded as the court could wish. They who had taken up arms seeing themselves not yet sufficiently supported, submitted to the king's mercy, and some of the ring-leaders were imprisoned. The king finding how the nation stood affected, thought proper to satisfy them by shewing he was not concerned in the violent proceedings of his minister. Wherefore he declared in full council, that his intention was not to punish any person for the commotion. The cardinal perceiving, the king threw all the blame upon him, vindicated himself as well as he could, without accusing the king, alledging, he had the judges opinion for what he had done. If such an excuse were admitted, it would be no longer necessary for a king of England to apply to the parliament for money. The judges being appointed by the king, it would not be difficult for him to have their opinion on his side. But though there have been judges so hardy as to decide points of this consequence, as in the reigns of Richard II. Charles I. James II. very few escaped the punishment due to their presumption. The parliament never intended that the privileges of the nation should depend upon the decision of the judges. The council finding the king was not inclined to support what the cardinal had done, and on the other hand, not daring to come upon the cardinal himself, thought fit to throw all the fault, without naming any person, upon those that had given the king wrong information, and to release the prisoners after a severe reprimand. Pursuant to this resolution, the prisoners being brought before the council, the cardinal sharply rebuked them, aggravating the heinousness of their offence, and adding that the king was pleased to grant them his pardon, provided they would find sureties for their good behaviour for the future. But the prisoners replying, they could find none, the cardinal and duke of Norfolk said, they would be bound for them; whereupon they were discharged.

1525.

Insurrection in the country. Hall.

It is appeased.

The king throws the blame on the cardinal. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

The affair ends mildly.

Herbert. Hall.

When the king had discovered that he approved not all the cardinal's actions. People ventured more boldly to complain of his conduct. The truth is, he oppressed the nati-

Henry receives several complaints against the cardinal.

* In Suffolk, where the weavers and other artificers assembled out of Lanham, Sudbury, Hadley, &c. to the number of about four thousand. Hall, fol. 141.

on,

1525. on, and more eſpecially the clergy, in a ſtrange manner. The inſtrument of his oppreſſions was John Allen [f] his chaplain; who kept no meaſures, well knowing his maſter's protection would not fail him on occaſion. Mean while, how great ſoever the cardinal's power was, a private perſon ventured to commence a ſuit againſt Allen, and proſecuted him ſo vigorouſly that at laſt the affair came to the king's knowledge, who was informed at the ſame time of ſeveral other complaints of the people. He had hitherto fancied, there had never been in England ſo mild a government as his, being ignorant of the ill uſe Wolſey made of his authority. This information threw him into ſo terrible a rage, that the cardinal was like to have been entirely diſgrac'd. It was not without the utmoſt ſubmiſſion that he appeaſed the king's anger, ſhowing him withal his laſt will, wherein he had made him his heir. This he did to intimate that he was labouring for him, and that the outrages he committed were only to increaſe the inheritance the king was one day to enjoy. Nothing can more fully expreſs the king's ſentiments concerning him, than his letter to the cardinal after having pardoned him. A fragment whereof inſerted by lord Herbert in his hiſtory, is as follows:

Herbert, Hall.

He is like to turn him out of favour. The cardinal appeaſes him.

The king's letter to the cardinal. Herbert, p. 67.

"AS touching the matter of Wilton [g], ſeeing it is in no other ſtrain than you write of, and you being alſo ſo ſuddenly (with the falling ſick of your ſervants) afraid, and troubled; I marvel not that it over-ſlipped you as it did. But it is no great matter, ſtanding the caſe as it doth; for it is yet in my hand, as I perceive by your letter, and your default was not ſo great, ſeeing the election was but conditional. Wherefore, my lord, ſeeing the humbleneſs of your ſubmiſſion, and though the caſe were much more heinous, I can be content for to remit it, being right glad,

[f] John Allen, doctor of law, the ſame that was judge of the cardinal's court, was made archbiſhop of Dublin in 1528, and barbarouſly murdered by Thomas Fitzgerard, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Kildare, 1534. Antiq. Oxf. This Allen, who is ſaid by Hall to have been a man of more learning than virtue, or good conſcience, was commiſſioned by the cardinal, in conſequence of his legatine power, to viſit all religious houſes; and accordingly he rid from one religious houſe to another, with a great train, in a kind of perpetual progreſs or viſitation, and did the cardinal no little ſervice. Hall, fol. 148. Herbert, p. 67.

[g] This matter of Wilton was this; the cardinal had elected a perſon prior of the nunnery there, for whom the king had ſome way previouſly expreſſed his diſlike. The prioreſs of the nunnery of Wilton, was a baroneſs by her title, as were alſo thoſe of Shaftſbury, Barkin, and St. Mary's, in Wincheſter, which were the only ones that were ſo in England. See Fiddes Lif. Wolſ. p. 398.

"that

" that according to mine intent, my monitions and warnings 1525.
" have been benignly and lovingly accepted on your behalf,
" promiſing you, that the very affection I bear you cauſed
" me thus to do. As touching the help of religious houſes
" to the building of your college, I would it were more, ſo
" it be lawfully; for my intent is none, but that it ſhould ſo
" appear to all the world, and the occaſion of all their
" mumbling might be ſecluded and put away; for, ſurely
" there is great murmuring of it throughout all the realm,
" both good and bad. They ſay not that all that is ill-gotten
" is beſtowed upon the college, but that the college is the
" cloak for covering all miſchiefe. This grieveth me, I aſ-
" ſure you, to hear it ſpoken of him, which I ſo entirely
" love. Wherefore, methought I could do no leſs, than
" thus friendly to admoniſh you. One thing more I perceive
" by your own letter, which a little methinketh toucheth
" conſcience, and that is, that you have received money of
" the exempts for having of their old viſitors. Surely, this
" can hardly be with good conſcience. For, and they were
" good, why ſhould you take money? And if they were ill,
" it were a ſinful act. Howbeit, your legacy herein might,
" peradventure, apud homines, be a cloak, but not apud
" Deum. Wherefore, you, thus moniſhed by him who ſo
" entirely loveth you, I doubt not, will deſiſt, not only from
" this, (if conſcience will not bear it) but from all other
" things which would tangle the ſame; and, in ſo doing,
" we will ſing, te laudant angeli atque archangeli, te laudat
" omnis ſpiritus: and thus an end I make of this, though
" rude, yet loving letter, deſiring you as benevolently to take
" it, as I do mean it, for I enſure you, (and I pray you think it
" ſo) that there remaineth, at this hour, no ſpark of diſplea-
" ſure towards you in my heart. And thus fare you well, and
" be no more perplext. Written with the hand of your loving
" ſovereign and friend,

HENRY R.

This letter ſhews the king was informed of ſeveral of the cardinal's miſdemeanours. But he did not yet thoroughly know him, his affection for him combating in his heart the heinouſneſs of his proceedings, and making him believe, that his faults were the pure effects of his great zeal for the founding of his college. Had he not been thus prepoſſeſſed in his favour, he might have been more fully informed. But it was very dangerous to ſpeak directly againſt a favourite, to whom the king ſtill ſhowed ſo great kindneſs. Mean while, the

The cardinal removes from court thoſe whom he miſtruſts.

1525. cardinal finding by this inſtance, what his enemies would be capable of doing againſt him, if they had the king's ear, was very careful to remove from court all he ſuſpected. At the ſame time, he ſtrove to preſerve the king's love and eſteem by all ſorts of condeſcenſions. He had now built at Hampton Court a ſtately palace, which outſhone in beauty all the king's houſes. But what had lately happened convincing him it might breed a jealouſy in the king, he made him a preſent of it [h], as if from the very firſt he had intended to build it for him. He meant to inſinuate by this preſent, that he heaped up riches purely for his ſake, which ſucceeded accordingly. The king had the ſame confidence in him as before, which the murmurs of the people ſeemed to have altered a little. This year he obtained the king's letters patents for founding the college at Oxford.

Hall. Stow. Herbert.

The king reſtores him to his friendſhip. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 39.

About the ſame time, the king created Henry Fitz-Roy his natural ſon duke of Richmond and Somerſet, and high-admiral of England, though he was but ſix years old [i]. As he had no legitimate ſon, he was extremely fond of this baſtard, whom he had by the lady Elizabeth Blunt [k].

Henry the king's natural ſon made duke of Richmond. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 42.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, the cardinal was employed in treating with the French ambaſſadors. The beginning of June the regent had ſent general full powers to her two ambaſſadors. But in the courſe of the negotiation they found they ſhould have occaſion for more particular powers, to ſettle the ſums due from the king of France to the king of England, and which conſiſting of ſeveral articles were to be put

July 16. Negotiation with the French ambaſſadors. Hall.

[h] And the king, in exchange, permitted him to live in his palace at Richmond: at which, it ſeems, the people were highly offended. See Hall, fol. 144.

[i] He was born in the prior's houſe at Blackmore, in Eſſex, and firſt made knight of the garter, then earl of Nottingham, and the ſame day duke of Richmond and Somerſet, on the 18th of June. He was conſtituted likewiſe lieutenant general beyond the Trent, and warden general of the marches of Scotland. After which he was bred up with Henry, earl of Surrey, at Windſor, from whence they went both together to ſtudy at Paris. Their friendſhip was endeared by the duke's marrying Mary, the earl's ſiſter, daughter to Thomas, duke of Norfolk, by whom he had no iſſue. He was very perſonable and of great expectation, and for abilities of mind and body, one of the rareſt of his time. But he departed this life in the 17th year of his age, and was buried at Thetford, in Norfolk. Herbert. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 305.——On the ſame 18th day of June, was Henry Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, created marquis of Exeter, Henry Brandon, ſon of the duke of Suffolk, earl of Lincoln, ſir Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland, ſir Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, ſir Robert Ratcliff, lord Fitzwalter, viſcount Fitzwalter, and ſir Thomas Bulleyn, viſcount Rochford. Hall, fol. 148.

[k] Daughter of ſir John Blunt, widow of ſir Gilbert Talboys, who was thought for her rare endowments of nature and ornaments of education, to be the beauty and maſter piece of her time. Ibid.

into

into one according to Henry's intention. Theſe new powers were diſpatched the 16th of Auguſt. Upon ſuch an extraordinary occaſion, the French ambaſſadors had properly nothing to do but to comply with the king of England's pleaſure. Their aim being to diſingage him from the emperor, and unite him with the king their maſter, there was no diſputing upon the terms. But it muſt be confeſſed that on this occaſion, Henry behaved with uncommon generoſity. Though he might have demanded towns and even provinces, in return for the friendſhip he was pleaſed to contract with Francis I, and for the charges he was going to be engaged in, he contented himſelf with ſecuring by new treaties the ſums that were juſtly due to him. Theſe treaties being ready, were ſigned at Moore, a houſe of the king's [l], on the 30th of Auguſt. 1525.

Henry's generoſity to the king of France.

The firſt contained a defenſive league between France and England, againſt all powers ſpiritual or temporal, that ſhould invade either of the two kingdoms. The allies of the two kings were included by name in the league [m], but with the limitation, that this article was not to be underſtood of thoſe who had uſurped any thing upon either of the two principal contractors ſince the league concluded at London, October the 1ſt, 1518. Hence the emperor, who had lately conquered the duchy of Milan, was excluded. Moreover, Henry I. engaged to uſe his beſt endeavours to procure the liberty of Francis.

Treaty of Moore divided into ſeveral treaties. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 48, &c. Du Tillet. Herbert.

The ſecond treaty concerned the payment of the ſums due to Henry from the king of France, namely, 1. by a treaty of the 7th of Auguſt, 1515, one million of crowns of gold. 2. By another of the 12th of January, 1518, for the reſtitution of Tournay, five hundred thouſand crowns of gold. 3. By another of the ſame date, twenty three thouſand livres Tournois. 4. By another of November the 13th, 1520, four hundred ſixty two thouſand crowns. For all theſe ſums the regent bound herſelf in the king her ſon's name, to pay Henry two millions of crowns of gold, of thirty five pence Tournois each, which being reduced to crowns de ſoleil, of

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 58.

[l] In Hertfordſhire.

[m] Their common allies were the pope, Venice, the kings of Hungary and Portugal, and the duke of Ferrara; and thoſe named by France in particular, the kings of Scotland and Navarre; the dukes of Savoy, Lorrain, Gueldres; the Switzers; the marquis of Saluzzo, the marquis of Monſerrat, and his mother: thoſe named by king Henry, were the emperor, and his brother Ferdinand, the king of Denmark, the queen dowager of France, Margaret, archdutcheſs of Auſtria, the biſhop of Liege, the dukes of Urbino, Cleves, and Juliers, the houſe of Medicis, the Florentines, and the Hanſe towns. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 51.

1525. thirty eight pence, amounted to the ſum of eighteen hundred and ninety four thouſand, ſeven hundred, thirty ſix crowns, and thirty two pence Tournois [n]. This ſum was to be paid at ſeveral times, viz. forty ſeven thouſand three hundred and ſixty eight crowns, within forty days after the date of the treaty; the like ſum on the firſt of November next, and the ſame every ſix months till the whole was paid. This made in all forty payments, conſequently the whole ſum was to be paid in twenty years.

It was farther agreed by the ſame treaty, that if Henry died before he had received the two millions, the arrears were to be paid to his heirs and ſucceſſors. But in caſe he out lived the payment of the whole, he ſhould receive during life, a yearly penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns to ceaſe at his death.

To ſecure the performance of the treaty, the regent was to ſwear to it ſolemnly before the Engliſh ambaſſadors, and Francis I. was to ratify and ſwear to it immediately after his return into France. Moreover, Henry had for ſecurity, the cardinal of Bourbon, the dukes of Vendôme and Longueville, the earls of St. Paul, Maulevrier, Brienne, the lords of Montmorency, Lautrec, and Brezé, the cities of Paris, Lyons, Orleans, Toulouſe, Amiens, Bourdeaux, Tours, and Rheims [o].

p. 65, 67, 90—101.

It muſt be obſerved, that in the ſum of two millions of crowns due to Henry, there was no deduction of what he had received from Francis I. from the year 1515, to their rupture. This was all the advantage Henry made, which was not very great, conſidering how little punctual the king of France was in his payments.

p. 69.

By a third treaty, the regent engaged to pay to Mary, Henry's ſiſter, queen dowager of France, all the arrears of her dowry at ſeveral payments, namely, five thouſand crowns within forty days after the date of the treaty, and a like ſum every ſix months till the whole was diſcharged. Moreover, ſhe promiſed to let her enjoy her dowry for the future.

p. 74.

There was alſo a fourth treaty, which ran, that the king of Scotland ſhould be reckoned in the number of the allies of France, but on condition the Scots committed no

[n] —Decies octies centum millium coronarum auri de ſole, & nonaginta quatuor millium coronarum auri de ſole, ſeptingentarum triginta ſex coronarum auri de ſole, & triginta duorum ſolidorum turonenſium.—Ibid. p. 59.

[o] All theſe lords and cities were to ſend a bond with their ſeal annexed, within two months, under the obligation and forfeiture of all their goods. Ibid. p. 65.

act

act of hoſtility againſt England, after the 25th of December next. 1525.

Laſtly, by a fifth treaty it was agreed, that the court of France ſhould conſent neither directly nor indirectly, that the duke of Albany ſhould return into Scotland during the minority of James V. p. 75.

All theſe ſeveral treaties, which properly were only different articles of one and the ſame treaty, were ratified and ſworn by the regent of France [p], and confirmed by the parliaments of Paris, Toulouſe, and Bourdeaux. The lords and cities that were to be ſecurities, gave their bonds. Finally, Francis I. himſelf ſent a ratification under his own hand, and dated the 27th of December. p. 76, 126. p. 113.

But after having done the king's affairs, the cardinal forgot not himſelf. There is in the collection of the publick acts, the regent's bond of the 18th of November, to pay the cardinal the arrears of the penſion granted him in lieu of the adminiſtration of the biſhoprick of Tournay, being four years and a half, amounting to the ſum of twenty nine thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety three crowns of gold de ſoleil [q]. Moreover, ſhe declared, that for ſeveral other weighty reaſons, there was due to the cardinal a hundred thouſand crowns of gold, theſe two ſums making together one hundred and twenty one thouſand eight hundred and ninety eight crowns de ſoleil, were to be paid in ſeven years, by half yearly equal payments. Grant of the regent to the cardinal. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 100.

The defenſive league between France and England being thus concluded and ſigned, the regent began to be a little more at eaſe, and better able to diſpute upon the terms of the king her ſon's liberty. Beſides, ſhe had reaſon to hope, the king of England's declaration would help to determine the pope and Venetians, whoſe fears alone hindered them from forming a league againſt the emperor. And indeed, it will hereafter be ſeen, they altered their meaſures upon hearing what the king of England had done. Mean while, the emperor receiving advice of the treaty of Moore, recalled his ambaſſadors, who were ſtill in England [r], and Henry did the ſame with reſpect to his in Spain. Shortly after, The regent takes heart. Henry and Charles recall their ambaſſadors. Hall. Guicciard. Hollingſh. Herbert.

[p] In October, ſir William Fitzwilliams, treaſurer of the houſhold, and dr. Taylor, were ſent into France, to ſee the queen regent ſwear to the obſervance of theſe treaties. Hall, fol. 145.

[q] Crowns ſol, or de ſoleil, were golden coins, of old worth thirty eight pence Tournois.

[r] Monſieur de Prat, his ambaſſador, departed out of England April 9. Hall, fol. 139. Hollingſh. p. 891.

1525. Charles concluded his marriage with Iſabella of Portugal, by virtue of a diſpenſation brought him by cardinal Salviati, who delivered it to him after the concluſion of the foremen-tioned treaty.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

Whilſt the affairs of Europe took a new turn, by the effects of the battle of Pavia, and the French king's captivity, there was no other alteration in thoſe of Scotland, except that the earl of Angus, who was to hold the adminiſtration but four months, did not think fit to reſign when his time was expired. Whereupon the earl of Argyle withdrew greatly diſſatisfied, but the earl of Lenox, though likewiſe diſpleaſed, ſtill remained at court. Mean while, the queen, and the earl of Arran, who had been diſpoſſeſſed, were not unmindful of their affairs. The earl of Lenox's diſcontent giving them room to hold intelligence with him, they perſuaded him to inſtill into the king a deſire to be freed from the earl of Angus. But as there was occaſion for great precaution to deceive that lord's vigilance, it was not till the next year that the king found an opportunity to attempt the execution of his deſign.

Truce between England and Scotland prolonged. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 30.

In the beginning of the year, the court of Scotland had ſent an embaſſy to England, at the head whereof was the earl of Caſſils, to treat of the king's marriage with the princeſs Mary. But as ſeveral difficulties occurred, the truce which was to expire the 26th of January, was prolonged to the 23d of March, to give the earl of Caſſils time to take a journey to Scotland for new inſtructions. Mean while, it was not poſſible to conclude any thing, becauſe, in all appearance, Henry had no intention to give his only daughter and heir to the king of Scotland. Indeed, it does not appear what advantage could be reaped by the marriage. Beſides, as he then intended to join with France, it was no longer his intereſt to manage the Scots [s].

s. This year, the king following his hawk, and leaping over a ditch with a pole, fell in upon his head, and had not one Edmund Moody, a footman, jumped in, and raiſed up his head, which was ſtuck faſt in the clay, he had been drowned. Hall, fol. 139. Stow, p. 523.—Vlaſco Nunnez, having in 1513, firſt diſcovered the South ſea, and Hernando de Magellanes, paſſed in 1520, through the Straits in South America, that bear his name; this year 1525, Franceſco Picarro, a Spaniard, reſiding at Panama, firſt attempted the diſcovery of the South ſea coaſt, and at laſt came to Peru, which he ranſacked. — Hernando de Magellanes aforementioned, dying in the voyage, his companions went on to Borneo, and the Moluccas, whence one of the ſhips returned to Spain, by the Cape of Good Hope, and, ſo firſt compaſſed the Globe; Juan Sebaſtian de Cano, a Biſcainer, being pilot. Herbert, p. 70.

Before

Before the treaty of Moore was concluded, the emperor had a great advantage in his negotiations at Rome and Madrid. By reſtoring Sforza to Milan, he was almoſt ſure the pope and Venetians would abandon France, and by deſiſting from his demand of the duchy of Burgundy, he could be certain Francis would readily reſign Milan, and not trouble himſelf much with the concerns of Italy. But he could not reſolve to do either, and that made the negotiations ſo tedious. After the treaty of Moore was ſigned, the ſtate of his affairs was changed. The pope was grown more courageous, and finding himſelf deceived by the emperor, who in a ſecond ratification of their treaty, left the reſtoration of Sforza in a ſtate of uncertainty, plainly told him, that without the reſtitution of the Milaneſe, there was no peace to be expected. The emperor had alſo reaſon to fear, that Francis I. ſeeing himſelf like to be ſo well ſupported, would be ſtill more incompliant with reſpect to Burgundy. So, perceiving there was no way to prevent a league which was going to unite ſo many princes againſt him, he was in great perplexity. There was a neceſſity of ſpeedily reſolving either to maintain, without any ally, the impending war, or to make peace with France. Both were equally perplexing. In chooſing war, he knew not where to find money, and in making with his priſoner a forced peace, he could not expect to reap from his victory the advantages he propoſed. Happily for him, Francis, tired of his captivity, freed him from this perplexity, by offering to reſign the duchy of Burgundy, which had hitherto been the main obſtacle to a peace. After that the emperor readily and ſeriouſly treated with him, whereas before he had only amuſed him. Shortly after, they concluded together the famous treaty of Madrid. The chief articles to which Francis ſubmitted were theſe, beſides many others which it would be needleſs to recite.

1526.

Negotiations at Rome. Guicciard.

The pope refuſes all terms without Sforza's reſtoration. Guicciard.

The emperor reſolves upon a peace. Herbert.

That the king of France ſhould marry queen Leonora, the emperor's ſiſter, and have with her two hundred thouſand crowns of gold.

That Francis ſhould be releaſed on the 10th of March, and the ſame day ſhould deliver to the emperor his two ſons in hoſtage [t].

That he ſhould reſign to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy in full ſovereignty.

Treaty of Madrid. Jan. 14, 1526. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 308. Herbert. Guicciard. Hall.

t And ſome other lords, among whom was the duke of Albany. See Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 311.

1526. That he ſhould deſiſt from the homage, the emperor owed him for Flanders and Artois.

That he ſhould renounce all claim to Naples, Milan, Aſti, Tournay, Liſle, and Heſdin, &c.

That he ſhould perſuade Henry d'Albret to reſign the kingdom of Navarre to the emperor, or at leaſt ſhould give him no aſſiſtance.

That, within forty days, he ſhould reſtore the duke of Bourbon and all his party to their eſtates.

That he ſhould reſtore Philibert de Châlons, prince of Orange, and Michael Antonio de Saluzzo, to their principalities.

That he ſhould give no ſort of aſſiſtance to the duke of Guelders, and after that prince's death, ſhould uſe his beſt endeavours to cauſe his towns to fall into the emperor's hands.

That he ſhould pay the king of England five hundred thouſand crowns which the emperor owed him.

That when the emperor went to Italy to receive the imperial crown, he ſhould lend him twelve gallies, four large ſhips, and a land army, or two hundred thouſand crowns inſtead of the army.

Laſtly, he promiſed upon the word and honour of a prince, to execute all theſe articles, or in caſe of non-performance to return priſoner into Spain.

State of the emperor's affairs at the time of the treaty of Madrid.

If Francis had not been ſo haſty to offer the duchy of Burgundy, he would probably, have ſaved himſelf many troubles, and avoided reproaches which much concerned his honour [u]. At the time, the treaty of Madrid was concluded, Charles was under very great perplexities. Beſides thoſe already mentioned, he knew that the princes and Hans-Towns of Germany, that had embraced Luther's doctrine, began to take meaſures to ſecure themſelves from the calamities they were daily threatened with. To this was added the dread of a Turkiſh invaſion in Hungary, which greatly concerned the emperor, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of Auſtria. So, in all likelihood, if Francis had not been ſo

[u] At the concluſion of this treaty, Francis coming to the altar, and putting his right hand upon the bible, did ſwear by the ſacrament and the holy evangeliſts, not to break this capitulation all the days of his life, nor to give counſel or favour that any ſhould break it. Herbert, p. 74. But it ſeems all this was a farce: for before Francis ſigned the treaty, he made a formal, though private proteſtation againſt it, in the preſence of a few truſty witneſſes and notaries. See P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 614.

haſty,

haſty, the emperor would have rather deſiſted from Burgundy, than been expoſed to ſo many enemies at once. 1526.
Theſe were the real motives that obliged him to haſten the concluſion of the treaty of Madrid, contrary to the inſtances and oppoſition of many of his counſellors, who repreſented to him, that he would be infallibly diſappointed. His chancellor even refuſed to ſign it, but as he believed he had ſtrong reaſons to run that hazard, he abſolutely concluded, in a belief that it was the ſole means to prevent the league againſt him. Whatever happened, he hoped to come off by reſtoring Sforza to Milan, which however he did not intend to do but at the laſt extremity. Mean while, by reſolving to inſiſt upon that article, he rendered all his meaſures ineffectual; he loſt his priſoner, without obtaining Burgundy, or preventing the league; in ſhort, after ſuſtaining many attacks, he was, as will be ſeen, forced to part with the duchy of Milan. But where is the prince, let his abilities be ever ſo great, that can foreſee all the conſequences of his own policy? when Charles V. ſigned the treaty of Madrid, he thought it very advantageous. Indeed Francis would have dearly purchaſed his liberty, if, when he ſigned the treaty, he had really intended to keep it. But it is too manifeſt, that when he gave his word, he deſigned to break it, ſince he had no ſooner ſet foot in his own dominions, but he refuſed to ratify the treaty. This was ſo little expected by the emperor, that immediately after the concluſion of the peace, he wrote to the pope, that though he had promiſed to reſtore Sforza to Milan, it was however on condition that Sforza cleared himſelf of the crime of felony and treaſon laid to his charge. Adding, that ſince the princes of Italy wiſhed, he would not give the duchy of Milan to the archduke Ferdinand his brother, he would preſent it to the duke of Bourbon, in caſe Sforza was found guilty. Clement VII. being informed of the conditions of the treaty of Madrid, preſently gueſſed that Francis had accepted of them only to obtain his releaſe, without intending to perform them. In this belief, he ſtill inſiſted upon Sforza's reſtoration without terms, being willing, before he engaged with the emperor, to ſee what the king of France would do. The ſenate of Venice being of the ſame mind, not a little contributed to keep the pope in his reſolution.

Guicciard.

The emperor adds a new condition with regard to Sforza. Guicciard.

The pope believes Francis will not keep the treaty of Madrid. He inſiſts upon Sforza's reſtoration.

What theſe ſubtle politicians had foreſeen, came to paſs. Francis was no ſooner arrived in his own territories, but he mounted a Turkiſh horſe and rid full ſpeed to St. John de Luz, from whence he went the next day to Bayonne. The 17th

Francis arrives in his own dominions.

1526. 17th of March, he ſigned bonds to the king of England for the ſums in which his mother the regent had engaged him. By the way, the hiſtorians place this prince's deliverance on the 18th of March, and yet theſe bonds are dated at Bayonne the 17th of the ſame month. When he came to Bayonne, Lanoy, who accompanied him as ambaſſador, prayed him to ratify the treaty of Madrid. But the king told him, that having exceeded in the treaty, the power of a king of France, in granting the duchy of Burgundy to the emperor, he muſt endeavour to obtain the conſent of the Burgundians, and the approbation of the reſt of his ſubjects: that however, he deſigned to execute the treaty, but wanted a little time to prepare for it. This anſwer might have ſufficiently ſhown the ambaſſador the king's intention. He followed him however to Bourdeaux, where the king's firſt care was to ratify the treaty concluded at Moore with the king of England [w]. From Bourdeaux he came to Cognac, where he made ſome ſtay, with the viceroy of Naples ſtill in his train, who preſſed him from time to time to ratify and execute the treaty of Madrid, or return to Spain, according to his oath. To this the king to be excuſed, alledged three reaſons, which were far from being ſatisfactory to the ambaſſador. The firſt was, that it was not in his power to reſign Burgundy, becauſe the kings of France not being proprietors of their dominions, it was not lawful for them to alienate any part [x]. The ſecond, that he was compelled to ſign the treaty of Madrid. The third, that by his coronation oath, he had ſworn not to alienate any part of his kingdom, and this oath annulled that which he had taken at Madrid. The ambaſſador replied to the firſt, that though he could not alienate any of his provinces, that was not to be underſtood of dominions unjuſtly acquired by the crown of France, as was the duchy of Burgundy. To the ſecond he anſwered, that it was left to his choice either to remain in the ſtate, the chance of war, and the will of God had thrown him into, or to be freed by a treaty: that he had even ſollicited it, and it was difficult to conceive, wherein the force he complained of conſiſted. To the third he ſaid, that when the king ſwore to the treaty of Madrid, he was not ignorant of his coronation oath, and probably, did not believe the ſecond contrary to the firſt; that if it was

Hall. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 129. Guicciard. Herbert. Lanoy prays him to ratify the treaty. He ſhifts it off. Guicciard. Herbert. Bellai.

He ratifies the treaty of Moore. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 134, —154, 175.

Lanoy preſſes him. Guicciard. Mezerai. Herbert. P. Daniel.

The king alledges reaſons to be excuſed. Hall.

Lanoy's reply.

[w] Before ſir Thomas Cheney, who was diſpatched by king Henry to congratulate him upon upon his releaſe, Herbert, P. 75.

[x] Without the conſent of the principal perſons of the eſtate and parliament. Ibid.

otherwiſe,

otherwiſe, there would be reaſon to think, he had intended to impoſe upon the emperor's eaſineſs. Without examining here either the king's reaſons, or the ambaſſador's anſwers, it ſuffices to ſay in a word, the king was already reſolved. 1526.

The pope, the Venetians and the duke of Milan, plainly foreſeeing, Francis would ſcruple to execute the treaty of Madrid, had ſent ambaſſadors to him, who found him at Cognac. They were received with great civilities, and the king immediately entered into treaty with them concerning a league againſt the emperor. The league was concluded indeed at Cognac, the 17th of May, between the pope, the king of France, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians [y]; but it was not publiſhed till a month after, Francis pretending he could not ratify it till he had ſeen the ratifications of the other allies. The viceroy of Naples, having ſome notice of it, ſummoned the king, for the laſt time, to execute the treaty of Madrid. Whereupon Francis told him plainly, it was not in his power to reſign Burgundy, though he had promiſed it. But to ſhow him, he deſired to live in friendſhip with the emperor his maſter, he offered to give him two millions of crowns of gold as an equivalent for Burgundy, and punctually to perform the reſt of the treaty.

The pope's and Venetian ambaſſadors go to the king at Cognac.

League at Cognac againſt the emperor. Guicciard. P. Daniel. Herbert. Hall.

Lanoy calls upon the king, who tells him plainly he will not execute the treaty.

He offers two millions in lieu of Burgundy.

Thus the emperor's meaſures were entirely broken. He had the king of France no longer in his power, and yet, was not leſs obliged to ſuſtain the efforts of the league newly concluded againſt him; not to mention the king of England, who probably would ſooner or later act offenſively. His whole refuge conſiſted in having the king of France's two ſons in hoſtage. But his embaraſſment was not capable of making him yield on this occaſion. He choſe to run all hazards rather than conſent to the leaſt alteration of the treaty of Madrid. His reſolution being notified to Francis, the league was publiſhed at Cognac the 11th of June. Two things haſtened the concluſion of the league. The firſt, that the caſtle of Milan, beſieged by the imperialiſts, being hard preſſed, wanted a ſpeedy relief, and the pope and Venetians durſt not ſend their troops into the field, before they were aſſured of the league with France. The ſecond, that the king of France deſigning to offer the emperor two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy, he believed the offer

The emperor will abate nothing.

The league is made publick. Bellai. P. Daniel.

[y] See the articles of this league in Guicciardini, l. 17; and P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 620, &c. Guicciard. ſays, it was concluded the 10th, and others the 22d of May. Hall, fol. 149, &c.

would

1526. would meet with a readier acceptance after the concluſion of the league. It is certain, this was his ſole aim, and, if his offer had been accepted, he would never have ratified the league of Cognac. Nay, after the league was publiſhed, neither himſelf nor the king of England, ever made any conſiderable effort againſt the emperor, their intent being only to frighten him, and to obtain the reſtitution of the two hoſtages upon reaſonable terms. Thus, for once the Italians were the dupes of the French and the Engliſh, which deſerves notice, as a thing very uncommon. Mean while Francis and Henry, to purſue their ſcheme, made a new treaty, promiſing never to make peace with the emperor, unleſs he would reſtore the hoſtages and pay Henry what he owed him. But this treaty obliged them not to take up arms to procure each other the ſatisfaction they demanded.

Francis aims only to frighten the emperor.

The pope and the Venetians relying on the aſſiſtance of France and England, ſent their troops into the field under the command of the duke of Urbino, who ſuffered the caſtle of Milan to be taken, and cauſed an attempt upon Genoa to miſcarry, for want of ſending the allies a ſupply of fifteen hundred men. Guicciardini inſinuates, in ſeveral places, that the duke acted but faintly againſt the emperor, who was very weak in Italy, and that the duke of Bourbon, who was returned to Milan, would if the leaſt preſſed have been infallibly conſtrained to abandon the city.

The pope's and venetians army take the field. Guicciard. Hall.

Whilſt the duke of Urbino indirectly favoured the emperor, the duke of Seſſa the Spaniſh ambaſſador at Rome, and Hugo de Moncada, who commanded at Naples in the viceroy's abſence, ſupplied by other means the weakneſs of the imperialiſts, by exciting the Colonnas to make war upon the pope, whilſt his troops were in the duchy of Milan. This unexpected invaſion, with the pope could aſcribe only to the ſollicitations of the emperor or his miniſters, cauſed him to reſolve to ſend into the kingdom of Naples the army commanded by the duke of Urbino in the Milaneſe, and to that end he obtained the conſent of the Venetians. But the duke of Seſſa, to avoid the invaſion, the kingdom of Naples was threatened with, ſo ordered it, that the Colonnas gave the pope all the ſatisfaction he deſired. The agreement was made at Rome the 22d of Auguſt, and the duke of Urbino was countermanded.

The Colonnas make war upon the pope. Guicciard. P. Daniel. Hall.

They ſubmit.

But about a month after, when the pope leaſt expected it, the Colonnas with five or ſix thouſand men entered Rome in the night between the 19th and 20th of September,

They enter Rome on a ſudden.

and

and ſo alarmed the pope that he retired in a fright to the caſtle of St. Angelo. As he was not very ſafe in that caſtle, where he had nothing to maintain a ſiege, Moncada went to him, and repreſenting the danger he was in, and that beſides Rome was going to be plundered, he perſuaded him to make a ſeparate truce with the emperor for four months. This was more than the emperor wanted, who had now ordered levies to be made in Germany, and was going to ſend back Lanoy to Naples with a good body of Spaniſh troops. When the truce was ſigned, the pope's forces which ſerved under the duke of Urbino were recalled to Rome. 1526. The pope flies to the caſtle of St. Angelo. Guicciard. Truce between the pope and emperor.

Mean while, the pope was extremely ſurprized at Francis's ſlowneſs, who, though principal author of the league, made yet no effort to oblige the emperor to reſtore his ſons. The king of England's indolence aſtoniſhed him no leſs, becauſe not knowing that the league concluded at Moore was only defenſive, he had imagined the two kings were to attack the emperor with all their forces. So, to excite them by raiſing their jealouſy, he declared he intended to go into Spain and concert means with the emperor to procure the peace of Europe. This declaration very much confounded the French and Engliſh ambaſſadors. They were afraid there was ſome hidden myſtery in ſo extraordinary a journey, and therefore uſed their beſt endeavours to diſſuade the pope from it. But Henry uſed a more effectual means, namely, a preſent of thirty thouſand ducats, which entirely diverted the pretended deſign of this journey. Clement VII. feigns to intend to go to Spain. Guicciard. P. Daniel. Henry makes him a preſent. Herbert.

Shortly after, Clement VII. broke his agreement with the Colonnas, and ordered the troops, he had ſent for to Rome, to march into their territories, having excommunicated them and deprived Pompeo Colonna of the cardinalate. He affirmed that his treaty with them was void, becauſe he was forced to it. He thereby, juſtified, in ſome meaſure, Francis's proceedings, whom, on the ſame pretence he had abſolved from his oath at Madrid. The pope breaks the agreement with the Colonnas. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed at Rome, the baron de Frondſperg was marching from Germany towards Italy with an army of thirteen or fourteen thouſand men, raiſed for the emperor's ſervice. Whereupon, the duke of Urbino, who kept the duke of Bourbon as it were beſieged in Milan, quitted the neighbourhood of that city, under colour of oppoſing the paſſage of the Germans. Mean while, the pope was not a little embaraſſed. The truce was ſoon to expire. Frondſperg was marching to Italy, and the viceroy of Naples was now in the iſland of Corſica, leading to Naples a ſtrong Frondſperg marches to Italy. The duke of Urbino raiſes the blockade of Milan. Guicciard. Bellai. Hall.

1526. a ſtrong reinforcement of Spaniards. Mean time, the king of France making no preparations to ſupport his allies, and the king of England ſhowed the ſame remiſſneſs. Frondſperg, ſtill continuing his march, arrived in the Mantuan, where the prince of Orange came and ſerved under him as a volunteer. Afterwards, about the middle of December, he repaired to the borders of the Milaneſe, the duke of Urbino not being able or willing to oppoſe his march. Here he expected the duke of Bourbon who was to come and join him, but was not yet in condition to execute that deſign. The difficulty ſprung from his having no money to pay his troops, who poſitively refuſed to go out of the city before they had received their arrears, and even threatened to ſack the town. There was no other way to hinder them from executing their threats, than to take the plate belonging to the churches. This ſerved to pay part of what was due to the troops, who had ſcarce received any thing ſince the battle of Pavia, ſo deſtitute of money was the emperor. The duke of Bourbon made uſe of another expedient to encreaſe his treaſure: and that was to cauſe the chancellor Moronè to be condemned to die, who to redeem his life gave him twenty thouſand ducats. He afterwards became one of his chief counſellors.

Francis neglects the affairs of Italy.

The duke of Bourbon is at a loſs for want of money. Guicciard.

Whilſt the duke of Bourbon was employed in raiſing money, Lanoy, who was come to Naples with a body of Spaniſh troops, amuſed the pope with negotiations tending only to hinder him from taking ſure meaſures, by putting him in hopes of a ſpeedy agreement with the emperor. Theſe hopes however became more remote after Frondſperg's arrival. Whilſt Milan was in danger, the emperor had intimated to the pope, that if he deſired Franceſco Sforza to be brought to his trial, it was only to ſave the honour of the empire, and he would give the judges private orders to declare him innocent. But after the arrival of the Germans, he demanded ſuch a pecuniary reparation, that Sforza was by no means able to raiſe the ſum required. Wherefore the emperor pretended that the pope, the Venetians, and the Florentines ſhould be his ſecurities.

Lanoy arrives at Naples. He amuſes the pope. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

The pope and the Venetians had expected that immediately after the concluſion of the league of Cognac, Francis would ſend a ſtrong army into Italy, and with the king of England, make a powerful diverſion upon the borders of Spain and Flanders. But, as we have ſeen, they were very much miſtaken. Francis had concluded the league only to frighten his enemy, and in hopes it would cauſe him to ac-

Francis deceives the pope and Venetians; Guicciard.

cept of the offered equivalent. He was desirous to avoid a war, and even thought himself so sure of succeeding by that means, that he had made with the king of England no treaty to oblige them to take up arms unless they were attacked. Thus Henry knowing the king of France's disposition, took care to go no faster than he. Expresses and envoys from the pope and the Venetians frequently came to the two courts to sollicit them to war, but it was to no purpose. On the contrary, even after the pope and the Venetians had solemnly declared war against the emperor, Francis sent the archbishop of Bourdeaux to make him again the same offer of two millions of crowns in lieu of the duchy of Burgundy. But the emperor rejected it with disdain, and charged the ambassador to tell his master, he had acted like a knave and a villain, and ought not to have forgot their last conversation [z]. Probably, the ambassador thought not proper to discharge so ungrateful a commission. This afterwards occasioned a mistake which was not favourable to the king of France.

1526.

who sollicit him to no purpose. Herbert.

The emperor calls him villain.

Whilst Italy, France and Spain were in agitation, Henry lived peaceably in his kingdom, and the cardinal his favourite was wholly employed about his college at Oxford, for which he incessantly obtained fresh grants from the pope and the king. The pope durst not refuse him any thing at a time when he thought he wanted his credit, to incline the king his master to war; and Henry was always ready to give him marks of his affection, by confirming whatever was granted by the pope. This condescension of the pope and the king proved fatal to several little monasteries [a], which were suppressed by the cardinal, and the revenues applied to his college.

Wolsey obtains grants for his college. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 155—184.

Ever since the publishing of the league of Cognac, the pope and Venetians had used their constant endeavours, to persuade Henry not only to come into it, but declare himself protector. It is easy to guess with what view they paid him this deference. They hoped to find him the same as formerly, ever ready to be insnared, and to lavish away his money for the affairs of others. There are, in the collection

The pope endeavours to persuade Henry into the league of Cognac. Ib. p. 179—185.

[z] It seems before Francis went from Spain, the emperor said to him one day, Are you willing to perform all that is capitulated between us? Francis replied, yes; and when you find that I do not keep my word with you, I wish and consent that you hold me for a knave and a villain. Herbert, p. 75.

[a] The following monasteries are named; Daventre, Raverston, Tykeford, Sandwell, Eanwell, Lytlemore, Poghley, Thobye, Blackmore, Stanesgate, Typtre, Wykes, Dodnesh, Snape, Lyesnes, Tonbridge, Begham, and Calicete. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 155—184.

of

1526. of the publick acts, ſeveral credentials of the Venetian ambaſſadors addreſſed to the king, the queen, and the cardinal; probably, to preſs the king to come into this league. There is likewiſe Clement VII.'s commiſſions to Hubert Gambara and Giovanni Baptiſta Sanga to treat with Henry. In this commiſſion the pope ſaid, that the circumſtances of the times forcing the allies to conclude a league without the king of England's participation, they had however agreed, to declare him protector. Wherefore he empowered his two envoys to treat with that monarch upon his entering into the league, and to change or alter the articles, as ſhould be agreed with him, nay, to annul it entirely, if it was thought neceſſary, and conclude another. Moreover, he gave them powers to ſettle with him the penſion which was to be adjudged to him as protector of the league, if he would pleaſe to accept of the title. But this penſion, as appears elſewhere, was to be raiſed upon the duchy of Milan and the kingdom of Naples, after they were conquered. Thus, upon the hopes of an imaginary penſion, the pope meant to perſuade Henry to declare war with the emperor, and conſequently to draw him into very great and real expences. But for once, Henry would not be his dupe. He knew by experience what it was to join with the popes for the Italian affairs.

July. Auguſt. p. 187.

Battle of Mohatz in Hungary. Auguſt 18. Guicciard. Hall.

This year was fought the famous battle of Mohatz in Hungary between Lewis XII. king of that country, and Soliman emperor of the Turks. Lewis loſt the day, and was drowned in a Moraſs [b]. The death of this prince was a freſh ſource of calamities for Hungary. Ferdinand of Auſtria the emperor's brother, who had married Lewis's ſiſter Anne, pretended to the crown of that kingdom, and had for competitor John de Zapol, wayvode of Tranſilvania. They were both elected by two different parties. But John put himſelf under the protection of Soliman, who cauſed him to be crowned at Buda, whilſt Ferdinand was taking meaſures to proſecute his right.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

The affairs of Scotland ſtill remained in the ſame ſituation, except that in the courſe of this year, the queen's and earl of Arran's or Hamilton's faction attempted to take away

b Lewis, with an army of twenty thouſand, engaged three hundred thouſand Turks. By his defeat and death, moſt part of Hungary was loſt, with the lives of two hundred thouſand Hungarians, who were cut off by the Turks in the following rencounters. This Lewis was born without a ſkin, had a beard at fifteen years of age, at eighteen his hairs were grey, and he was drowned in his 20th. *Heylin.*

the

the king's perſon from the earl of Angus. But the attempt miſcarrying, the earl was ſeverely revenged of the perſons concerned. 1526.

The pope and Venetians had begun the war in Italy, in the ſole expectation that Francis would ſend thither a powerful army, and the king of England make a diverſion from the Low Countries, or at leaſt, according to cuſtom, furniſh money for maintaining the war. The eaſineſs wherewith he had been amuſed in the former wars, cauſed his money to be relied on as a ſure aid, though when a peace or truce was made his intereſts were not thought of. But the ſcene was changed. Henry, grown more wiſe by experience, was no longer willing to find money for the affairs of others. Beſides, the treaſure left him by the king his father being long ſince exhauſted, he could raiſe money only by means of the parliament, who always framed difficulties, or made him purchaſe their ſubſides with ſome extraordinary favours. So Francis not finding in him the ſame diſpoſitions as formerly, feared to engage too far, before he was ſecure of his aſſiſtance [c]. He perceived, he was no longer inclined to favour the emperor as before. But that did not ſuffice. It was alſo neceſſary to perſuade him to join in the league of Italy, otherwiſe the whole charge of the war muſt have fallen upon France, which was drained of men, money and generals. For this reaſon, his aim was to induce the emperor, through fear of the league, to accept the equivalent offered him for Burgundy, and to continue the war in Italy, only till that prince was reſolved, or the king of England entirely engaged. To that end, he made the pope and Venetians large promiſes, to hinder them from being impatient, but performed them very ill. A ſmall body of troops levied in Italy, under the command of the marquiſs of Saluzzo, was hitherto all that he contributed for the league whereof he was himſelf the author and head. Mean while, the pope was extremely uneaſy at ſeeing the ſlowneſs or rather coldneſs of the two monarchs, on whom he relied. Indeed he had no cauſe to complain of Henry, who had made him no promiſe, and yet he ceaſed not earneſtly to preſs him to undertake the defence of the church, as if the church could not have ſubſiſted if the emperor remained maſter of Milan. But he received only general anſwers, Henry being unwilling to en-

Francis and Henry deceive the expectations of the pope and Venetians. Guicciard.

c In Auguſt 1526. John, lord of Vaux, his ambaſſador, concluded with ſir Thomas More, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, a treaty of reciprocal engagement between the two kings their maſters. See Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 185—189. Herbert, p. 79.

1526. gage in the affairs of Italy, where he could reap no advantage. In the mean time, the pope was at an expence which threw him into great ſtreights. For which reaſon he privately continued with the viceroy of Naples a negotiation, with intent to haſten or retard it, according to the proceedings of the kings of France and England. Herein he acted agreeably to his real temper, which made him conſider the having always two ſtrings to his bow, as the ſureſt maxim of policy. But he was always ſo unfortunate as to reap from his artifices, fruits contrary to his hopes. As his ſole aim was to hinder the emperor from keeping the duchy of Milan, to that end it was, that he would have the kings of France and England make conſiderable efforts; after which, he would not have ſcrupled to forſake them, provided the emperor had ſatisfied him upon that article. Francis was in no better diſpoſition with regard to his allies. His view was to recover his ſons out of Spain; and, could he have ſucceeded by treating alone with the emperor, he would have little regarded the concerns of the pope and Venetians. As for the republick of Venice, it was of great conſequence to her that the emperor ſhould not remain maſter of the Milaneſe, and her expences to hinder it was nothing in compariſon of the prejudice ſhe would have received, if the emperor had peaceably held that duchy. So, never ceaſing to ſollicit the kings of France and England, ſhe continued the War, though faintly, in expectation that theſe two monarchs would bear the greateſt part of the charge. The negotiations which the pope ſtill continued with the viceroy of Naples, afforded the Venetians a plauſible reaſon not to exert themſelves, becauſe they were afraid, his inconſtancy would render all their endeavours ineffectual. The emperor on his part was no leſs embarraſſed. As he had but little money, a vigorous war muſt have annoyed him very much. And therefore finding the king of France made no great efforts, he did not haſten the ſending of freſh ſupplies into Italy, for fear of raiſing the attention of his enemies. Beſides, ſince Frondſperg's arrival with the German troops, he thought himſelf ſtrong enough to keep the duchy of Milan, which was then his chief aim. Such was the diſpoſition of theſe potentates in the beginning of the year 1527. We muſt now ſee what paſſed in Italy during this year, becauſe it ſerves for foundation to all the events ſpoken of hereafter.

Clement ſets on foot the negotiation with the viceroy of Naples. Guicciard.

1527.

The emperor's embarraſſment.

The duke of Bourbon was under inconceivable difficulties for want of money to pay his troops. After frequent exac-

tions upon the inhabitants of Milan, he ſaw no way to maintain his army any longer, without danger of cauſing a general revolt in that great city which was reduced to deſpair. On the other hand, the Germans brought into Italy by Frondſperg, had received no pay ſince their liſting. It was neceſſary therefore, either to pay them what was due, or furniſh them wherewithal to make themſelves amends in ſome other place, or reſolve to ſee the army diſband, on which the emperor wholly relied. To ſatisfy the troops, there was no other way but to lead them into the territories of the church, of Florence, or of Venice. But the Venetian towns were too well provided, to afford any hopes of booty from thence; eſpecially as the duke of Bourbon had no artillery. Beſides, very likely, he was ſure the duke of Urbino would not oppoſe his deſigns, provided he did not moleſt the republick. So, determining to maintain his army upon the pope's territories, he left ſeven or eight thouſand Germans at Milan, under the command of Antonio de Leva, and went and joined Frondſperg in the Plaiſantin, where he ſtaid ſome time to raiſe contributions.

1527.

The duke of Bourbon is without money and at a great loſs. Guicciard.

He ſees no other way but to lead his army into the pope's territories.

The duke of Urbino favours him.

He joins Frondſperg.

Before the duke of Bourbon departed from Milan, the viceroy of Naples had brought an army upon the borders of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, to make a diverſion, and force the pope to recall the troops he had ſent to the duke of Urbino, ſince the expiration of the truce. The approach of that army had obliged the pope to raiſe troops to defend his dominions, not having thought proper to recall thoſe in Lombardy. Hence he ſaw himſelf engaged in an unuſual expence. Hitherto the popes had found means to wage war at the charge of others, and Clement VII. had been in hopes to do the ſame. He had granted Francis a tenth upon the clergy of France, which he was to divide with him. Beſides that, Francis had promiſed to find forty thouſand crowns a month for the league, and twenty thouſand for the pope in particular. But of all this, he had yet paid but ten thouſand crowns. Thus the pope ſaw himſelf over burdened, without knowing how to get clear of the incumbrance, ſince it was no leſs difficult to raiſe money, than dangerous to make a ſeparate peace in ſuch a juncture. Mean while, Henry VIII. being informed of his neceſſities, and fearing he would relinquiſh the league, ſent him thirty thouſand ducats [d], which helped to comfort him a little, and keep him in the reſolution to continue the war.

War between the pope and viceroy of Naples.

Clement VII is engaged in a great expence. Guicciard.

Francis keeps not his word with him.

Henry ſends him a preſent. Herbert.

[d] By ſir John Ruſſel. See P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 635.

1527. It is needleſs to give the particulars of this war between the pope and the viceroy of Naples. It ſuffices to obſerve, that whilſt it laſted, the pope receiving advice of the duke of Bourbon's march, concluded a truce with the viceroy. He had ſtrong reaſons for taking that courſe. He was not only burdened with the maintenance of two armies, but alſo ſaw himſelf daily more remote from his hopes with reſpect to France and England. Francis performed nothing of what he had promiſed, and Henry ſhewed no great inclination to come into the league. On the other hand, the duke of Urbino's proceedings, who commanded the army of the allies in the Milaneſe, daily grew more ſuſpicious. Beſides, Florence was in danger, and the pope unſafe in Rome itſelf. The conditions of the truce were:

Truce between the pope and viceroy. Guicciard. P. Daniel. Herbert.

Guicciard. That it ſhould laſt eight months: that the pope ſhould pay ſixty thouſand ducats to the duke of Bourbon's army; namely, forty thouſand on the 21ſt of the preſent month, and the reſt within eight days: and that the imperial army ſhould march out of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The truce being publiſhed, the pope diſbanded all his troops, except two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, and laid up his gallies before he knew the duke of Bourbon's intentions, who was in the midſt of his march to Bologna.

The duke of Bourbon's march. The duke's troops conſiſted of five thouſand men at arms, making about two thouſand horſe, thirteen or fourteen thouſand Germans, five thouſand Spaniards, two thouſand Italian foot, and a good number of light horſe of the ſame nation.

Guicciard. This army departed from about Placentia in February, without money, proviſions, waggons, artillery, and ſubſiſting only by means of the contributions raiſed upon their rout. The duke not being able to enter Bologna, by reaſon the marquis of Saluzzo had thrown himſelf in with twelve thouſand men, ſtaid ſome time in the Bologneſe, where his army made a prodigious booty. Here he was informed of the concluſion of the truce, to which he would not conſent, becauſe the ſum he was to have was not ſufficient to pay what was due to his troops. Whereupon the viceroy of Naples, who was at Rome, came to Florence, where the duke ſent an officer to confer with him. As the viceroy's intention was to cauſe the duke of Bourbon to accept of the truce, in order to ſend the imperial army into the ſtate of Venice, he agreed with the meſſenger that the duke ſhould withdraw in five days; that fourſcore thouſand ducats ſhould be paid him down, and ſixty thouſand ſome day in May. The pope hearing of this new agreement, diſbanded the two thouſand

The duke refuſes the truce concluded at Rome.

The viceroy makes a new agreement with him. Guicciard.

thouſand men he had kept to be eaſed of the charge. But the duke of Bourbon, whether he had intended to deceive the viceroy, or could not reſtrain his army, after feigning to attack Florence, ſuddenly took the rout to Rome, leaving far behind him the army of the pope and Venetians, who had thrown themſelves into Florence. 1527. The duke ſuddenly marches to Rome. Guicciard.

Great was then the alarm at Rome. The pope ſeeing himſelf without troops and money, knew not what courſe to take. In this diſtreſs, he committed the defence of Rome and himſelf to Renzo de Ceri, who made him hope, that with an army, raiſed within the walls, he would ſecure the city from being inſulted. The pope truſting to his general's promiſes, would neither leave Rome himſelf to provide for his ſafety, nor ſuffer any thing to be carried from thence. The pope's diſtreſs. Guicciard.

Mean while, the duke of Bourbon purſuing his march without meeting any obſtacle, appeared before Rome on the 5th of May. The ſame day, pretending a deſign to proceed to Naples, he ſent a trumpet to the pope to deſire a paſſage, which being refuſed, the next morning at break of day he approached the ſuburbs by means of a very thick miſt, and ſtormed a breach which they had not had time to repair. But in the beginning of the aſſault, his thighbone was broke with a muſket ſhot, of which he immediately died. The prince of Orange, who was near him, throwing a cloak over his body, continued the aſſault. At length, after two hours reſiſtance, the breach was forced, and the imperialiſts entered the ſuburbs. Whereupon the pope withdrew to the caſtle of St. Angelo, accompanied by thirteen cardinals, all the foreign ambaſſadors, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction. Mean while, the imperialiſts were employed in becoming maſters of the Tyber, which was not difficult, conſidering the conſternation the whole city was in. The pope might ſtill have withdrawn from the caſtle of St. Angelo, and ſecured his perſon. But by a ſtrange blindneſs, upon news of the duke of Bourbon's death, he was obſtinately bent, without any juſt reaſon, to ſtay in a place where he had neither proviſions, nor ammunition, nor a garriſon ſufficient to defend it. So many hiſtorians have deſcribed the ſacking of Rome, that it is needleſs to inſiſt on it here. The reader may eaſily conceive, what the deſire of plunder may cauſe an ill diſciplined army without a general, like this, to commit. Some hiſtorians have been pleaſed to caſt the whole blame of the rapine and cruelty committed on this occaſion upon the proteſtants in Frondſperg's troops. But moſt have

The duke of Bourbon comes before Rome. Guicciard. Du Bellai.
He ſtorms the city.
He is ſlain.
The breach is forced.
The pope retires to St. Angelo. Guicciard.
Sacking of Rome. May 12. Guicciard. Herbert. Hall.

1527. made no ſuch diſtinction, agreeing that the Spaniards ſhewed no more regard for the holy city than the Germans [e].

Overſight of the allies. Guicciard. Hall.

If the army of the allies had cloſely followed the imperialiſts, they might have fallen upon them whilſt moſt intent upon the plunder, and probably with ſucceſs. But if we may believe Guicciardini, the duke of Urbino ſo ordered it, that the army came not before Rome till the end of May, and then raiſed ſo many objections againſt attempting the relief of the caſtle of St. Angelo, that the generals agreed to leave the pope to come off as well as he could. The allies retiring the firſt of June, Clement capitulated the 6th, having ſent for the viceroy of Naples to treat with him. But the army, having choſen the prince of Orange for general, had no great confidence in the viceroy, neither would be guided by his counſels. The pope therefore was forced to ſign with the prince of Orange and the chief Officers of the army, the following capitulation:

The pope capitulates. June 6.

Guicciard. Herbert.

Articles of the capitulation.

That the pope ſhould pay the army four hundred thouſand ducats, namely, one hundred thouſand down, fifty thouſand in twenty days, and two hundred and fifty thouſand within two months, aſſigning for that purpoſe a tax upon the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

That he ſhould deliver into the emperor's hands the caſtles of St. Angelo, Civita Vecchia, Oſtia, Citta Caſtellana, Parma, Placentia, and Modena.

That the pope with the thirteen cardinals ſhould remain priſoners in the caſtle of St. Angelo, till a hundred and fifty thouſand crowns were paid, and then ſhould be conducted to Naples or Gaeta, there to wait the emperor's pleaſure.

That the chevalier Gregorio Caſſali the Engliſh ambaſſador, Renzo de Ceri, and all the reſt that were retired to the caſtle, except the pope and the thirteen cardinals, ſhould be at liberty to go where they pleaſed.

That the Colonnas ſhould be abſolved from all cenſures.

That when the pope ſhould go from Rome, he ſhould leave a legate and the court of the Rota [f].

[e] They ranſacked the city, without diſtinction of places, for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven days, (two whole months, ſays P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 640.) killing above five thouſand men, and committing all manner of rapine and cruelty. Herbert, p. 82. It was reported, ſays Guicciardini, that the plundering ſoldiers got above a million of ducats, in gold, ſilver, and jewels; and a much greater ſum for ranſoms, l. 18.

[f] This court conſiſts of twelve prelates, called auditors of the rota, (eight of them Italians, two Spaniards, one Frenchman, and one German) who judge by appeal of all matters eccleſiaſtical and civil, between clergymen. The court takes its name from the marble pavement of the room where they meet, reſembling a wheel.

That

That the capitulation being ſigned, captain Alarcon, the ſame that had the cuſtody of Francis I. when a priſoner, entered the caſtle of St. Angelo with three companies of Spaniards, and as many of Germans, and ſtrictly guarded the pope and the cardinals. During the confuſion cauſed by the pope's impriſonment, the duke of Ferrara became maſter of Modena, the Venetians took Ravenna and Cervia, Sigiſmund Malateſta ſeized Rimini, and the Florentines expelling the pope's legate, recovered their liberty. 1527. The pope remains a priſoner. Several alterations. Guicciard.

Some time after, all the troops which were in the kingdom of Naples repaired to Rome to ſhare in the booty, and glean what the avarice of the Spaniards and Germans had left. The imperial army then at Rome conſiſted of twelve thouſand Germans, eight thouſand Spaniards, and four thouſand Italians. But the plague which preſently after raged among the troops ſo diminiſhed them, that it is ſaid, when they came to go upon action, there was not ten thouſand men able to bear arms. Mean while, the eager deſire of plunder cauſed the emperor's affairs to be ſo neglected, that the army remained unſerviceable till the end of the year; whereas Bologna and the towns of la Romagna might have been taken, which would have rendered the emperor invincible in Italy. Beſides, this negligence gave Francis time to ſend troops into thoſe parts, of which he would never have thought, if the emperor's generals had reaped from the taking of Rome and the pope's captivity, the advantages they might have naturally expected for the ſervice of their maſter. It is time now to ſpeak of the affairs of England, the recital whereof has been interrupted by the relation of this year's events in Italy, becauſe it was abſolutely neceſſary for the underſtanding of the ſequel. The imperial army becomes uſeleſs. Guicciard. Guicciard.

Since Francis had refuſed to execute the treaty of Madrid, he had never ceaſed to preſs Henry to come into the league of Cognac. But whether Henry perceived that prince's views, or hoped by managing the emperor to make himſelf umpire of the peace, he had kept within the bounds of the defenſive league concluded at Moore. At length, finding that probably the pope and Venetians could not long maintain the war, he was afraid, the emperor would become maſter of all Italy, and with that increaſe of power grow too formidable to Europe. Indeed, it was eaſy to ſee, that to diveſt him of the ſuperiority he was going to acquire upon France, England would one day be forced to make greater efforts than were neceſſary to hinder his attaining it. Theſe conſider- Henry reſolves to make a league offenſive and defenſive with France. Herbert. P. Daniel. Hollingſh.

1527. considerations were farther corroborated by the inſtances of cardinal Wolſey, whom Francis had taken care to gain to his intereſt, otherwiſe all theſe reaſons probably would have been ineffectual. So about the end of the laſt year, Henry had ſent to Paris Sir William Fitzwilliams to acquaint the king of France, that he was ready to join in an offenſive league with him, and give him the princeſs Mary his daughter in marriage. Francis gladly embracing the propoſal, the treaty was begun at Paris by the biſhop of Bath and Wells, the Engliſh ambaſſador in ordinary, and Fitzwilliams. But as ſeveral difficulties occurred, which depended upon the king of England's determination, Francis thought it more proper to ſend ambaſſadors to London, and conclude it there. He made choice for that purpoſe of Gabriel d' Aigremont, or de Gramont biſhop of Tarbe and the viſcount of Turenne, with whom were joined the firſt preſident of Roan, and the lord de Vaux, who were already in England. Theſe ambaſſadors [g] concluded with cardinal Wolſey, appointed commiſſioner to negotiate with them, three treaties, which were ſigned the 30th of April 1527, when the duke of Bourbon was marching to Rome.

Hall. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 195.

Several treaties. April 30. Ib. p. 159, &c.

The firſt treaty ran:

1ſt. Treaty. p. 195, &c. Herbert. p. 80. Du Tillet.

That the two kings ſhould jointly ſend ambaſſadors to the emperor, with offers concerning the ranſom of the two hoſtages, and to demand the payment of what was due to the king of England.

That if he rejected the offers, or gave no anſwer within twenty days, the two kings ſhould proclaim war againſt him.

Another article of this treaty contained a mutual engagement for the marriage of Francis or his ſon the duke of Orleans with the princeſs Mary, at the king of France's choice, and upon ſuch terms as ſhould be agreed on when the time came [h]. Probably, this treaty was to be made publick, in order to induce the emperor to deſiſt from his claim to Burgundy and be ſatisfied with the offered equivalent.

By the ſecond treaty it was agreed:

2d. Treaty, Herbert. p. 81. Du Tillet.

That in caſe the emperor rejected their propoſals or deferred his anſwer, all commerce ſhould be forbidden with his

g They arrived in London, March 2. Hall, fol. 155.

h Hall ſays, the people were very much againſt this match, becauſe the princeſs Mary being king Henry's preſumptive heir, if he died without ſons, ſhe ſucceeded of courſe to the throne, and, on account of her marriage, it was feared ſhe would be too much under the influence of France, fol. 155.

ſubjects

ſubjects by the two kings, allowing them however forty days to withdraw their effects. 1527.

That the two kings ſhould make war upon the emperor in the Low Countries with an army of thirty thouſand foot and fifteen hundred men at arms, and that two thirds of the foot and all the horſe[i] ſhould be furniſhed by the king of France.

That they ſhould equip a fleet with fifteen thouſand men, whereof the king of France ſhould find ten thouſand.

That if the king of Portugal or any other prince or ſtate ſhould join with the emperor, they ſhould be declared enemies to both the kings.

That the pope and Venetians ſhould be deemed included, in the league, provided they continued the war in Italy.

That the king of France ſhould endeavour to perſuade the king of Navarre, the duke of Gueldres, and Robert de la Mark to make war upon the emperor.

That the two kings ſhould uſe their joint endeavours to encourage John de Zapol to proſecute his right to the crown of Hungary, in caſe he had not already made an alliance with the Turk, in order to keep the emperor's brother Ferdinand employed in thoſe parts.

That the league ſhould be notified to the princes of Germany, and the two kings endeavour to prevent their aſſiſting the emperor.

The ſubſtance of the third treaty was:

1. That this treaty ſhould not derogate from that of Moore, which remained in force. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 218. Guicciard. Herbert.

2. That there ſhould be perpetual peace between Francis and Henry and their reſpective ſubjects.

3. That neither of them ſhould give aid or advice to any perſon whatever that ſhould attack the dominions of the other.

4. Henry renounced for himſelf and ſucceſſors all right and title to the kingdom of France[k], and in general, whatever Francis now poſſeſſed.

5. In conſideration whereof, Francis bound himſelf and ſucceſſors to pay to Henry's ſucceſſors an annual penſion for ever, of fifty thouſand crowns, at two payments; name-

[i] Twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred men at arms. See Herbert, p. 81.

[k] —Jus, titulum, & verum dominium in regnó Franciæ.—— Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 220.

ly,

1527. ly, on the 1ſt of May, and the 1ſt of November, and that the payment of the penſion ſhould commence, on the firſt of thoſe two days which ſhould happen after Henry's death, without deduction of what ſhould remain to be paid after Henry's deceaſe of the two millions ſtipulated by the treaty of Moore.

6. Moreover Francis bound himſelf to give yearly to Henry fifteen thouſand crowns worth of ſalt of Bruage [l], beſides the fore-mentioned fifty thouſand crowns.

7. That, to prevent the objection which might hereafter be made, that a king can't bind his ſucceſſors, the two kings ſhould cauſe the treaty to be confirmed by the ſtates of their realms and held as a perpetual and inviolable law.

8. That the treaty ſhould be approved and confirmed by the archbiſhops, biſhops, princes, dukes, earls, barons, and other great men of the two kingdoms, whoſe names were inſerted in this article, under forfeiture of all their goods; and by the parliaments of Paris, Toulouſe, Roan, Bourdeaux, as well as by all the courts of juſtice in England.

Alterations in the ſecond treaty on account of the ſacking of Rome. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 199, &c. Herbert. Du Tillet.

The news of the ſacking of Rome and the pope's captivity arriving ſhortly after the concluſion of theſe treaties, the two kings thought fit to alter the article of the ſecond concerning their carrying war into the Low Countries, and to agree to act only in Italy. But as the Engliſh troops could not be tranſported into Italy without great difficulties and loſs of time, they agreed that the king of France ſhould undertake the war alone for a certain ſum [m], which Henry was to pay him monthly till the end of October. The laſt treaty was ſigned the 29th of May about three weeks after the taking of Rome.

Henry's demands upon the emperor. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Pol. Virg. Hollingſh.

In conſequence of the firſt of the three treaties of April the 30th, Henry ſent ſir Francis Pointz into Spain to demand of the emperor, that as by their former treaties the war with France was carried on at a common charge, he would give him half the booty taken at Pavia, and one of the two hoſtages received from the French king. Pointz was accompanied with Clarenceux king at arms but incognito, that he

[l] A town in Saintonge, famous for its ſaltpits, about eight leagues from Rochel. The ſalt in this diſtrict brings in the king of France fourteen millions of livres per annum.

[m] Thirty thouſand ducats, or, thirty two thouſand, two hundred and twenty two crowns de ſoleil, to be deducted out of what Francis owed him. Herbert, p. 83. Guicciard. l. 18.

might

night be ready to do his office when there ſhould be occaſion. 1527.
The emperor eaſily perceived, the king of England ſought only a pretence of quarrel. But as it was his intereſt to prolong the time, he told the ambaſſador he would ſend his anſwer to the king his maſter by an expreſs.

While the ambaſſador was on his way to Spain, Francis and Henry hearing what had paſſed in Italy thought proper that cardinal Wolſey ſhould go and conſer with Francis at Amiens, in order to concert meaſures agreeable to the ſituation of affairs. Shortly after, Francis ſent Lautrec with the forces deſigned for Italy [n]. Lautrec marches to Italy. Guicciard.

Cardinal Wolſey departing from court the third of July, arrived at Calais the 11th [o], from whence he went to Abbeville and ſtayed till Francis came to Amiens. He was received at his entrance into the French territories, with the ſame reſpect as would have been paid to the king of England. We find in the collection of the publick acts, Francis's letters patents empowering the cardinal, his deareſt and great friend, to releaſe the priſoners, wherever he came, what crimes ſoever they were guilty of, except high treaſon, rapes, coining, ſacrilege, and the like, and to grant them a pardon by his letters patents. Wolſey confers with the king of France. Guicciard. Herbert. Hall. Stow. P. Daniel. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 202.

Whilſt the cardinal was at Abbeville, he received a memorial from the emperor, containing his anſwer to the king of France's offers to the viceroy of Naples. He had, as was obſerved, rejected theſe offers at firſt with diſdain and refuſed to hear them mentioned. But the ſituation of his affairs being altered by the league between France and England, he believed it would be better to end all differences by a peace, than run the hazard of maintaining the war alone againſt ſo many powerful enemies. It was therefore in order to procure a peace, that he ſent this anſwer to the cardinal, wherewith he imagined the king of France and Henry would be ſatisfied. The emperor's memorial as to a peace. Ib. p. 200.

As this memorial is very proper to illuſtrate the hiſtory of thoſe times, it will not doubtleſs be unacceptable to inſert the ſubſtance thereof.

[n] He ſet out June 30, with eight hundred lances. Guicciard. l. 18.

[o] He was met at Boulogne by monſieur de Byron, with a thouſand horſe, and after by John, cardinal of Lorrain, and the chancellor of Alençon, who accompanied him firſt to Montreuil, and then to Abbeville. He was attended by Cuthbert Tunſtall, biſhop of London, the lord Sandes, the king's chamberlain, Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, ſir Henry Guildford, ſir Thomas More, with many knights and others, to the number of twelve hundred horſe. Hall, fol. 160. Stow, p. 531. Herbert, p. 83. He brought with him thirty thouſand crowns. Guicciard. l. 18. Hall ſays, it was two hundred and forty thouſand pounds. fol. 161. Hollingſh. p. 897.

The

1527.

"The emperor began with proteſting, that by what he "offered in this memorial, he meant not to derogate from "the treaty of Madrid, but in the points only which "were contrary to it. He added, that as to the hoſtages, "the king of France was not ignorant of the reaſon of "their being in Spain, and had it in his power to recover "them. Then he ſet forth the offers made by Francis to "the viceroy of Naples, containing the four following ar- "ticles:

The king of FRANCE's *offers to the emperor.*

"I. That he would execute the treaty of Madrid, "provided Franceſco Sforza was reſtored to the duchy of "Milan.

"II. That he would give the emperor in lieu of Burgundy "two millions of gold payable, namely, a good ſum in hand, "when queen Leonora ſhould be delivered to him, and the "reſt at a day to be appointed, and then his ſons ſhould be "reſtored; unleſs the emperor had rather have the whole ſum "at once, and deliver at the ſame time the queen and the two "hoſtages.

"III. That he would pay the king of England what was "due from the emperor.

"IV. He demanded that the emperor ſhould increaſe "queen Leonora's dowry in proportion to the ſum he was "to receive, ſince he could do it without any charge to "himſelf.

The EMPEROR's *anſwer.*

The emperor replied to theſe four articles by the eight following declarations:

"I. That what ſhould be agreed upon ſhould not be pre- "judicial to the treaty of Madrid, except in ſuch things "as ſhould be altered by mutual conſent.

"II. That the emperor's right to Burgundy ſhould remain "entire, as before the treaty of Madrid.

"III. That all the articles of the treaty of Madrid, ex- "cept ſuch as were mentioned in theſe offers, ſhould remain "entire.

"IV. The emperor in his fourth declaration ſaid, that he "hoped the king of England and the lord cardinal would

"cauſe

" cauſe the ſum of two millions of gold, offered by the king 1527.
" of France, to be augmented. However, if that could
" not be, it ſhould be underſtood, that this ſum was over
" and above what the emperor owed the king of England,
" as well for money lent, as for the indemnity he had un-
" dertaken to diſcharge, which ſums the king of France had
" taken upon himſelf in the treaty of Madrid; beſides like-
" wiſe the reſtitution of the late Mr. de Bourbon's eſtate, it
" being reaſonable that his heirs ſhould partake of the benefit
" of the treaty. Item, That the king of France ſhould punc-
" tually perform all the reſt of the articles concluded on his
" part in the treaty of Madrid before his ſons left Spain; the
" emperor not being able, after what had paſſed, to take any
" ſecurity if the hoſtages remained not in his power till the
" treaty was fully executed.

" V. That purſuant to the treaty of Madrid, what
" ſhould be agreed upon, ſhould be ratified by the ſtates
" general of France, and approved by the parliaments.
" Or if that could not be done by the ſtates general,
" it ſhould at leaſt be ratified by the ſtates of each pro-
" vince.

" VI. The emperor declared, That he could not ſend
" the queen his ſiſter to France till every thing was accom-
" pliſhed, and then the queen and the hoſtages ſhould be ſent
" together.

" VII. That as for duke Sforza, the emperor would ap-
" point impartial judges to decide his affair, and if he was
" found guilty of no crime for which he deſerved to be
" deprived of his duchy, he ſhould be reſtored. But if
" he was condemned, the ſtate of Milan ſhould re-
" main in the emperor's diſpoſal, according to juſtice and
" equity.

" VIII. That the king of England ſhould be guaran-
" tee of the future treaty, and by his letters patents engage
" to aſſiſt at his own charge with a certain number of troops
" him of the two parties that ſhould keep the treaty, againſt
" him that ſhould not obſerve it.

" Beſides theſe eight conditions, which the emperor call-
" ed declarations, he demanded moreover in his memorial,
" that the king of France ſhould ſatisfy him for the expences
" of the leagues he had made with him, and of which he
" was the ſole author, empowering the king of England to
" ſettle the ſum.

" Finally, he ſaid, That he did not queſtion, the king of
" England, who perfectly knew what had paſſed between the

" two

1527. "two parties would not cauſe the king of France's offers to "be increaſed, and that the lord legate, whom the emperor "always looked upon as his good friend, would alſo endea-"vour the ſame to the utmoſt of his power: that however, "he was ſo inclined to peace, that if the king of England "deſired, he ſhould make any farther conceſſions than what "were contained in the eight foregoing declarations, he "would do more for his ſake than for any prince in the "world. That he ſhould be very glad, all the poten-"tates of Europe knew how much he valued his friend-"ſhip and aſcribed to him the whole glory of procuring the "peace. This memorial was dated at Valladolid the——of "July 1527.

Remark on this memorial.

If this anſwer of the emperor be cloſely examined, it will be manifeſt that he ſimply and abſolutely accepted of the French king's offers, under terms denoting, it was he that gave rather than received law, and that by his declarations he only obviated all poſſible cavils. As to what he farther demanded, it was under ſuch reſtrictions, that he ſeemed willing to ſtand to the king of England's determination, which at ſuch a juncture was the ſame as departing from his demands. There was but one ſingle point concerning which he could not reſolve to ſubmit; namely, the duke of Milan's affair. But this was a point newly propoſed by the king of France, and which had no relation to the treaty of Madrid, where nothing like it was to be found. However, it is plain if that had been the only obſtacle to a peace, he would alſo have granted it, ſince he reſerved a way to come off with honour, namely, by cauſing Sforza to be declared innocent, in the manner he had himſelf propoſed to the pope. Perhaps Francis would have accepted the peace on the terms offered in the memorial, if the emperor had come to that reſolution at firſt. But ſince he had made theſe offers to the viceroy of Naples, the face of affairs was very much altered, as he had entirely gained Henry to his intereſt, and as after the taking of Rome it was to be feared the emperor would become maſter of all Italy. Mean while, the emperor's offers, which were in effect the ſame Francis had made to the viceroy of Naples, were either to be accepted or rejected. But as it was not Henry's buſineſs to return an anſwer, ſince the affair did not directly concern him, he only ſent the memorial to the king of France, who no longer deſiring to make peace, diſengaged himſelf in this manner. He demanded in the firſt place, that Sforza ſhould be reſtored without condition. Secondly,

Henry ſends the memorial to the king of France.

Reply of Francis I. Bellai.

P. 1333.

condly, that his ſons ſhould be delivered before he recalled his forces from Italy, where Lautrec was now arrived, offering to depoſit three hundred thouſand ducates in the hands of the king of England for ſecurity of his word. There could not be a plainer evidence of his little deſire to execute the treaty of Madrid, though the ſame terms only were demanded as were offered by himſelf preſently after his deliverance. He meant, after having withdrawn his hoſtages, to have the execution of the treaty in his own power, under colour of offering to depoſit for ſecurity three hundred thouſand ducats in the hands of a prince devoted to him, and who by a private treaty was engaged to make his intereſt his own. The emperor, unwilling to be thus inſnared, offered on his part to depoſit the ſame ſum in the hands of the king of England for pledge that the hoſtages ſhould be reſtored. But his offer being rejected, the affair ſtopped there, and war was only thought of. Mean while, the emperor deſiring to let all the world ſee, it was not his fault that a peace was not concluded, gave the ambaſſadors of England, of the pope, and of the Venetians, the ſame anſwer he had ſent to cardinal Wolſey. They all ſeemed very well ſatisfied, and ſaid their maſters would doubtleſs accept a peace on theſe terms, and ſend orders to conclude it. But they knew not that the kings of France and England had altered their minds and taken new reſolutions. 1527.

If Francis and cardinal Wolſey were to confer together at Abbeville, it was not to ſeek means to make peace, but rather to take meaſures, on ſuppoſition that a war with the emperor was infallible. Francis being come to Abbeville the firſt of Auguſt, the cardinal waited on him, and after conferring together, they concluded on the eighteenth three treaties, which properly were only ſupplements, explanations, and reſtrictions of the three foregoing ones. Francis's conference with Wolſey. Three new treaties. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 203, &c.

By the firſt it was agreed:

I. That, as he had left it to the king of France's choice to marry the princeſs Mary, or leave her for the duke of Orleans his ſecond ſon, the duke ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs when they ſhould both be of age. That then, and not before ſhould be ſettled the marriage articles concerning the dowry, the education of the duke of Orleans in England, and the like. Moreover, that, whether the marriage ſhould be conſummated or the two kings think fit to diſpoſe of their children

1527. children otherwiſe, their friendſhip ſhould remain inviolable, the marriage being only to be conſidered as a ſupplement to the treaties of the thirtieth of April, and not as part of thoſe treaties.

II. That the treaty concluded at Moore ſhould remain in full force.

III. That the project of the interview of the two kings ſhould be laid aſide, on account of the ſeaſon and circumſtances of affairs.

IV. As by the treaty of the twenty ninth of May, it was agreed that the king of England ſhould contribute a certain ſum for the war of Italy, it was concluded by this, that in caſe the emperor accepted the offers the two kings ſhould make him by their ambaſſadors, the contribution ſhould ceaſe without any prejudice to the treaty of peace: But if he rejected them, the treaty of league offenſive and defenſive ſhould ſubſiſt, on condition that during this campaign the king of England ſhould be deemed to have diſcharged his part of the treaty, by his contribution for the war with Italy.

V. That the king of England ſhould form no demands upon the king of France on pretence of his charges for the war of Italy.

VI. That to prevent all diſputes, without examining the number of troops which the king of France maintained in Italy, the king of England ſhould pay for the month of June laſt twenty thouſand crowns, for the month of July laſt thirty thouſand crowns, and thirty two thouſand two hundred and twenty two for each of three following months: On condition however, that if in theſe three laſt months, the Engliſh commiſſaries found in the army of Italy, a leſs number of troops than what the king of France was to maintain, the contribution ſhould be leſſened in proportion. Moreover, if a peace was made during theſe three laſt months, the contribution ſhould ceaſe the day the peace was concluded.

p. 209. By the ſecond treaty, which concerned only trade, Francis promiſed to give the Engliſh merchants ſuch privileges as ſhould be agreed upon hereafter.

p. 212. Herbert. By a third treaty the two kings were bound:

Firſt, Not to conſent to the calling of a general council during the pope's captivity.

Secondly,

Secondly, To receive no bull brief or mandate from the pope [p] till he was releaſed. 1527.

Thirdly, That till the pope ſhould reſume the government of the church, whatever ſhould be determined in England by the cardinal-legate, aſſiſted by the principal members of the clergy [q], and in France by the clergy of the Gallican church, ſhould be punctually executed.

Theſe treaties being concluded, Francis I. ratified them, and ſwore to the obſervance before he left Abbeville [r]. cardinal Wolſey did the ſame thing in his maſter's name, by virtue of his full powers and title of vicar general, which he had received on this occaſion. After that, he returned into England to give the king an account of the ſucceſs of his negotiation [s]. Wolſey returns to England. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 216, —218.

Henry being reſolved to proclaim war againſt the emperor, but willing to conceal the real motives, demanded of him by his ambaſſadors, four things, which he knew could not then be performed. The firſt was, That he ſhould pay what was borrowed of him, or of his father king Henry VII. The ſecond, that he ſhould pay him the five hundred thouſand crowns to which he was obliged, in caſe he married not the princeſs Mary, to whom he was affianced. The third, that according to the tenor of their treaty, he ſhould ſatisfy him for his penſion from the king of France, whereof there was now due four years and four months. The fourth, that he ſhould releaſe the pope, and ſatisfy him for all the damages cauſed by his troops. The emperor anſwered the ambaſſadors, firſt, that he had never denied his debt to the king of England; but was ſurpriſed he ſhould at this juncture inſiſt ſo much upon payment; that at leaſt, Henry's freſh demands upon the emperor. Herbert. p. 86. Guiciard. The emperor's anſwer. Herbert.

[p] Any way prejudicial to either of the two kings, their kingdoms, or to the cardinal of York's legatine juriſdiction. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 213, 214.

[q] —Accitis de mandato & auctoritate prædicti—Angliæ regis in regno Angliæ, prelatis, circa ſtatum & adminiſtrationem rerum eccleſiaſticarum in Angliâ, &c. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 214. Called together by the king's authority, and his conſent firſt obtained to what ſhould be determined. And here (ſays lord Herbert) began the reliſh our king took of governing the church, p. 85.

[r] They were ratified at Amiens, Auguſt 18. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 216, 218.

[s] About the end of September. Francis not only richly preſented him, but conducted him through the town, and upon his way about a mile, being accompanied with the titular king of Navarre, the pope's legate, and his prime nobility. At his coming to Calais, he ordered the mart to be kept in that town, inſtead of Antwerp, &c. Hall, fol. 159. Herbert, p. 85.—— About this time, Wolſey diſpatched Gambara to the pope, to deſire him to make him his vicar general in England, France, and Germany, during his captivity. Guiciard. l. 18.

1527. when the money was required, the obligations ſhould be offered to be reſtored. Secondly, that he would write to the king their maſter to acquaint him, why he did not think himſelf liable to the penalty of the five hundred thouſand crowns, for not conſummating the marriage. In the third place, that orders were ſent into Italy to ſet the pope free. He ſaid nothing concerning making ſatisfaction for the penſion, becauſe probably he conſidered it as included in the article of the debts to which he owned himſelf bound, as indeed nothing was more reaſonable.

Aſſembly of the chief men of France. Mezerai.

The emperor's replies were not capable of ſatisfying Henry who only ſought an occaſion of quarrel. On the other hand, Francis having called together the chief men, that is to ſay properly, perſons devoted to him, declared to them all the ſteps he had made towards a peace with the emperor; and it may be eaſily gueſſed, he was not very careful to explain what the emperor might alledge againſt him. Having repreſented the matter as he pleaſed, he ſaid, he was ready to return into captivity, if it was judged that he was obliged in honour or conſcience. The aſſembly unanimouſly replied, that his perſon belonged to the realm, and it was not in his power to diſpoſe of it according to his pleaſure: that moreover, he could not alienate the provinces of the crown, but if the emperor would except of a ranſom for the two princes in hoſtage, they offered the king two millions of gold to redeem them. A man muſt have voluntarily ſhut his eyes, not to ſee what was the deſign of this farce, entirely managed by the court. Mean while, the king believing, after this deciſion, that he might, with a ſafe conſcience, go to war with the emperor, thought only of means to recover his ſons by force of arms. He ſtill hoped however, the dread of a war would induce the emperor to mitigate the treaty of Madrid. This was not now with reſpect to Burgundy, ſince he could not be ignorant that the emperor had accepted the offered equivalent. But he hoped by means of the war, to procure a new treaty, which ſhould annul that of Madrid.

The aſſembly's opinion.

Francis's aim.

Charles, Francis, and Henry, act with inſincerity.

Thus many princes play with their words and oaths, and ſeek to blind themſelves, or at leaſt, the publick, whilſt none about them dare to tell them the truth. The emperor kept his word no better, with regard to the duchy of Milan; and Henry VIII. ſcrupled not to break his league with the emperor, as he had before violated that with Francis. Princes never want excuſes when they have a mind to break a treaty. But the publick is not always impoſed upon, though frequently they appear ſo to be. Probably, the ſovereigns

themſelves are not ſo blind, but they ſee the irregularity of their conduct, though, countenanced by the diſſimulation of the publick, they affect a great ſecurity. But the time comes at laſt, when poſterity, leſs prepoſſeſſed, does juſtice to all the world, and calls things by their proper name. 1527.

Francis, willing to preſerve the friendſhip newly contracted with Henry, ſent him the order of St. Michael [t], by Anne de Montmorency [u], one of the knights. This lord had power to diſpenſe with Henry's oath, in whole or in part, as the new knight ſhould think fit, or even to be contented with his bare word. Henry was pleaſed to ſwear to obſerve all the ſtatutes of the order of St. Michael, which were not contrary to thoſe of the garter, or any other order he had already received. Then he ſent the order of the garter to Francis, by Arthur [Plantagenet] viſcount Liſle, natural ſon of Edward IV [w], and Francis took the uſual oath of the order, with the ſame reſtrictions. The French ambaſſador who arrived in England about the end of October, was received with ſuch magnificence, that du Bellai, who accompanied him, aſſures us, he had never ſeen the like. The Engliſh ambaſſador was received in the ſame manner in France, there having ever been between Francis and Henry an emulation, which frequently threw them into needleſs expences. But it was moſt inconvenient for Francis, by reaſon of his continual wars with the emperor, wherein Henry was no farther engaged than he pleaſed: nay, he paid the very contribution for the war of Italy, by way of deduction for the ſums owed him by Francis [x], as appears in the collection of the publick acts. Thus Francis was forced to diſburſe all the money employed in that war, of which I muſt now relate the ſequel.

Francis and Henry ſend one another their orders of knights of St. Michael, and the garter. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 227, 233. p. 229. p. 232. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 233.

Clement VII. was ſtill confined in the caſtle of St. Angelo, till he could pay the ſums exacted upon him. As he had but little money, he could only pay part of what he had pro-

Affairs of Italy. Guicciard.

[t] The military order of St. Michael, was inſtituted by Lewis XII. in 1469. The knights wear a gold collar of ſhell-work, one within another, laid on a gold chain, whereon hangs a medal of St. Michael the archangel, the ancient protector of France.

[u] Anne de Montmorency, grand maitre arrived the 20th of October, with ſix hundred horſe at London, and after audience had been given, they were, on November 10, entertained by our king at Greenwich, with a ſumptuous feaſt, and with a comedy, in which his daughter the princeſs Mary acted a part. Herbert, p. 85.

[w] He was accompanied by dr. John Taylor, maſter of the rolls, and archdeacon of Buckingham, ſir Nicolas Carew, ſir Anthony Brown, and ſir Thomas Wriotheſley, garter king at arms. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 232.

[x] Which ſums amounted to ſixty four thouſand five hundred and forty four crowns. See Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 234.

1527. miſed, and therefore his captivity was longer than he expected at firſt; they in whoſe cuſtody he was, not being willing to truſt to his word. The emperor had not advice of the ſacking of Rome, and the pope's impriſonment ſooner than the beginning of June, and it was above a month before he came to any reſolution. As he did not queſtion this affair would make great noiſe in the world, he was willing to ſee, before he determined what to do, how the kings of France and England would take it, in order to proceed accordingly. Herbert. The 2d of Auguſt, he writ to Henry to excuſe himſelf concerning the outrages committed by his troops at Rome, and the violence exerciſed upon the pope's perſon, wherein he proteſted, he was not concerned. At the ſame time, he aſked his advice about what was to be done on the occaſion, as if he ſtill deemed him his good friend and ally. But it was only to gain time, till he received Francis's anſwer to the memorial ſent to cardinal Wolſey. On the other hand, the pope, though narrowly watched, had found means to write to Henry [y], and cauſe the thirteen cardinals, who were confined with him, to do the ſame, deſiring his protection, and entreating him to uſe his beſt endeavours to free them from their unhappy condition. Henry, upon receipt of theſe letters, ſent orders to his ambaſſadors in Spain, to demand of the emperor the pope's and cardinals liberty: to which the emperor anſwered in general terms, that he would do what lay in his power for the king of England's ſatisfaction. Mean while, he was thinking of conveying the pope into Spain, in expectation of making a better bargain with him than if he left him in Italy. Of this cardinal Wolſey informed Henry by a letter from Abbeville of the twenty ninth of July.

Letter to Henry from the pope and impriſoned cardinals. Burnet, vol. III. Herbert.

The emperor tries to ſet Francis and Henry at variance.

It is certain, Henry's inſtances in the pope's behalf greatly embarraſſed the emperor. He found that Francis and Henry would not fail to join their counſels and forces againſt him, under colour of labouring for the pope, and this union could not but break all his meaſures, with reſpect to his affairs in Italy. He believed therefore, that before all things he ſhould try to divide them, by ſowing jealouſies and ſuſpicions between them. Herbert. One of his expedients to ſucceed, was to propoſe to the cardinal a marriage between the duke of Richmond, natural ſon of Henry, and Iſabella princeſs of

[y] On September 24. By Gregory de Caſſali, the Engliſh agent at Rome, who was now returning to England, Herbert, p. 81, 83. Burnet, vol. III. p. 34.

Portugal,

Portugal, with whom he offered in dower the duchy of Milan. The cardinal acquainted the king with it by a letter of the 31ſt of July, telling him withal, that the offer was not much to be relied on, but however, it was proper to ſeem to liſten to it, becauſe it was neceſſary ſtill to preſerve ſome correſpondence with the emperor. This related without doubt to the affair of the divorce, which I ſhall preſently ſpeak of. For, by a letter of the 1ſt of Auguſt, the cardinal informed the king it was reported in Spain, he intended to divorce the queen, but that it was requiſite to ſend orders to his ambaſſadors at Madrid to ſtifle the rumour as much as poſſible. That to this end, they might ſay, it had no other foundation than the biſhop of Tarbe's ſcruples concerning the princeſs Mary's marriage with the duke of Orleans, as if there was room to queſtion the princeſs's legitimacy. The emperor alſo uſed another means to divide Francis and Henry, by trying to gain cardinal Wolſey, by advantageous offers [z]. But for once, he could not ſucceed, whether Wolſey was now too far engaged with Francis, or was bent to be revenged of the emperor, who had twice deceived him, or whether the buſineſs of the divorce was now reſolved, in which caſe it was not poſſible for him to promiſe to eſpouſe the emperor's intereſts.

1527.

A rumour in Spain of Henry's intending to part with his queen. Herbert.

The emperor tries to bribe Wolſey. Pol. Virg.

When Francis heard of the ſacking of Rome, he perceived it was time to lay aſide artifice, and neceſſary to ſend a powerful aid into Italy, otherwiſe the Venetians would infallibly conclude a peace with the emperor. Indeed, it was not likely, they could or would bear alone the burden of the war. Wherefore his firſt care was to make a new treaty with them [a], to bring each into the field ten thouſand men, and levy ten thouſand Switzers at a common charge. The Venetians deſired nothing more than to be ſupported by France, becauſe they juſtly dreaded, that the army which had ſacked Rome would be employed againſt them. Indeed, if the duke of Bourbon had been alive, or the viceroy of Naples able to influence the army, the Venetians would undoubtedly have been attacked, being the only enemies the emperor had in Italy. But happily for them, the imperial troops being wholly intent upon the plunder of Rome, without thinking of any other undertaking, the plague which broke out among them, ſwept away two thirds of the ſoldiers. In ſhort, the

Francis joins in a league with the Venetians. Guicciard.

The plague rages among the impe-rialiſts. Guicciard.

z He offered him large ſums beſides his penſion. But becauſe Charles had refuſed Wolſey the archbiſhoprick of Toledo, the richeſt in Spain, to which the cardinal vehemently aſpired, he proved inexorable. Pol. Virg. l. 27. Herbert, p. 85.

a On May 15. Guicciard. l. 18.

1527. distemper deſtroying them by heaps, they left Rome, and diſperſed themſelves in the neighbouring country. After which, having ſacked Terni and Narni, and extorted money from Spoleto, the Germans parted from the Spaniards, and returned to Rome. Thus diſcord ariſing in the army, which ill obeyed the prince of Orange, though they had choſen him for general, they projected nothing to improve their victory for the emperor's advantage. On the contrary, by their negligence, they gave Francis time to ſend troops into Italy, under the command of Lautrec, who was declared general of the league he had newly concluded with the Venetians. As for the duke of Urbino, he continued in the Milaneſe with part of the Venetian army.

Lautrec general of the league. Guicciard. Herbert.

He arrives in Piedmont.

Lautrec arrived in Piedmont in July, with part of the army he was to command. The marquis of Saluzzo was ordered to join him with his Italians, and the Switzers were to come preſently after. Whilſt he was employed in conqueſts of little moment, waiting the junction of all his forces, Andrea Doria, who had quitted the pope's ſervice, and commanded the French gallies, to which he had joined eight others of his own, found means to reduce the city of Genoa under Francis's dominion. This was a good opening of a campaign, which ſeemed to promiſe an advantageous ſucceſs in the reſt of the war, eſpecially as Lautrec, after aſſembling his whole army, conſiſting of twenty five thouſand men, became maſter of Vigevano, Alexandria, and Pavia. Sforza and the Venetians earneſtly preſſed him to beſiege Milan, but he ſhewed them poſitive orders to march to Naples. The king of France took care not to employ his army to conquer the duchy of Milan, which by the treaty of league was to be reſtored to Sforza, after which, the Venetians would give themſelves but little trouble to accompliſh his attempt upon Naples. Beſides, he ſtill hoped, that by conſenting the emperor ſhould keep Milan he might recover his ſons, whereas in reſtoring Sforza he ſhould deprive himſelf of that means.

Doria reduces Genoa under the dominion of France. Guicciard. Herbert.

Lautrec marches to Naples very ſlowly. Guicciard. Hall.

Lautrec therefore began his march to the kingdom of Naples, but with ſuch ſlowneſs and affected delays, that it was evident, he had private orders not to make too much haſte. And indeed, it was at the time that Francis expected the emperor's final anſwer to the offers made him by his and Henry's ambaſſadors. Lautrec long halted at Parma and Placentia, which had opened their gates to him. Mean while, the duke of Ferrara joined with France, as well on account of Lautrec's march, who might have eaſily ravaged his country, as of Francis's offer to give in marriage to his

The dukes of Ferrara and Mantua ſide with France. Sardi.

ſon

ſon Hercules, Renée of France, ſecond daughter of Lewis XII. The duke of Mantua preſently after followed his example. 1527.

Mean while, the emperor ſeeing the ill effects of the pope's captivity, had diſpatched the general of the order of St. Francis, to the viceroy of Naples, with orders to releaſe the pope. The general finding the viceroy ſeized with a diſtemper whereof he died in a few days, delivered the orders to Hugo de Moncada to be executed. The emperor had given general inſtructions, that the pope ſhould be bound to pay the arrears due to the army, and give ſecurity, after having his liberty, to forſake the league. But as it was not eaſy for the pope to find pledges, or the money neceſſary to pay the army, the negotiation was prolonged. Mean while, he continually ſollicited Lautrec by private meſſengers to approach Rome, in order to facilitate his deliverance. But Lautrec had poſitive orders which hindered him from making haſte, and yet his march, though ſlow, was of good ſervice to the pope. Moncada ſeeing the kingdom of Naples was going to be invaded, and that it was not poſſible to lead thither the imperial army which was at Rome, without giving them money, concluded at laſt [b] a treaty with the pope to this effect: Negotiation for the pope's liberty. Guicciard.

I. That the pope ſhould not oppoſe the emperor in the affairs of Naples or Milan.

II. That he ſhould grant the emperor a cruſade in Spain, and a tenth in the reſt of his dominions.

III. That the emperor ſhould keep Civita Vecchia, Oſtia, Citta Caſtellana, and the caſtle of Furli.

IV. That the pope ſhould pay down to the German troops, ſixty thouſand ducats, and thirty five thouſand to the Spaniards.

V. That in a fortnight after, he ſhould pay them another certain ſum, and within three months all the reſt that was due to the emperor, amounting to above three hundred and fifty thouſand ducats.

VI. That till the two firſt payments were made, the pope ſhould be conducted to ſome ſafe place out of Rome, and give hoſtages. Treaty for the pope's deliverance. Guicciard. Herbert.

The treaty being ſigned, and the cardinals of Ceſis and Orſino delivered in hoſtage, it was agreed, that on the 10th The pope eſcapes to Orvieto. Guicciard.

[b] On October 31. Ibid.

1527. of December, the pope ſhould be taken out of the caſtle of St. Angelo, and conducted to a place appointed. But as he was afraid of a longer confinement, becauſe he was unable to perform the treaty, he eſcaped in diſguiſe the night before, and ſhut himſelf up in Orvieto.

Guicciard. When Lautrec heard that the pope was at liberty, he reſtored to him the city of Parma, and marched to Bologna, where he ſtayed three weeks expecting freſh orders from the king. Some days after, he received a letter from Clement VII. acknowledging himſelf indebted to him for his liberty, intimating withal, that having been forced to grant the imperialiſts whatever they required, he did not think himſelf obliged to perform his engagements.

Beginning of Henry's divorce, It was whilſt the pope was priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo, that Henry's divorce was ſet on foot; a momentous affair, if ever there was one, as well in itſelf, as on account of the parties concerned, and chiefly for its effects. It was not yet thirty years ſince Lewis XII. put away his wife without any difficulty, or much noiſe in the world. Henry VIII. had a mind to attempt the ſame thing, and though ſupported with much more plauſible reaſons, he met with inſuperable obſtacles, not to be ſurmounted without an extraordinary method, which gave occaſion to the eſtabliſhment of the reformation in England. This effect diſtinguiſhed Henry VIII's divorce from ſo many others, which are but ſlightly mentioned by hiſtorians. The writers upon this ſubject being either catholicks or proteſtants, have conſidered it variouſly. The catholicks have drawn arguments from thence againſt the reformation in England, and repreſented Henry's divorce, as the next and immediate cauſe of the change of religion; whereas the proteſtants affirm, it was only the occaſion. Three Engliſh authors eſpecially have writ the hiſtory of this divorce, beſides many others of the ſame nation, or foreigners who have ſpoke of it in their works. Sanderus, or rather Sanders, author of the origin and progreſs of the Engliſh ſchiſm, makes it his buſineſs to defame Henry VIII. and ſhow that the reformation in England, which he terms ſchiſm, entirely ſprung from Henry's paſſion for Anne Bullen. He fancied by that to give a mortal wound to the reformation, and cauſe the world to think, that a ſuperſtructure raiſed on ſuch a foundation, could not be the work of God. The lord Herbert in his hiſtory of Henry VIII. contents himſelf with a bare recital of the events of this reign, whereof the divorce is one of the principal, without many reaſonings, leaving his readers to make inferences from the facts he relates.

Reaſons why this divorce made ſo much noiſe.

Remarks on Sanders, Herbert, and Burnet.

lates. Doctor Burnet intending to write the hiſtory of the reformation of England, made it his chief aim, in ſpeaking of Henry's divorce, to ſhow, that though it occaſioned the reformation, it was only by accident. For this reaſon he has endeavoured to refute the palpable falſehoods aſſerted by Sanders in his hiſtory. He has ſucceeded ſo well, that no ſincere man can for the future acknowledge Sanders for a writer worthy of credit. 1527.

The ſequel of my hiſtory obliges me to ſpeak of this famous divorce. I ſhould be inclined to refer the reader to the forementioned excellent hiſtory of the reformation of England, known to all the world, and to which it is difficult to make any additions, but it would not be reaſonable to oblige the readers to remember what they have read in that hiſtory, or to peruſe it again. Wherefore I ſhall chooſe, in purſuing the thread of my hiſtory, to relate this event, which is as the hinge whereon do turn numberleſs other things, which that illuſtrious author had occaſion only to mention, but which I muſt more fully explain, becauſe our ends are different. His aim in ſpeaking of Henry VIII's affairs with the pope, the emperor, and the king of France, was to illuſtrate the hiſtory of the reformation, and mine is, not to meddle with the affairs of religion any farther than they relate to the other events of this reign.

Henry had been married eighteen years to Catherine of Arragon, and by her had three children, whereof one was living, when he formed the deſign to put her away. He alledged, as the principal reaſon, his ſcruples for marrying his brother's widow. But, as it is pretended, theſe ſcruples troubled him not till he was in love with Anne Bullen, one of the queen's maids of honour, it is inferred, that his doubts concerning the validity of his marriage, ſprung from this new paſſion, and without that, would never have exiſted [c]. Accordingly, ſome labour to ſhow his divorce had no other foundation than his love for that lady. Others again endeavour to prove, that his love and his ſcruples were independent of each other. For my part, I ſhould think it needleſs to accuſe or juſtify Henry, with regard to the concerns of religion, if there was not ſome neceſſity to illuſtrate this matter with reſpect to the hiſtory. By illuſtrating, I mean, ſhewing

Henry reſolves to divorce queen Catherine. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert. Burnet.

It is not poſſible to know whether Henry's love was the cauſe of the divorce.

[c] It was at firſt reported, that king Henry was to marry Margaret, ducheſs dowager of Alençon, and that Thomas Bullen, viſcount Rochford, had brought over her picture with him, when he returned from his embaſſy to France. Hollingſhead, p. 897. Pol. Virg. l. 27.

the

1527. the impoſſibility of giving a certain judgment about it. But before all things, it is neceſſary to deſcribe the perſon, who, as it is pretended, was the prime cauſe of the king's divorce, and of all the conſequences thereof.

An account of Anne Bullen. Introd. to Ann. of Eliz. Burnet. Ref. T. I. p. 43. Herbert.

Anne Bullen [d] was of a good, though not a noble family. Sir Thomas Bullen, her father, married a ſiſter of the duke of Norfolk [e], and by her had Anne, born according to Camden in 1507, about two years before Henry VIII's acceſſion to the throne. Thomas Bullen, her father, was twice ambaſſador to France, firſt in 1515, and again in 1527. He was made viſcount Rochford in 1525, and afterwards earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond [f]. Anne his daughter being but ſeven years old, was carried into France in 1514, when Mary the king's ſiſter went and conſummated her marriage at Abbeville, with Lewis XII. That queen being re-married ſhortly after to the duke of Suffolk, and returning into England, Anne Bullen was left in France. It is pretended, ſhe then entered into the ſervice of Francis I's queen, though ſhe was but eight years of age, but it is not ſaid in what quality. It is certain, a girl of her age was not capable of doing much ſervice. So, it may be preſumed her beauty, genteelneſs, or the livelineſs of her wit, made queen Claude deſirous to keep her about her. Camden affirms, ſhe retained her in her ſervice to the day of her death, which happened in July 1524, and ſays not that Anne ever took a journey into England all that time. But du Tillet, and du Pleix, French authors, pretend, ſhe came over in 1522. The lord Herbert ſays the ſame thing, but, without citing any particular author, contents himſelf with ſaying, it appears in hiſtory. Camden affirms, Anne remained in France, not only till queen Claude's death, but that, after ſhe had loſt her miſtreſs, ſhe was taken into ſervice by the ducheſs of Alençon, Francis's ſiſter. However, he does not ſay when ſhe quitted it. Others affirm, ſir Thomas Bullen brought his daughter to England when he returned from his embaſſy. His embaſſy of 1515, cannot here be meant, ſince it is unanimouſly agreed, that Anne was in queen Claude's ſervice after queen Mary's departure, and continued ſeveral years in the court of

Uncertainty about Anne Bullen's return to England. Burnet.

[d] Her true name was Anne Bolcyn, as it is always written in the publick acts. The Engliſh write Bolen, or Bullen, and the French Boulen. Rapin.

[e] Elizabeth Howard.

[f] His mother was Margaret, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Thomas Boteler, earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond. His father was ſir William, and his grandfather ſir Geoffrey Boleyn, or Bulleyn, lord mayor of London, in 1458, who married Anne, eldeſt daughter and co-heir of Thomas, lord Hoo and Haſtings. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 306. Camden.

France,

France. It muſt therefore be his embaſſy of 1527. But it is likely, Bullen was not ſent to France till September 1527, ſince his ſole commiſſion was to ſee the treaty of the 30th of April of the ſame year ſworn to, which Francis had not ratified ſooner than the 18th of Auguſt, as appears in the collection of the publick acts g. But as before his departure, the affair of the divorce was already commenced, it may be affirmed, the king's love for his daughter was later than his reſolution concerning the divorce; if it be true that Anne returned to England with her father, about the end of the year 1527. Indeed it may be objected, that two French authors aſſert, that Anne went over to England in 1522, and that it was then the king fell in love with her. But it may be replied firſt, that it is very ſtrange, theſe two hiſtorians, who wrote long after the fact, ſhould meet with memoirs of the journey of a maid of honour, and the more as they cite nothing to ſupport their teſtimony. Secondly, ſuppoſing it were ſo, they do not ſay Anne ſtayed in England. Conſequently they deſtroy not Camden's teſtimony, who affirms, Anne ſerved queen Claude till 1524, and afterwards the dutcheſs of Alençon. But if it be true, that Anne took a journey into England in 1522, and the king then fell in love with her, it cannot be ſuppoſed ſhe returned to France, becauſe the rupture between the two crowns happening that year, it is not likely that in time of war, an Engliſh woman ſhould go and ſerve a queen of France. Beſides, if the king was then in love, would he have ſuffered Anne to depart the kingdom? Camden therefore, or the two French authors muſt have been miſtaken. This is a difficulty not to be eaſily ſolved. 1527. Act. Pub. XVI. p. 218.

But there is a fact which paſſes for certain, namely, that Anne Bullen being twenty years old, was taken into queen Catherine's ſervice as maid of honour. Now this muſt have been in 1527, ſince ſhe was born in 1507. Accordingly, this is the time to which the beginning of the king's love may moſt properly be fixed. But ſtill this is only a conjecture, which, were it well grounded, would be a ſufficient proof that the king's divorce was not an effect of his paſſion, ſince it was reſolved before the end of the year 1526. My aim in this inquiry is to ſhow, that the time of Anne Bullen's return into England is very uncertain, and the beginning of the king's affection no leſs ſo. How then can it be ſo boldly af- Camden. Burnet.

g Sir Thomas Bulleyn was accompanied to Paris by ſir Anthony Brown. Hall, fol. 157.

firmed,

1527. firmed, as it is by ſome, that love for Anne Bullen inſpired the king with the thoughts of annulling his marriage with Catherine? we muſt ſee now whether it be eaſier to diſcover the time when Henry reſolved to ſue for his divorce.

At what time Henry reſolved to ſue for his divorce. Burnet. Ref. T. I. p. 36. Speed. p. 762.

When Henry VII. concluded his ſon's marriage with Catherine, prince Arthur's widow, archbiſhop Warham told him plainly, it was contrary to the law of God, which the pope could not diſpenſe with. The king without doubt was touched with this remonſtrance. The very day the prince his ſon entered into his fourteenth year, he cauſed him to make againſt his marriage, a ſecret proteſtation, though before truſty witneſſes, declaring, he was conſtrained to give his conſent. After that, the king on his death bed ſtrictly charged the prince not to conſummate his marriage with Catherine. Notwithſtanding all this, Henry VIII. being come to the crown, eſpouſed the princeſs contrary to Warham's opinion, to which he preferred that of the biſhop of Wincheſter. He had by her three children [h], two ſons and a daughter, of whom the ſons died ſoon after their birth. He afterwards affirmed, that he conſidered the untimely death of his two ſons, as God's curſe on his marriage, eſpecially, when he ſaw the queen had done breeding. It happened afterwards that Charles V. who was affianced to the princeſs Mary, refuſed to marry her, upon the council of Spain's queſtioning the princeſs's legitimacy. After that, when a marriage was treating between Mary and king Francis, or the duke of Orleans, the biſhop of Tarbe the French ambaſſador, made the ſame objection, maintaining, that the princeſs could not be deemed born in wedlock, notwithſtanding Julius II's diſpenſation.

Hall. fol. 155. Burnet.

All theſe things were more than ſufficient to raiſe ſcruples in the king's mind concerning his marriage. But though in an aſſembly of lords which he afterwards called, to inform them of his reaſons for a divorce, he affirmed, the biſhop of Tarbe's objection inſpired him with the firſt thoughts of inquiring into the matter, it appears however, that his ſcruples began ſooner. For in a letter [i] afterwards to Grynæus, he told him, he had abſtained from the queen ever ſince the year 1524.

But ſuppoſing it could be diſcovered at what time Henry begun, either by himſelf, or by the ſuggeſtion of others, to be troubled with theſe ſcruples, it would ſignify nothing with

[h] She had beſides, ſeveral miſcarriages. Burnet, tom. I. p. 36.

[i] Dated September 10, 1531. Idem. p. 58.

reſpect

reſpect to his reſolution concerning the divorce, which in all appearance was taken much later. Polydore Virgil ſays, Longland, biſhop of Lincoln, the king's confeſſor, laboured to perſuade him of the neceſſity of the divorce by cardinal Wolſey's order, but mentions not the time. All the hiſtorians affirm, the king had recourſe himſelf to Thomas Aquinas's works to clear his doubts, and cauſed the biſhops to be conſulted upon that ſubject. But none of them ſay at what time this was done. It is well known ſecretary Knight was diſpatched to Rome about this affair in July 1527, but then the rumour of the king's meditating a divorce had already reached the court of Spain, as appears in the cardinal's letter to the king from Abbeville [k]. It is alſo very probable, that before he engaged in this affair, Henry had conſidered of it ſome time before. It is ſcarce to be ſuppoſed a reſolution of this nature can be taken lightly, or when taken, immediately executed, without thoroughly weighing the difficulties, or waiting a favourable juncture. Henry ſaid himſelf that the biſhop of Tarbe raiſed in him the thought of annulling his marriage. But if it be true, as ſome affirm, that the biſhop ſpoke only as directed by cardinal Wolſey, it may be preſumed, the project of the divorce was formed ſome time before, and this ambaſſador made to ſpeak only to have an excuſe to commence the affair. This is what ſeems to me extremely probable. Indeed it is not likely the ambaſſador, after thus queſtioning Mary's legitimacy, would have concluded the marriage of the king his maſter, or of the duke of Orleans, with that princeſs, had he not acted in concert with the court of England. Theſe then are my thoughts, which I ſubmit to the reader's judgment.

1527. Burnet. Burnet. Herbert.

Ever ſince Francis was freed from his captivity, he had never ceaſed to preſs Henry to join with him in an offenſive league againſt the emperor. But Henry had conſtantly excuſed himſelf, without even ſuffering him to entertain the leaſt hopes in that reſpect. However, lord Herbert ſays, that about the end of the year 1526, Henry of his own accord ſent an ambaſſador to France to propoſe the league, ſo eagerly deſired by Francis, and to offer him his daughter Mary in marriage. This proceeding gives occaſion to believe, he had now reſolved upon the divorce, and foreſeeing how much the emperor would oppoſe it, intended ſo to embarraſs him as to oblige him to court his friendſhip. Upon this ſuppoſition it may naturally be conjectured, that he pro-

Conjecture upon this ſubject.

k Dated Auguſt 1, 1527. See Herbert, p. 84.

1527. posed the marriage of his daughter with the king of France, only to convince the emperor, that he really designed to be ſtrictly united with France. But at the ſame time it is very likely, he informed Francis of the obſtacle which would occur in the execution of this pretended project, namely, the divorce of the princeſs's mother, which he was meditating. This conjecture is confirmed by the coldneſs wherewith theſe two monarchs treated of the marriage. In the firſt place, Henry left it to the king of France's choice, to have Mary himſelf, or to leave her to his ſecond ſon, as if this alternative were the ſame thing. In the next place, when Francis declared he would leave Mary to the duke of Orleans, the treating more fully concerning the marriage was deferred to another time. In the third place, in the treaty Francis and the cardinal concluded at Abbeville, they took care to inſert this clauſe; "that though the marriage ſhould "not be effected, the treaty however ſhould ſubſiſt." In fine, though Knight was at Rome, or on his way thither, when the treaty of Abbeville was concluded, it does not appear Francis ever complained to Henry, that he had offered him a princeſs whom he was labouring to baſtardize by proſecuting his divorce with the queen her mother. On the contrary, he aſſiſted him to the utmoſt of his power to obtain his deſires. But he muſt have looked upon the offer as an affront, had they not underſtood one another. If this conjecture has any foundation, it may be inferred, that the reſolution concerning the divorce was taken at leaſt about the end of the year 1526, though the execution was deferred till the middle of the next year. But in that caſe, it would therefore be true, that the king had reſolved upon the divorce before his paſſion for Anne Bullen, who, in all appearance, returned not into England ſooner than October 1527.

From what has been ſaid it may be gathered, that to affirm with any probability, that Henry's paſſion for Anne Bullen was the cauſe of his divorce with Catherine, theſe queries muſt be decided in favour of that opinion. At what time did Anne Bullen return into England? when did the king's love for her firſt begin? when was it that he came to a reſolution concerning his divorce? but upon all theſe queſtions, conjectures only, as I have obſerved, can properly be formed. Thus much is certain, that between the reſolution about the divorce, and the beginning of the king's love, there was no great diſtance of time. Here we muſt ſtop. But it is going too far, to ground upon this nearneſs, as a certain fact, that

Henry

Henry undertook the profecution of his divorce with Cathe- 1527
rine, on purpoſe to marry Anne Bullen. I ſay, moreover, that though there was no difficulty about the times, and they exactly correſponded, yet as to what paſſed in the king's breaſt, it would be only conjecture.

I have enlarged a little on this point, becauſe the illuſtrious author of the hiſtory of the reformation ſeems to leave it in the dark. Beſides, I thought it requiſite to curb the over-confident, by informing the readers of what is true, and what doubtful in the matter. We ſee it in many hiſtories, and hear it every day poſitively affirmed, as if there was no difficulty, that Henry's love for Anne Bullen was the ſole cauſe of his divorce with Catherine of Arragon, though, as I have ſhown, it can only be ſaid by conjecture, and the conjecture itſelf does not countenance that notion. Not that Henry VIII. is to be conſidered as a prince incapable of being miſled by his paſſion, even to the ſacrificing Catherine of Arragon to Anne Bullen. Why ſhould he have been more ſcrupulous with reſpect to Catherine, than he was with regard to Anne herſelf, whom he made no difficulty to ſacrifice to a third wife, as will hereafter be ſeen. He was a prince of an impetuous temper, who could bear no oppoſition to his will. The flatteries of his ſubjects, and the extravagant praiſes continually beſtowed on him by the ſovereigns who ſtood in need of him, had poſſeſſed him with ſuch a conceit of his own merit, that he imagined his actions ought to have been the ſtandard of good ſenſe, reaſon, and juſtice. When therefore it is ſaid, his love for Anne Bullen cauſed him eagerly to puſh the affair of his divorce, of which otherwiſe the difficulties would perhaps have diſcouraged him, nothing is affirmed repugnant to his character. Only care muſt be taken, not to aſſert for an undoubted truth, what is but a bare conjecture.

However this be, without dwelling longer upon the king's ſecret motives, and endeavouring to diſcover his thoughts, which lie hid from human eyes, let us content ourſelves with what he publiſhed himſelf. In the firſt place, he ſaid, he was troubled in conſcience for his marriage with Catherine, and indeed he had but too much reaſon. The wonder is, that he had not theſe ſcruples more early. He had married his brother's widow, and found it forbidden by the law of Moſes. It is true, he had the pope's diſpenſation. But he could not be ignorant that many learned divines were of opinion, that the pope could not diſpenſe with the laws of God. This was ſufficient to give him very juſt ſcruples. As ſoon

Motives of the divorce alledged by Henry. Burnet.

1527. soon as theſe doubts had poſſeſſed him, he was willing to clear them, and found in Thomas Aquinas what he had perhaps inattentively read many times: firſt, that the levitical laws are moral and eternal: ſecondly, that the pope cannot diſpenſe with the laws of God, becauſe to diſpenſe with a law, one muſt be ſuperior [or equal] to the law-giver. This deciſion of a divine, for whom he had a great eſteem, confirming his ſcruples, he deſired archbiſhop Warham, who had formerly declared againſt the marriage, to conſult the biſhops of England upon the occaſion. Some affirm, that Longland his confeſſor cheriſhed his doubts, by the private orders of cardinal Wolſey, which is not improbable. The queen was aunt of the emperor, with whom Wolſey had reaſon to be diſpleaſed. Beſides, the favourite loved not the queen herſelf, becauſe ſhe could not help ſhewing how much ſhe was offended, that a biſhop, a cardinal, a legate of the holy ſee, ſhould lead ſo ſcandalous a life. However this be, ſoon after the archbiſhop preſented to the king a writing, under the hands and ſeals of all the biſhops, wherein they condemned his marriage as contrary to common decency, and the law of God. Only Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, refuſing to ſet his hand, it is ſaid the archbiſhop made another write his name unknown to him [1]. But the biſhops were not the only perſons of this opinion. Since Luther's works began to appear, many people in England were put out of their former high conceit of the papal power. As therefore the validity of the king's marriage was wholly founded on Julius II's diſpenſation, it was publickly diſputed whether the diſpenſation could authorize a marriage ſo notoriouſly repugnant to the law of God: nay, many who were otherwiſe ſtrongly attached to the court of Rome, could not reliſh the doctrine of the pope's diſpenſing with the divine laws. All theſe things conſpired either to breed or confirm the king's ſcruples.

But it was not only ſcruples of conſcience that Henry alledged to juſtify his deſign. He pretended, that though he were regardleſs of his ſalvation, or able to overcome his ſcruples, the good of his people required the prevention of an inconvenience which was eaſily to be foreſeen. He had but one daughter, and very likely ſhould have no more children, if his marriage were not annulled. If therefore, after his deceaſe, the validity of his marriage with Catherine ſhould

He labours to inform himſelf about his doubts. Burnet.

Wolſey helps to cheriſh his ſcruples. Pol. Virg. Burnet. Hall. Stow.

The biſhops condemn his marriage with Catherine. Cavendiſh. Burnet.

The people are of the ſame mind. Herbert.

Reaſons of ſtate alledged by the king. Burnet.

[1] This point is not very certain. See Burnet's Ref. tom. III. p. 38. It was ſigned on July 1, by Warham, Tunſtal, Fiſher, and the biſhops of Carliſle, Ely, St. Aſaph, Lincoln, and Bath.

come

come to be queſtioned, he foreſaw England would again be involved, on account of the ſucceſſion, in troubles from whence it was but juſt freed. Mary his daughter, the king of Scotland his nephew, the queen dowager of France, could equally pretend to the crown upon very plauſible reaſons. Mary could alledge the pope's diſpenſation againſt ſuch as ſhould charge her with her being born of an unlawful marriage. The king of Scotland, who was next heir after her, could maintain, the diſpenſation was not valid. The queen dowager the king's ſiſter could alledge, that the firſt was illegitimate, and the ſecond, a foreigner. Theſe ſeveral claims might eaſily kindle a civil war in England, where it was but too viſible that each would find adherents, not to mention the foreign ſuccours they might be ſupported with. Henry therefore imagined there was but one way to prevent this danger, namely, by annulling his marriage and taking another wife, by whom with God's bleſſing he might have ſons. He to whom the ſecrets of all hearts are open, can only know for certain, whether this thought was inſtilled into him by the danger he foreſaw, by his averſion to the queen, or by his love for Anne Bullen. But however this may be, independently of the ſeveral motives aſcribed to him, it is certain, there was great danger of the kingdom's being one day expoſed to a civil war, if the king remained till death in his preſent ſtate, and he ſaw no other way to come out of it than by annulling his marriage. It is true, he foreſaw great oppoſition from the emperor the queen's nephew, who was then very powerful. But on the other hand, as that monarch himſelf ſhown on this occaſion ſcruples, which hindered him from eſpouſing Mary, Henry hoped, he would not obſtinately maintain what he had himſelf queſtioned. Beſides, the juncture ſeemed very favourable for his purpoſe. The pope, who was priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo, ſeemed to have no other reſource to be reſtored to his former ſtate, than the aſſiſtance of France and England, and Henry did not queſtion that Francis, who ſtood in need of him, would promote his proceedings to the utmoſt of his power. As to the reſt, he never doubted the pope's authority, reckoning that Clement VII. could revoke a diſpenſation granted by Julius II. Nay, cardinal Wolſey warranted the ſucceſs of the affair, whether he had already gained the pope, or imagined that Clement in his preſent circumſtances could deny the king nothing. So, it was reſolved the ſuit ſhould be moved in the court of Rome, to cauſe the marriage to be annulled.

1527.

Reaſons putting him in hopes of ſucceeding. Burnet.

1527. The beſt reaſon that could be alledged was, That Julius's diſpenſation was contrary to the divine law, and that alone ought to have been ſufficient. But it would have been imprudent to begin with diſputing the prerogative of the Roman pontiffs, when a favour was to be aſked of the court of Rome. Recourſe therefore was to be had to another expedient, which was to find nullities in Julius's bull, and to ſhow it was procured by falſe ſurmiſes and untrue ſuggeſtions, which rendered the bull revocable even according to the rules of the court of the Rota [m]. And this was not very difficult. The bull was grounded upon Henry's and Catharine's requeſt, ſetting forth that their marriage was neceſſary to preſerve peace between England and Spain. And here were found two reaſons for revoking the bull. The firſt, that Henry being then but twelve years old could not be deemed to have any political views, whence it was inferred that the requeſt was not his own. The ſecond, that the ſuggeſtion was falſe, ſince as matters then ſtood between Spain and England, the marriage was not at all neceſſary for the preſervation of peace between the two crowns, and conſequently Julius II. had been ſurprized. Another nullity was found, As the bull having no other foundation than the maintenance of peace and union between Henry VII. and the king and queen of Spain, this reaſon ceaſed when the marriage was conſummated, ſince Henry VII. and Iſabella were now dead. In fine, it was alledged, that Henry VIII. having proteſted againſt his marriage before conſummation, thereby renounced the liberty granted him by the bull, and therefore another bull was neceſſary to render the marriage valid. But all theſe reaſons were produced only to afford the pope a pretence to revoke Julius's diſpenſation. For, if the repugnancy of the diſpenſation to the divine law was not the real foundation of ſuing for the divorce, nothing would have been more eaſy for the pope, than to quiet the king's conſcience, by confirming whatever had been done by a new bull.

Reaſons to be laid before the pope. Burnet. Nullities in Julius's bull.

Mean while, as the pope's compliance was not doubted in his preſent circumſtances, the king ſent doctor Knight ſecretary of ſtate to Rome, to deſire him to ſign four inſtruments drawn in England. The firſt was a commiſſion to cardinal Wolſey, to try and decide the affair with ſome Engliſh biſhops. The ſecond was a bull decretal, declaring the king's marriage with Catherine void, becauſe Arthur's with

Knight is ſent to Rome about the divorce. Herbert. Burnet.

m It is a maxim in law, that if the pope be ſurpriſed in any thing, and bulls be procured upon falſe ſuggeſtions and untrue ſurmiſes, they may be annulled afterwards. Burnet, tom. I. p. 40.

the ſame princeſs was conſummated. By the third, the pope granted the king a diſpenſation to marry another wife. By the fourth, he promiſed never to repeal any of the three foregoing acts. 1527.

Knight departed from England in July, about the time the cardinal began his journey to confer with the king of France [n], But as the pope was priſoner, and guarded by a Spaniſh captain, it was impoſſible for Knight to have an audience. He found means however to convey to him a memorial [o], containing the ſum of his commiſſion, to which the pope returned a favourable anſwer. He made believe he would grant whatever the king deſired, though the emperor had already required him by the general of the Franciſcans, not to do any thing in that affair, without communicating it to his miniſters. By the way, this ſhows, Henry had reſolved long before to ſue for his divorce, ſince the emperor had time to hear of it and ſend to the pope. As it was not practicable for Knight to treat with the pope in perſon, the matter was carried no farther at that time. At length, the news of the pope's going to be releaſed reaching England, cardinal Wolſey writ to ſir Gregory Caſſali [p] the king's ordinary ambaſſador at Rome, to order him to join with Knight and preſs the pope to grant the king's requeſt. This letter was worded in very ſtrong terms, and ſhowed the cardinal's deſire that the divorce ſhould be effected. It was dated the 5th of December 1527, the cardinal not yet knowing that the pope had made his eſcape the 9th of the ſame month [q].

He ſends a memorial to the pope. Burnet. Herbert.

Wolſey's letter to Caſſali. Burnet.

Clement VII. being retired to Orvieto, Knight went [r] and talked with him about the affair. The pope owned he had received his memorial, and promiſed again to do all that lay in his power for the king's ſatisfaction, but prayed him not to be too haſty. His circumſtances then were ſuch, that he did not yet know, whether he ſhould want the king of England, or whether the emperor would agree with him. Wherefore he deſired to gain time, in order to proceed as ſhould beſt ſuit with his intereſt. But for that reaſon and becauſe the king's orders were urgent and poſitive, Knight would not delay his negotiation. He earneſtly preſſed the pope, who pro-

Knight and Caſſali talk with the pope; Burnet. who tries to gain time.

[n] Knight had orders to adviſe with the cardinal by the way. Herbert, p. 99.

[o] By corrupting ſome of his guards. Burnet, tom. I. p. 47.

[p] The family of the Caſſali being three brothers, were entertained by the king as his agents in Italy, both at Rome, Venice, and other places. Burnet. tom. I. p. 45.

[q] The letter is dated the 5th of December, and not the 25th, as Rapin ſays by miſtake; the original is yet extant in the Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. IX. See Burnet's Collection, N. 3d. B. II. vol. I.

[r] About the end of December. Burnet, tom. I. p. 47.

1527. miſed at laſt to ſign the inſtruments, on condition no uſe ſhould be made of them, till the Germans and Spaniards were departed out of Italy. Knight willingly accepted of the condition, imagining, when the inſtruments ready ſigned were in the king's hands, he would uſe them when he pleaſed. But the pope was not eaſily to be deceived. Whilſt he feigned to have no other view than to ſatisfy the king, he was only contriving to gain time, being ready to ſacrifice him if he found it for his advantage. He uſed therefore all his art to prolong the affair by means unſuſpected by the king. To that end, he told Knight that before the inſtruments were executed, he ſhould be glad to talk with the cardinal Sanctorum quatuor.

He promiſes to do what the king deſires.

But he finds means to delay the performance of his promiſes. Herbert. Burnet.

The pope having thus engaged himſelf, Knight and Caſſali fancied they had no more to do than to prepoſſeſs in the king's favour the cardinal, whom the pope intended to conſult. They were at no great pains to ſucceed, ſince, beſides ten thouſand ducats which they had in hand to reward ſuch as ſhould do them ſervice, they were empowered to make what farther promiſes, they ſhould think fit in the king's name. The cardinal examining the inſtruments ſent from England, found very great faults particularly in the legate's commiſſion, and took upon him to draw one more perfect. Which done, Knight and Caſſali waited on the pope and preſſed him to ſign. He did not abſolutely refuſe, but ſaid, The emperor having required him not to act in that buſineſs without imparting it to him, it was neceſſary to find ſome expedient to excuſe ſo haſty a proceeding: That therefore it would be proper to cauſe Lautrec to march towards Orvieto and preſs him in his maſter's name to give the king of England ſatisfaction. Lautrec being then at Bologna, to get him to march to Orvieto, there would have been occaſion for orders from the court of France, which would have taken up much time. Wherefore Henry's agents rejected the expedient, their aim being to finiſh the affair before the emperor had notice thereof. At laſt the pope, finding himſelf extremely preſſed, delivered to them the commiſſion for cardinal Wolſey with the bull of diſpenſation for the king[s], and promiſed to ſend into England the bull decretal to null the marriage[t]. But here the pope uſed an artifice, which the

Burnet, p. 48

[s] But he begged with many ſighs and tears, that the king would not precipitate things, or expoſe him to be undone, by beginning any proceſs upon the bull. Burnet, tom. I. p. 48.

[t] The cardinal Sanctorum quatuor got of the Engliſh ambaſſadors four thouſand crowns for a reward for his good ſervice. Ibid.

agents perhaps did not ſufficiently conſider. He dated theſe two inſtruments from the time he was priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo. So, when the king had them in his power, he did not think fit to make uſe of them, leſt it ſhould be objected that the pope had granted them only with deſign to obtain his liberty by the aſſiſtance he expected from England. Beſides, all acts executed by a priſoner may be deemed void, whereof the treaty of Madrid was a late inſtance. Thus, how urgent ſoever the king was to end the affair, he found at the cloſe of the year 1527, that he had yet made no progreſs. 1527. The pope's artifice to gain time. Burnet.

Clement VII. had time during his captivity ſeriouſly to reflect upon his paſt conduct, which had been very unſucceſsful, becauſe he had ſwerved from the maxims of his moſt able predeceſſors. He had prepoſterouſly engaged in a war with the emperor, whereas Alexander VI. Julius II. and Leo X. after ſowing diſſention among the princes, left them for the moſt part to decide their quarrels, and then ſided with the ſtrongeſt, or if they engaged in a war, it was commonly at other people's expence. But Clement VII. after draining his treaſure in maintaining an army, had loſt Florence, Parma, Reggio, Rome itſelf, with the beſt part of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and ſeen himſelf captive and ranſomed. This was ſufficient to make him wiſer and take another courſe. As ſoon as the ambaſſadors of France, England, and Venice, ſaw him ſecure at Orvieto from the outrages of the imperialiſts, they preſſed him to declare againſt the emperor. They thought if he could not aſſiſt the league with temporal arms, he might at leaſt by means of his ſpiritual embroil the common enemy, whom he ſeemed to have no reaſon to regard. But he himſelf conſidered the affair in a different light. Having learned by ſad experience, that he had been the dupe of his allies, he reſolved to be no longer guided by their intereſted counſels. So, without diſcovering his thoughts, he only told them, that his joining in the league would only draw upon him freſh miſchiefs, without procuring them any advantage: that beſides, it was neceſſary for the benefit of Chriſtendom, there ſhould be a mediator for procuring peace, and that was all he could do in the ſtate he was reduced to. Nevertheleſs, he intimated to them that he might take other meaſures, if Lautrec approached to oblige the emperor's troops to abandon Rome. This indeed was his ſole aim, to free the eccleſiaſtical ſtate from that foreign army, in order to be able to act more agreeably to his intereſt. 1528. The pope reſolves to keep fair with the emperor. Guicciard. He refuſes to join in the league.

1528. At laſt, Lautrec departing from Bologna the 9th of January, took the road to Naples, having firſt ſent the prince of Vaudemont and la Trimouille to the pope to preſs him to declare. But Clement found means to excuſe himſelf without however a poſitive denial. He ſaw, as I may ſay, all Europe in motion, and was willing to wait the ſucceſs of the war, in order to take juſter meaſures than before. So, it was not poſſible by any means to bring him to a declaration. He only made believe, that if Francis and Henry would cauſe Ravenna and Cervia to be reſtored to him, he would join with them. This was an advantage he would willingly have reaped from their inſtances, without being debarred from finding ſome other evaſion, to prevent his declaring after the recovery of theſe two places. Mean while, he was thinking how to treat ſecretly with the emperor, from whom he had greater expectations than from his allies. Indeed, his chief aim being to reſtore the houſe of the Medici to the government of Florence, he perceived that he could not accompliſh it without the emperor's help, ſince the allies were concerned to ſupport the Florentines, who were become parties in the league. But it would have been imprudent in him to declare for the emperor, when that monarch was weak in Italy, and ſo powerful an army was marching to invade the kingdom of Naples. It was therefore neceſſary for him to wait, till the event of the war enabled him to reſolve with ſafety. This was the true reaſon which obliged him to uſe many artifices, to try to diſpleaſe neither the emperor, nor the king of France, nor the king of England. If, inſtead of unadviſedly engaging in a war, he had before taken this courſe, he might have ſold his favours at any rate. At leaſt, he would not have had the mortification to be a captive in Rome itſelf.

Lautrec marches towards Naples. Guicciard. Hall.

Reaſons why the pope would not act againſt the emperor.

But though the pope refuſed to declare, the kings of France and England were not the leſs eager in the purſuit of their projects. On the 21ſt of January 1528, their ambaſſadors in Spain demanded the emperor's leave to retire, and the next day Clarenceux and Guienne, heralds, one of England, the other of France, proclaimed war againſt him. This was done with great ſolemnity, the emperor being ſeated on his throne, and attended by all his grandees. He anſwered each in particular, but in a very different manner. Speaking to the Engliſh herald, he made uſe of civil and honourable terms, denoting, he was not all pleaſed with having the king his maſter for an enemy. He complained however that Henry had uſed him ill, in deſigning to give him in marriage a princeſs whom he propoſed to baſtardiſe, ſince

Francis and Henry proclaim war againſt the emperor. Hall. Guicciard. Hollingſh. Herbert. P. Daniel.

The emperor anſwers. Hollingſh.

since he was suing to be divorced from the queen her mother. But he threw all the blame on the boundless ambition of cardinal Wolsey. He said, the cardinal would have obliged him to employ his arms in Italy to make him pope, and thought himself injured, because he would not disturb the peace of Christendom for his sake. As for the sums, of which Henry demanded payment, he denied, he had ever refused to discharge the debt. But added, that the English ambassadors not having brought with them the original obligations, nor even a power to give him a discharge, Henry was in the wrong to complain. As to the indemnity he demanded, he knew the king of France had taken it upon him in the treaty of Madrid. As for the penalty of five hundred thousand crowns, in case he refused to marry the princess Mary, he replied, it was not his fault: that he had demanded her of the king her father by ambassadors sent on purpose, and that Henry had refused to send her: that besides, before that time Henry had offered her to the king of Scotland: in short, that he could not lawfully claim that sum, before he had proved that he had himself performed all the articles of the treaty of Windsor. Such was the emperor's answer to the declaration of war made by Henry's herald. In his answer to the French herald, he spoke not with so much regard and caution. He plainly accused Francis of breach of faith, and charged the herald to put him in mind of the message he sent him by the archbishop of Bourdeaux his ambassador, "That it would be better for them to decide their quarrel "by single combat," but that he had not received any answer. Probably, the ambassador had not thought fit to deliver that message to the king, since he seemed extremely surprised when he heard it from the herald's mouth. In a few days, he sent the same herald to the emperor, with a challenge under his own hand, wherein he gave him the lie in form, and required him to assure him the field to fight hand to hand. The challenge was dated March 28. 1528. The emperor sent his answer by one of his heralds, who was charged to tell him by word of mouth very disagreeable things. The herald coming to Paris could not obtain leave without great difficulty, to put on [u] his coat of arms when he entered the city. The king expected him on his throne, surrounded with a great number of princes and lords. But he had scarce begun to speak, before the king interrupted

1528.

P. Daniel. Hall.

Hollingsh. Herbert.

P. Daniel. Herbert. Hollingsh.

Herbert.

[u] Or rather to wear it. He put it on as soon as he came into the French territories, Herbert, p. 94.

1528. him, and demanded whether he had brought the ſecurity of the field, and that all the reſt was to no purpoſe. Thus ended the affair, which had now made great noiſe. The two monarchs gave publick marks of their courage by their mutual challenges, and yet there was no great labour required to prevent them from deciding their quarrel in a way ſo uncommon to great princes.

Bold act of Wolſey, which drew on him the king's anger. Herbert. Hall.

Hugo de Mendoſa the emperor's ambaſſador at London, hearing what had paſſed in Spain, would have retired. But cardinal Wolſey [w] ſent him word that Clarenceux had exceeded his inſtructions in proclaiming war againſt the emperor, and ſhould be puniſhed at his return. Whereupon the ambaſſador ſent an expreſs to inform the emperor of what the cardinal had ſaid. Clarenceux, who was ſtill in Spain, ſurpriſed that he ſhould be made accountable for what he had expreſs orders, demanded and obtained an authentick copy of the ambaſſador's letter [x]. Upon his arrival in England, he waited on the king [y], before he ſpoke with the cardinal, and ſhowed him the letter, with three others, writ with the cardinal's own hand, whereby he gave him expreſs orders to declare war againſt the emperor. Henry, aſtoniſhed at his miniſter's preſumption, fell into a great paſſion with him before the whole court. Nay, he would perhaps have entirely diſgraced him, had he not been with-held by the conſideration of the affair of the divorce, wherein he could not proceed without him. He made him however undergo a terrible mortification, by cauſing the affair to be examined in the council. This inquiry would doubtleſs have been fatal to the miniſter, if the king had been pleaſed to purſue it, but he was contented with the cardinal's proteſtation, that he thought to have acted agreeably to his majeſty's intentions.

The cardinal aſſembles the great men, and tries to juſtify the war againſt the emperor. Hall.

The emperor's anſwer to Clarenceux being made publick in England, by the Spaniſh ambaſſador's means, the cardinal was afraid it would cauſe ill effects among the people, conſidering the weakneſs of the motives alledged by the king for undertaking the war. For that reaſon he aſſembled in the Star Chamber [z] all the great lords then at court [a], to whom he made a ſpeech, aggravating as much as poſſible the injuries, the king had received from the emperor,

w Ordered him to be taken into cuſtody, &c. Hall, fol. 171.

x As the courier went through Bayonne, the letter was opened, and copied by the governour of that place, who ſhewed it to Clarenceux. Hall, fol. 173. Herbert, p. 90.

y At Hampton Court. Ibid.

z February 13. Hall, fol. 171.

a All juſtices of the peace and other honeſt perſonages. Ibid.

and

and his reaſons to demand ſatisfaction by arms. But let him ſay what he would, though every one outwardly applauded him, what the emperor ſaid to the herald, that the war was cauſed only by the cardinal's private diſcontent, made deeper impreſſion than all the arguments the miniſter could alledge [b]. The people openly exclaimed againſt a war which was going to ruin the kingdom, to gratify the favourite's paſſion. Nay, ſome went farther than murmurs. As the trade with the Low Countries was interrupted by the declaration of war, and the merchants would buy no more cloth which they could not vend, the clothiers roſe in arms [c]. Whereupon the cardinal ordered the merchants to buy the cloths as uſual, threatening in caſe of refuſal to buy them himſelf, and ſell them to the foreigners. But they made a jeſt of this threat, and continued obſtinate, reſolving not to render themſelves liable to inevitable loſſes for his ſake. An embaſſy from the governeſs of the Low Countries [d] to the king whilſt theſe things were in agitation, freed the cardinal from his embaraſſment. The ambaſſadors acquainting him, that if the king pleaſed to conſent to a truce with the Low Countries, for the mutual benefit of trade, the governeſs would readily agree to it; this overture being debated in council, it was reſolved, notwithſtanding the French ambaſſador's oppoſition, to agree to a truce for eight months, which was ſigned the 8th of June.

1528.

The people murmur. Hall.

Mutiny of the clothiers. Hall.

The cardinal threatens them in vain.

Embaſſy from the Low Countries. Hall. Herbert.

Truce between England and Flanders. Act Pub. XIV. p. 288.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, the affairs of Italy were in ſuch a ſituation as gave Francis room to expect Lautrec's expedition in the kingdom of Naples would be crowned with ſucceſs, though afterwards it ended very unfortunately for him. Lautrec going from Bologna the 9th of January, arrived the 10th of February on the borders of Naples, and marching into Abruzzo, became maſter of that province, and afterwards of part of Apulia. It was not without extreme difficulty, that the prince of Orange obliged the imperialiſts to quit Rome, where for ten months they had exerciſed all ſorts of rapine and violence. Though

Hall. Hollingſh. Iſſue of the war of Naples. Guicciard.

[b] Hall ſays, that after the concluſion of his ſpeech, ſome of the hearers knocked one another on the elbow, and ſaid ſoftly he lieth; others ſaid that evil will never ſaid well; others ſaid, that the French crowns made him ſpeak evil of the emperor; but they that knew all ſaid, it was a ſhame to lie in ſuch an audience. The common people were very ſorry that a war ſhould happen with the emperor, becauſe out of his dominions they had lately been ſupplied with corn, when it was ſo dear in England, that it was ſold for twenty ſix ſhillings and eight pence a quarter. Hall, fol. 166, 172.

[c] Eſpecially in Suffolk. Hall, fol. 173.

[d] On May 29. Hall, fol. 174.

the

1528. the imperial army went not from Rome till the 17th of February, they got before Lautrec, who had taken a longer way in order to procure money, which he wanted exceedingly, the king of France, according to cuſtom, not having ſent him what he had promiſed. The imperialiſts being poſted at Troya, he offered them battle, but as they thought proper to retire to Naples, purſued his march, and arrived in the beginning of May before that capital, which he beſieged in form according to his orders. Sixteen French gallies commanded by Andrea Doria, eight more under the conduct of Philippino Doria his nephew, with twenty two from Venice, were to block up Naples by ſea, whilſt Lautrec with thirty thouſand men, inveſted the city by land. But when he opened the ſiege he had only Philippino's eight gallies. Thoſe of Venice came very late, and Andrea Doria who was diſpleaſed with the king of France, and had thoughts of entering into the emperor's ſervice, detained the ſixteen gallies at Genoa, under divers pretences. Mean while, a ſea-fight between Philippino and the imperialiſts, wherein Moncada was ſlain, and the Marquiſs del Vaſto taken priſoner, made Lautrec hope he ſhould reduce Naples by famine, though himſelf wanted all things in his camp. His hopes were encreaſed by the arrival of the two and twenty Venetian gallies, which joined thoſe of Philippino. The buſineſs now was to ſee who could bear famine longeſt, the beſiegers or the beſieged, who were equally in want of proviſions. But the French had, beſides ſcarcity, a very great diſadvantage, as the plague made terrible ravage among them, and continually diminiſhed their number. At length, Andrea Doria having agreed with the emperor, recalled his nephew Philippino with his eight gallies. Shortly, after, the Venetian gallies being obliged to go upon the coaſt of Calabria to provide themſelves with biſkets, the beſieged took that opportunity to convey into the city abundance of proviſions, whilſt Lautrec remained in a very bad condition, without victuals or money, and with an army grievouſly afflicted with the plague. Moſt of his general officers were dead or ſick, and to compleat the misfortune, he was himſelf ſeized with the peſtilence, which carried him off the 16th of Auguſt [e]. The marquis of Saluzzo, who took upon him the command of the ruined army, reſolving at laſt to raiſe the,

Lautrec beſieges Naples. Guicciard.

The plague in the French army. Guicciard.

Lautrec's death. Guicciard.

The ſiege raiſed and army diſperſed.

[e] Of the plague died alſo ſir Robert Jerningham, gentleman of the bedchamber both to king Henry and Francis, who had the command of two hundred horſe in the army, paid by our king. John Carew, his lieutenant, had

the ſiege, with great difficulty retired to Averſa, where he was immediately beſieged, and in few days, forced to capitulate, ſurrendering himſelf with all the principal officers of his army, into the hands of the imperialiſts. Thus, the fine army Lautrec had led before Naples, was entirely diſperſed. Moreover, France had lately loſt Genoa, taken by Andrea Doria, in the emperor's name, after which, purſuant to his agreement with that monarch, he reſtored his country to liberty, and eſtabliſhed a government which ſtill ſubſiſts to this day. Thus the affairs of Italy, which in the beginning of the year had ſo promiſing an aſpect for Francis, were ſo entirely altered, that he had ſcarce any thing left in that country. 1528.

Doria reſtores Genoa to liberty. Hiſt. de Gen.

The knowledge of what paſſed in Italy this campaign, will be of no little ſervice to diſcover the motives of the pope's conduct in the affair of the divorce. Henry deemed the affair ended, when he heard the pope had left it to cardinal Wolſey's deciſion. But when, after many difficulties, he had obtained the commiſſion for the cardinal, with a bull decretal, declaring the marriage void, and a diſpenſation to marry again, he found however there was yet nothing done. The commiſſion was dated from the caſtle of St. Angelo, whilſt the pope was a priſoner, which rendered it entirely null, and conſequently there was a neceſſity of renewing it. The decretal had no clauſe to hinder the pope from revoking it if he pleaſed. In fine, the diſpenſation was only conditional, in caſe the king's marriage with Catherine ſhould be declared void. Beſides, there were certain reſtrictions inſerted, leaving the pope at liberty to repeal it. For inſtance, he granted the diſpenſation, "as "far as might be without offending God. Notwithſtanding any prohibitions of the divine law, or other conſtitutions and ordinances whatever to the contrary, as far "as the authority apoſtolical reached [f]." Henry was not a little concerned to ſee that he could not uſe theſe bulls, without being liable to be moleſted, Nevertheleſs, in the belief, that all this was owing to inadvertency, he ordered ſir Gregory Caſſali his ambaſſador at Rome, to demand bulls leſs liable to diſpute. Caſſali ſpoke of it frequently to the pope, but could obtain no poſitive anſwer. Only the

Continuation of the divorce. Burnet.

The pope's artifice to amuſe the King.

Herbert, under the year 1529.

Henry ſends to demand other bulls. Burnet.

had his company, but he died of the ſame diſeaſe. Herb. p. 98.—As the plague raged in Italy, ſo did the ſweating ſickneſs all this ſummer in England, whereof died ſir Francis Pointz, ſir William Compton, and William Carew, eſq; Hall, fol. 176.

[f] Lord Herbert gives not this bull as authentick, but as very probable. Rapin.

pope

1528. pope finding himſelf preſſed, told him as a ſecret, that he adviſed the king to proceed, and get his marriage annulled, by virtue of the commiſſion given the legate [g], but with as little noiſe as poſſible, and marry the woman deſired. He grounded this advice upon its being much eaſier to confirm a thing when done, than to permit him to do it. He charged Caſſali however, not to let the king know, this ſuggeſtion came from him. Henry looked upon this advice as a ſnare laid for him by the pope. He conſidered, it was not poſſible to have ſuch a cauſe tried without noiſe, ſince it was neceſſary the queen ſhould be heard, otherwiſe the ſentence would be evidently void. In the next place, had he done what he was adviſed to, he would have been entirely at the pope's mercy, who, according to the opinion of the canoniſts, might have refuſed to confirm the legate's ſentence, as well as the conſequent marriage. So, the affair being taken into conſideration, it was thought more proper to apply directly to the pope for new bulls. Purſuant to this reſolution, the king ſent [h] Stephen Gardiner, cardinal Wolſey's ſecretary, and Edward Fox [i], to manage the affair. Their inſtructions were to demand for the cardinal a new commiſſion, appointing him judge of the cauſe, with powers to null the king's marriage, if he thought proper, and yet to declare his daughter legitimate; to preſs the pope to give him a promiſe under his hand, not to revoke the legate's commiſſion; to demand a bull decretal to null the king's marriage, and a diſpenſation to eſpouſe another wife without any reſtriction. In ſhort, the envoys had orders to acquaint the pope, that the divorce was not adviſed by the cardinal, and to diſplay the extraordinary merit of the lady the king intended to eſpouſe. This was Anne Bullen, as may eaſily be gueſſed, ſince the king no longer concealed his love for her. It was very proper to tell the pope, that the cardinal was not author of the counſel which had induced the king to ſue for a divorce, ſince he was required for judge. And yet the letters he ſent by Gardiner and Fox, and which are in the hiſtory of the reformation, clearly ſhow he was infinitely deſirous the thing ſhould ſucceed. Finally, it appears that the king was ſtill willing to have ſome con-

Pope's advice to the king. Herbert. Burnet.

Gardiner and Fox ſent to Rome to haſten the bulls. Their inſtructions. Herbert. Burnet. Strype.

Vol. I. p. 52. Collect. p. 28, &c.

[g] Ut ſtatim committat cauſam, aliam uxorem ducat, item ſequatur, mittatur pro legato, &c. Burnet's Collect. T. I. p. 26.

[h] They were ſent February 10. Burnet, T. I. p. 52.

[i] Provoſt of King's college in Cambridge, and the king's almoner. Gardiner was looked upon as the ableſt canoniſt, and Fox as the beſt divine in England. Burnet, T. I. p. 52.

deſcenſion

deſcenſion for the queen and the emperor her nephew, ſince he required that the legate ſhould have powers to declare Mary legitimate. Perhaps too this was an effect of the love he had for her. 1528.

When Gardiner and Fox came to Orvieto [k]; Lautrec was marching to Naples. But his progreſs was yet ſo inconſiderable, that it was difficult to judge of the ſucceſs of his undertaking, eſpecially as the imperialiſts were now departed from Rome in order to oppoſe his paſſage. Nay, it was likely, there would be a battle, and as the event was doubtful, the pope took care not to incur the emperor's reſentment, in caſe his arms were victorious. So, to gain time, he ſent the king a letter in cypher, as if he meant to acquaint him with a ſecret, and yet it was not poſſible to diſcover his intention. The letter not being very welcome, the envoys had orders to inſiſt upon their demands. But, at that time the face of affairs was a little altered. Lautrec had now made conqueſts in the kingdom of Naples, and the prince of Orange, unable to ſtop his march, was retired to the metropolis, which probably, was going to be inveſted. It would therefore have been very imprudent to diſoblige Henry, when the king of France his ally was upon the point of becoming very powerful in Italy. So, Clement being greatly embarraſſed in ſo nice a juncture, had recourſe to his uſual artifices, to try to gain time. He feigned to deſire nothing ſo ardently as to ſatisfy Henry, though he was reſolved in his own mind to do nothing effectual in his favour. His aim was to become maſter of the affair of the divorce, and prolong it till the events of the war ſhould determine him to content either the emperor or the king. The intereſt of his houſe required that he ſhould manage the emperor, becauſe it was by his means that he hoped to reſtore the Medicis to Florence. That of his ſee was no leſs important. Henry demanded that he ſhould revoke a diſpenſation granted by a pope his predeceſſor, upon the ſuppoſition that this pope had not power to grant it, that is, properly ſpeaking, that he ſhould declare the Roman pontiffs had hitherto aſſumed a prerogative which belonged not to them. This was a very difficult ſtep to be taken, at a time when great part of Germany had thrown off the pope's dominion, and nothing was every where heard but complaints and murmurs againſt the exorbitant power they had uſurped. So, Clement's real deſign was to amuſe the king

The pope's artful management. Herbert. Guicciard.

His intereſt and projects.

[k] March 20. Strype's Mem. vol. I. p. 90.

with

1528. with hopes he would conſent to his divorce, till it was in his power to oppoſe it with ſafety. There is no occaſion to look for other myſteries in the pope's conduct, as will more plainly appear in the ſequel. As for the arguments and authorities alledged on both ſides, with reſpect to the main point in queſtion, from the holy ſcriptures, the fathers, and the canons, they were only ſo many amuſements which were extremely ſubſervient to the pope's deſigns, but made little or no impreſſion upon him.

The pope gives Wolſey a new commiſſion. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 237. Herbert. Burnet.

Clement VII. being in this diſpoſition, ſcrupled not outwardly to grant the king whatever he required. On the 13th of April 1528, he ſigned a bull, appointing cardinal Wolſey judge of the cauſe, jointly with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or any other Engliſh prelate he ſhould think fit to chuſe, and gave him as ample powers as the king deſired. But beſides the abovementioned inconveniences in the decretal and diſpenſation, the king's council found two in cardinal Wolſey's new commiſſion. The firſt was, that there was no clauſe to hinder the pope from revoking it. The ſecond, that to appoint for ſole judge of the cauſe, a cardinal devoted to the king, and actually his prime miniſter, would be a manifeſt nullity. Theſe conſiderations obliged the king to deſire the pope that he would join another legate with cardinal Wolſey, and poſitively promiſe not to revoke the commiſſion. As, when this was demanded, Lautrec was now before Naples, and it was not doubted, he would become maſter of the city, as well as of all the reſt of the kingdom, the pope granted whatever was deſired [l]. He appointed therefore by a bull dated at Orvieto the 6th of June, Thomas Wolſey cardinal of York, and Lorenzo Campegio cardinal biſhop of Saliſbury for his legates a latere, giving them the ſame powers he had granted to Wolſey alone, appointing them his vicegerents in the affair of the divorce, and committing to them his whole authority [m]. He gave likewiſe, the 13th of July, the promiſe under his hand deſired by the king. In a word, he delivered to Campegio a decretal, nulling the king's marriage, expreſſed in the very terms which had as it were been dictated to him. It ſeemed Henry could deſire nothing more. But all the artifices of the court of Rome were not yet known in England. The pope only intended to gain time, in or-

The king deſires the pope to join another legate with Wolſey.

Another commiſſion for Wolſey and Campegio. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 295, 296. Burnet.

The decretal committed to Campegio.

l Dr. Fox returned to England in the beginning of May; but Gardiner went to Rome, to Campegio. Strype's Mem. p. 103, 104.

m Campegio was perhaps named for legate in the month of April, as doctor Burnet ſays, but his commiſſion bears date the 6th of June. Rapin.

der

der to ſee the iſſue of the Naples expedition. To that end, he always placed ſome interval between his favours to the king. Wolſey was made ſole judge in the affair of the divorce, the 13th of April; Campegio, was in a conſiſtory, declared his aſſociate, about the end of the ſame month; but the bull was not drawn till the 6th of June. His promiſe not to revoke the commiſſion was not ſigned before the 23d of July. In all appearance, the decretal was not drawn till Auguſt, nor did Campegio begin his journey till after Lautrec's death, or perhaps after the raiſing the ſiege of Naples; that is, when the pope was no longer in dread of France, and it was more neceſſary than ever to manage the emperor. So, it may almoſt be affirmed, that when Campegio departed from Rome, the pope was reſolved not to grant the divorce. It was however requiſite, he ſhould ſtill ſeem willing to ſatisfy Henry, in order not to be delivered to the emperor's mercy, with whom he was determined to agree, and nothing was more capable to procure him advantageous terms, than his ſeeming union with France and England. This was moſt certainly the ſecret of the pope's policy, and the real motive of all his artifices in this affair. In purſuance therefore of the reſolution he had taken, he gave the following inſtructions to his legate. Firſt, to prolong the affair as much as poſſible. Secondly, not to give ſentence upon the divorce before the reception of his commands in writing. Thirdly he expreſsly enjoined him not to ſhow the bull to any perſon but the king and cardinal Wolſey, nor to part with it out of his hands, without his order, upon any pretence whatever. 1528.

Inſtructions to Campegio.

Campegio departing with theſe inſtructions, arrived not in England till October, ſix or ſeven months after he was appointed legate. Whilſt he was on the road, the emperor's miniſters at Rome raiſed a freſh obſtacle to the divorce, by the pretended diſcovery of a brief of Julius II. [n] confirming the bull of diſpenſation for Henry's marriage with Catherine. But there was this difference between the bull and the brief, that the pope in the bull ſaid, the marriage was perhaps conſummated, whereas in the brief, the word perhaps was omitted. They inferred from thence, that Julius II. was not ſurprized, ſince he looked upon Catherine's firſt marriage as conſummated. But the brief of which

He retards his journey as much as poſſible. The imperialiſts produce a forged brief to retard the affair. Burnet. Col. T. I. p. 39. Herbert.

n It was neither in the records of England, or Spain, but ſaid to be found among the papers of D. de Puebla, who was the Spaniſh ambaſſador in England, at the time of the concluſion of the match. Burnet, T. I. p. 57.

they

1528. they only gave an authentick copy, without ſhowing the original to the king's miniſters, was, probably, propoſed ſolely to cauſe time to be loſt in examining it. For, there were two reaſons, among many others, which manifeſtly proved it to be a forgery. The firſt was, that this brief granted at Catherine's requeſt, ſuppoſed that princeſs's marriage with Arthur to have been conſummated, and yet ſhe had ſworn the contrary. And upon that her agents had grounded the validity of Julius's diſpenſation. The ſecond reaſon was ſtill more ſtrong, namely, that the brief was dated the 26th of December 1503. Now as in the date of the briefs, the court of Rome begins the year the 25th of December, being Chriſtmas-day, this date anſwered to the 26th of December 1502, of the common year, that is, ten months before Julius II. was pope.

Proofs of its being a forgery.

Campegio exhorts Henry to keep Catherine, Burnet.

Campegio being arrived in England, began his legateſhip with gravely exhorting the king to live in a good underſtanding with the queen, and deſiſt from a farther proſecution of the matter. This was taken very ill from a legate who was thought to be ſent into England to judge the cauſe in favour of the king. After that, he talked the quite contrary to the queen, endeavouring to perſuade her, that ſhe ought to comply with the king's deſire [o], and even intimated, it would be in vain to oppoſe it. But whether the queen was told beforehand what ſhe was to ſay, or naturally ſpoke her own thoughts, ſhe anſwered, ſhe was the king's wife, and would be ſo, till parted from him by the pope's ſentence [p]. Campegio not being able to prevail with the king or queen, affirmed, he could not proceed without freſh orders, as if his whole commiſſion was only to make theſe exhortations. But it was ſix months before his inſtructions arrived. Mean while, he kept the king in hopes of obtaining his deſires, and even inſinuated, that he was himſelf ſatisfied of the juſtice of his cauſe. To amuſe him the better, he ſhowed him the bull he had brought with him, and gave the cardinal his collegue a ſight of it alſo. But when he was preſſed to ſhow it to ſome of the lords of the council, he replied, he had very poſitive orders to let no perſon ſee it but the king and Wolſey. Henry ſurpriſed and angry at ſuch a proceeding, complained of it to the pope, who, inſtead of blaming his legate, anſwered, he had done very well to follow his orders: that the

and Catherine to deſiſt from her marriage. Herbert.

He feigns to want freſh orders. Herbert.

He ſhows the decretal to the king and Wolſey. Burnet.

The pope approves his conduct. Burnet.

[o] He perſuaded her to renounce the world, and to enter into ſome religious life. Herbert, p. 103.

[p] Adding, ſhe would not admit ſuch partial judges as they were to give ſentence in her cauſe. Ibid.

decretal

decretal was granted on condition it was ſhown to none but the king and cardinal Wolſey, and on purpoſe to prevent Wolſey's ruin, which otherwiſe, he was told, would be infallible: that in fine, the bull was not to be publiſhed, unleſs the legates gave ſentence for the king [q]. 1528.

The pope reſolves to agree with the emperor. Guicciard.

Whilſt Campegio amuſed Henry in England, the pope was taking meaſures to conclude his treaty with the emperor, and ſeeking pretences to leave the kings of France and England, whom he no longer feared, ſince the Naples expedition had miſcarried. He complained that theſe two monarchs had diſappointed him, in not cauſing Ravenna and Cervia to be reſtored to him according to their promiſe; thereby inſinuating, that it was not to be thought ſtrange, he made no haſte to ſatisfy Henry, ſince that prince had neglected to do him juſtice by the Venetians [r]. He would fain have had it believed, that the affair of the divorce was retarded ſolely on that account, and was very deſirous to have theſe two places in his power, before he concluded with the emperor. But, what caution ſoever he uſed, his negotiation in Spain could not be ſo private, but Francis and Henry had ſome intelligence of it. They complained to him by their ambaſſadors, but he conſtantly denied he intended to depart from his neutrality. Mean while, under colour of removing theſe groundleſs ſuſpicions, he diſpatched into England one Campana, to give the king freſh aſſurances of his good intentions, but withal, ſent by him expreſs orders to cardinal Campegio, to burn the bull decretal, and defer the ſentence of the divorce as long as poſſible. Campegio immediately obeyed the firſt of theſe orders, and as for the ſecond, never ceaſed finding freſh pretences to retard the proceedings.

The difficulties in the affair of the divorce increaſe. Burnet. Herbert.

Vannes and Brian ſent to Rome.

At laſt, Henry tired to ſee ſo many affected delays, and perceiving they came from the pope, ſent, about the end of the year, ſir Francis Brian and Peter Vannes [s] to Rome, to diſcover the true cauſe. They had likewiſe ſeveral other commiſſions. Firſt, to ſearch the pope's records for the pretended brief of Julius II. Secondly, to propoſe, as of themſelves, ſeveral expedients, ſpeedily to end the affair of the divorce, and to conſult, under feigned names, the canoniſts

Their inſtructions. Burnet. Herbert.

[q] He wiſhed he had never ſent it, ſaying, he would gladly loſe a finger to recover it again, and expreſſed great grief for granting it. Burnet, tom. I. p. 59.

[r] The Venetians had taken Cervia and Ravenna from the pope, and France and England had promiſed to intercede and uſe their intereſt with the Venetians to reſtore them. Ibid.

[s] An Italian; and the king's ſecretary for the Latin tongue. Herbert, p. 103.

1528. of Rome, whether they were practicable. Thirdly, in caſe they ſaw the pope over awed by the emperor's threats, they had orders to offer him a guard of two thouſand men. Laſtly, if this had no effect, they were to balance the emperor's menaces with others for the king. They found the pope in a real or pretended fright, at the imperial miniſter's threats to have him depoſed for a baſtard. His anſwer therefore to the offer of two thouſand men for a guard, was, that it would not be capable of ſecuring him, but rather render him more ſuſpected. He took care not to put himſelf in the king's power, when he was thinking to break entirely with him. The two envoys ſeeing the pope inclined to the emperor's ſide, plainly told him at laſt, "That if he continued "to deny the king their maſter the ſatisfaction he demanded, "he might be aſſured England would be loſt to him: that "the Engliſh were already but too much diſpoſed to withdraw their obedience from the holy ſee, and upon the leaſt "encouragement from the king, would openly publiſh what "they yet kept concealed in their hearts: that the king their "maſter, and the king of France, were powerful and very "ſtrictly united, and therefore the pope would run a great "hazard, if he ſhould cauſeleſsly make theſe two monarchs "his enemies: that though the Naples expedition had miſcarried, he could not be ſure it would be the ſame with "thoſe that ſhould be hereafter undertaken; nay, it was eaſy "to ſee, by the dangerous ſtate of the emperor's affairs, "what might happen another time: that if out of exceſſive "condeſcenſion for the emperor, he dealt ſo unjuſtly by the "king of England, as to refuſe him what even equity and "the law of God required, he muſt likewiſe expect no favour or regard, when affairs ſhould be altered: that he "ought to conſider, the king of England had engaged in this "war to free him from captivity, and if, inſtead of making "a grateful return, he ſhould join with his enemy, all "chriſtians would abhor his ingratitude." All this was not capable to divert the pope from his deſign, and yet he would ſtill be thought unreſolved. He replied with a ſigh, that he was between the hammer and the anvil, and, which way ſoever he turned, ſaw nothing before him but dangers; and therefore he placed all his hopes in the protection of God, who would not forſake his church: that as to the reſt, he had done for the king of England more than could be reaſonably expected, in committing the trial of his cauſe to two legates, who were both devoted to him: that not content with this, he ſtill preſſed him to do more, and to diſregard the cuſto-

The pope's anſwer.

The envoys threaten him. Burnet. Col. T. I. p. 48. Strype.

He feigns to be unreſolved. Burnet.

J mary

mary rules of the church on the like occaſions, and publickly ſacrifice to him, the emperor, the archduke his brother, queen Catherine, the honour, dignity and intereſt of the holy ſee: that this was aſking too much, and the king ſhould at leaſt ſuffer the affair to be decided by the legates, appointed for that purpoſe: that it was not his fault if matters were delayed, and in caſe it was owing to Campegio's negligence, he had acted contrary to his orders. This anſwer was a plain indication of the pope's thoughts. Accordingly, the envoys told the king, nothing was to be expected from the pope, and that the only way was to cauſe the legates to give a ſpeedy ſentence. The truth is, the pope was now reſolved to agree with the emperor; and if he ſhowed any farther regard for Henry, it was only to avoid an open rupture with him, for fear the emperor ſhould take advantage of it in the treaty they were concluding. 1528.

The envoys ſend the king word he had nothing to expect from the pope.

The expedients Brian and Vannes were commiſſioned, to propoſe, were, 1. whether, if the queen vowed religion, the king ſhould have liberty to marry again? 2. or if the king ſhould vow religion as well as the queen, whether the pope would diſpenſe with his vow, and allow him to take another wife whilſt the queen was alive? 3. or whether the pope would grant him a diſpenſation to have two wives? but it does not appear how theſe points were decided. As for the brief produced by the imperial miniſters, there was not the leaſt trace of any ſuch thing among the pope's records, of which the Engliſh envoys [t] had good certificates. In this manner paſſed the whole year 1528, at the cloſe whereof the king found himſelf no more advanced than at the beginning, except that he had ſtill ſome hope from Campegio, who all along pretended to be intirely in his intereſt. It may be affirmed, that Francis, in neglecting to aſſiſt Lautrec, was the cauſe of the turn which the affair of the divorce took, ſince he thereby gave occaſion to the pope to join with the emperor [u].

Expedients propoſed by the king. Burnet. T. I. p. 60.

True cauſe of the pope's delays. Herbert.

[t] Theſe Engliſh envoys were the biſhop of Wercester and dr. Lee. They gave the emperor an overture of the divorce, and made ſeveral objections againſt the genuineneſs of Julius II's brief, which the reader may ſee in Herbert, p. 104, 105.

[u] About this time, ſome murmurs and ſeditious words being diſperſed among the common people, on account of the divorce, king Henry proteſted publickly in an aſſembly of lords, judges, &c. at his palace at Bridewell, that nothing but deſire of giving ſatisfaction to his conſcience, and care of eſtabliſhing the ſucceſſion to the crown in a right and undoubted line, had firſt procured him to controvert this marriage; being, for the reſt, as happy in the affection and virtues of his queen, as any prince living. To confirm which alſo, he cauſed Anne Bullen to depart the court. Herbert, p. 106.

1528. Whilſt the king was thinking of his divorce, cardinal Wolſey was very diligently employed in founding his colleges. As the pope made the king very uneaſy at his affected delays, he endeavoured to gratify him otherwiſe, in granting his favourite whatever he deſired for his foundations. Among the publick acts of the year 1528, there are ten or twelve bulls, as well for the ſuppreſſion of ſeveral ſmall monaſteries[w], as for other things concerning the two colleges, the endowment whereof the cardinal ſo paſſionately deſired. Wherefore, knowing how fair an opportunity preſented to obtain private favours from the pope, he forgot not to improve it. Had he ſtayed a year longer, he would have run great riſk of leaving the work unfiniſhed.

Several monaſteries ſuppreſſed for Wolſey's colleges. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 240—258.

I have for ſome time been ſilent concerning the affairs of Scotland, becauſe there has been no occaſion to ſpeak of them. But as their ſituation was changed during the courſe of this year, it is neceſſary briefly to relate what had paſſed in that country. The earl of Angus, George Douglaſs his brother, and their uncle Archibald, had ſtill the king's perſon in their power, and governed in his name. Queen Margaret however, who had cauſed her marriage with the earl of Angus to be annulled, and was married again to Henry Stewart, had ſtill a powerful party in Scotland. But as her party could not act openly without being liable to be deemed rebels, ſince the king was in the hands of the Douglaſſes, the queen made uſe of another expedient to accompliſh her deſigns. She perſuaded the king her ſon, by ſome perſons about him, to make his eſcape and retire to Sterling. The contrivance ſucceeded according to her wiſh. James took his opportunity, and eſcaping from the earl of Angus, withdrew to Sterling, where it was publiſhed that the Douglaſſes ſhould be no longer acknowledged for regents, and withal were forbidden the court. This order was notified to the earl of Angus, whilſt he was marching to recover the king's perſon. As he had but few troops, and was unable to enter Sterling by force, where ſeveral great men were come to the king's relief, he obeyed and retired.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

James aſſumes the reins of the government before he was of age.

Shortly after, the king called a parliament at Edinburgh the third of September, and came himſelf to hold it. The Douglaſſes, perceiving what was preparing againſt them, attempted to ſurprize Edinburgh, and become maſters of the king's perſon, with deſign to diſſolve the parliament. But

[w] Thoſe of Romboro, Fylſton, Bromhil, Bliborow, and Montjoy. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 240.

being

being repulſed, they were forced to retire. Whereupon the parliament confiſcated their eſtates to the king. But they continued in arms, and made incurſions even to the gates of Edinburgh. 1528.

Henry being informed of what paſſed in Scotland, and fearing the young king might ſuffer himſelf to be prejudiced againſt him, thought it adviſeable to ſend ambaſſadors to make peace, ſince a war with Scotland could not be but very inconvenient in his preſent circumſtances. But it was not poſſible to ſucceed. A truce only for five years was concluded at Berwick, and ſigned the fourteenth of December. It was agreed by a ſeparate article, that the Douglaſſes might take refuge in England, on condition they delivered to their ſovereign the places they held in Scotland; and in caſe they entered the kingdom, and committed any diſorders, Henry ſhould be reſponſible as if done by his own ſubjects *.

Truce for five years between England and Scotland. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 275, —282, 286.

The Douglaſſes retire into England.

Since the pope had determined to agree with the emperor, his feeding the allies with hopes was only to obtain the better terms from that monarch. On the other hand, Francis ſuſpecting the pope's intentions, perceived likewiſe that a peace only would procure him his ſons, and therefore continued a ſecret negotiation with the emperor. But at the ſame time, he made great promiſes to the Venetians, Florentines, duke of Milan, and the pope himſelf, to let the emperor ſee, in caſe he did not make haſte and conclude, it would perhaps be too late when he deſired it. About the ſame time, the emperor had certain advice, that the Turks were making great preparations to invade Hungary, and penetrate even into Germany. So finding that a diverſion in Italy might greatly embarraſs him at ſuch a juncture, he was the more inclined to peace. Theſe diſpoſitions in the principal parties could not in the end but produce the peace which was univerſally expected with impatience. Mean while, the war was continued, though faintly, in the kingdom of Naples, and the duchy of Milan, where the French and Venetians had kept ſome places, but it was eaſy to ſee that nothing deciſive would happen. 1529.

How the pope and Francis ſtood affected to the emperor. Guicciard.

In the mean time, the pope was wholly intent upon his own private affairs. His aim was not only to be reſtored to Florence, but alſo to become maſter of Peruſa and Ferrara, and recover Ravenna and Cervia, taken by the Venetians

* This year, on June 28, the king of France ratified the eight months truce concluded between France, England, and the Low Countries, from June 15, to January 1529. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 258, &c.

1529. during his captivity. Under colour of using his interest to procure a general peace, he had sent a nuntio to Spain to conclude a private treaty with the emperor. During the negotiation, the affair of the divorce was at a stand. Clement VII. was fully resolved to satisfy the emperor, and by that Henry daily lost the hopes of succeeding in his pursuit. Mean while, a violent distemper, which seized the pope in the beginning of the year 1529, had like to have very much changed the face of affairs [y]. Cardinal Wolsey having notice of the pope's dangerous illness, had sent an express to Gardiner, to conjure him to neglect nothing that he thought capable of procuring him the papacy. Henry himself had writ to several cardinals in his behalf, and the king of France, who was not yet secure of a peace, had given him all those of his faction. It is pretended, Wolsey would have been sure of more than a third of the votes, in case the pope had died. Indeed that was not sufficient to make him pope; but it was enough to hinder any other from being so. This affair was even carried so far, that the king had ordered his ambassadors at Rome, that if, notwithstanding the cardinals of Wolsey's faction, another person should be designed, they should so manage that these cardinals should protest against the proceedings in the conclave, and then withdrawing to some secure place, should themselves come to a new election. I do not know, whether it would have been easy for the ambassadors to obtain so absolute a resignation to the king's pleasure. However, it is not strange that Henry should be so very desirous of procuring the papacy for his minister and favourite. But it is surprising that a prince who was called protector of the church, and defender of the faith, should not scruple purposely to endeavour to form a schism in the church, in order to gratify his passion. As for cardinal Wolsey, nothing in his conduct ought to be thought strange; since it is certain, he was ready to sacrifice every thing to his ambition. The pope's recovery put an end to all these cabals, which however could not be so private but they came to his knowledge. This made him consider Wolsey as a dangerous rival, and capable of supplanting him if an opportunity offered, by using for pretence the defect in his birth.

The pope falls ill. Herbert.

Wolsey takes some steps to attain to the papacy. Burnet. Herbert.

The king uses all his interest for him. Burnet, T. I. p. 64. Herbert.

When Clement VII. was fully recovered, the proceedings for the divorce continued upon the same foot as before. The pope gave hopes, the affair should be decided in England for

[y] His physicians suspected that he was poisoned. Burnet, T. I. p. 63.

the

the king, by a ſentence of the legates which he would him- 1529.
ſelf confirm to make it more authentick. His aim was to
gain time, and prevent the appearance of any miſunderſtand- The pope's management to put off the affair of the divorce. Herbert. Burnet.
ing between him and the court of England, before he had concluded his treaty with the emperor, becauſe it was a means to obtain better terms. To this end, and to hinder Henry from being impatient, he had put into Gardiner's hands a brief, promiſing not to revoke the powers given the legates. But, beſides that the brief was expreſſed in ambiguous terms, he knew ſentence would not be paſſed without his poſitive orders. This management which the pope continued with many artifices, afforded the king ſome hopes of gaining him to his intereſt. To ſucceed the better, he Burnet.
prevailed with the king of France to ſend to the pope the biſhop of Bayonne, with orders earneſtly to ſollicit the deciſion of the affair. He could have wiſhed that the pope of his own accord would have granted a bull to annul his marriage, and diſpenſe with his taking another wife, or at leaſt have given the legates ſuch a commiſſion, as it ſhould not be in their choice to judge otherwiſe than in his favour. The pope, pleaſed at his being ſo intent upon his own projects, ſtill fed him with hopes of ſucceſs. But withal he expreſſed great fear of what the emperor might do againſt him, and uſed that pretence to delay the favour he ſeemed to intend to grant. In every thing elſe he was always ready to content The pope gives Wolſey the biſhoprick of Wincheſter. Act Pub. XIV. p. 268, 287, —290. Burnet.
the king. The biſhoprick of Wincheſter being vacant by the death of Richard Fox, and Henry deſiring him to beſtow it on Wolſey, the bulls for that purpoſe were immediately diſpatched. It is true, they were rated at fifteen thouſand ducats. But Wolſey would give but ſix thouſand, alledging, he did not want them, ſince the king had already granted him the temporalities of the biſhoprick. This ſhows in what ſpirit he thus heaped upon him the church preferments. But herein is nothing ſurpriſing, ſince the pope himſelf made no ſcruple to own in his bull that he conferred the biſhoprick on the cardinal, to help him to bear the expence to which he was obliged by his rank.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, the emperor haſtened, as much The pope's pretence to delay the divorce. Burnet.
as poſſible, the concluſion of his treaty with the pope, being reſolved to grant whatever he required rather than give him occaſion to join with his enemies. Before the pope was aſſured of this agreement, policy required, he ſhould keep the emperor in fear that the affair of the divorce would be determined to the king of England's ſatisfaction. Conſequently, it was his intereſt that the affair ſhould remain undecided to let

1529. let the emperor ſee, it depended on the ſucceſs of the negotiation at Barcelona. But when he had juſt brought him to his own terms, he began inſenſibly to ſeek pretences to break his engagements with Henry. So, the reſtitution of Ravenna and Cervia was again moved, the pope feigning to believe that if Henry had deſired it, he ſhould have had theſe two cities before now, and from thence took occaſion to be diſpleaſed. On the other hand, the emperor knowing the pope's intention, proteſted [z] in queen Catherine's name againſt whatever ſhould be done in England in the affair of the divorce, declaring that ſhe excepted againſt the two legates, as one was notoriouſly devoted to the king, and the other, biſhop of Saliſbury. The king's miniſters uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the pope to reject the proteſtation. But he replied, he could not, without ſhewing himſelf too partial to the king, ſince a proteſtation was no prejudice to the cauſe itſelf. That it would be a very ſtrange thing to refuſe a queen the right of proteſting, which the meaneſt perſon could claim. All this, added to many other circumſtances, and to certain advices that the pope was treating with the emperor, took from the Engliſh miniſters all hopes of prevailing with him. Wherefore, they writ to the king that they were only amuſed, and if the proceſs was not ſpeedily decided in England, there was danger of its being brought to Rome. Whereupon, the king reſolved to proceed before the legates, and not ſuffer himſelf to be any longer amuſed by deceitful promiſes. Mean while, when the inſtrument whereby the pope had promiſed not to revoke the legates commiſſion came to be examined, it was found to be worded in general or ambiguous terms, which left him at liberty to do what he pleaſed. So, to know whether he had acted with ſincerity [a], when he ſigned that inſtrument, Gardiner was ordered to repreſent to him, that the paper on which it was written being wet by the careleſſneſs of the courier, and the words almoſt quite defaced, the king deſired he would ſign another. But Clement found ſome artifice to be excuſed. Wherefore the king, being ſatisfied there was nothing to be expected from the court of Rome, where the emperor's intereſt was too great, recalled Gardiner [b] and

Proteſtation in queen Catherine's name. Burnet.

Henry reſolves to try his cauſe before the legates. Burnet.

He tries in vain to overreach the pope.

[z] May 15. Burnet, tom. I. p. 67.

[a] Or rather, to obtain an enlargement of the commiſſion; with fuller power to the legates: and when it was new drawn, they were to endeavour to get as many pregnant and material words added as poſſible. Idem. p. 68.

[b] He was thought the fitteſt perſon to manage the proceſs in England, being eſteemed the ableſt canoniſt in the kingdom, and was ſo valued by the king, that he would not begin the proceſs till he came. Burnet, ibid.

Brian,

Brian, and ſent Bennet to Rome, only to hinder as much as lay in his power the avocation of his cauſe. Bennet carried a letter from the two legates, directed to the pope and cardinals, wherein they ſaid, That the principal point in the cauſe they were to judge, conſiſted in knowing whether Julius II. could grant a diſpenſation, or exceeded his power: that ſince the ſole point was to decide concerning the authority of the head of the church, they conceived it to be beyond their commiſſion, and therefore were of opinion, the pope would do well to avocate the cauſe: that they doubted not, the king would conſent to it, provided he had ſome aſſurance it ſhould be decided in his favour. It is hard to conceive, what could induce cardinal Wolſey to ſign ſuch a letter, ſo directly contrary to the king's intereſt. For, though the legates ſeemed to ſuppoſe his conſent, it was evident the reaſon of the avocation ſubſiſted, whether the king conſented or not. Conſequently they afforded the pope a plauſible pretence to avocate the cauſe, which the king dreaded of all things. Was Wolſey deceived by Campegio, or did he ſacrifice his maſter's intereſt? It is difficult to believe either; and yet hiſtorians affirm, that one of the the principal cauſes of his diſgrace was a letter he had writ to the pope, which came to the king's knowledge by Bennet's means, and it might very well be this. Indeed, he was inexcuſable if he ſigned it without the king's approbation; and on the other hand, it cannot be conceived that the king ſhould be ſo blind as not to ſee the conſequence of ſuch advice.

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Letter from the two legates to the pope. Burnet, T. I. p. 68.

Remark on the letter with reſpect to Wolſey.

Though Campegio came to England in October laſt year, it was now the end of May, and nothing done towards the trial of the cauſe which brought him thither. The king, having ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed by the pope whoſe intereſt it was to gain time, had been ever in hopes of obtaining a bull to null the marriage, without being obliged to go through the uſual forms of a proceſs. But at length, his agents convincing him that his expectations were vain, he reſolved to proceed before the legates. To that end, on the 31ſt of May, he granted them a licence to execute the pope's commiſſion. They met the ſame day and appointed aſſiſtants [c] to examine the papers and evidences. From the very firſt ſeſſion, it appeared that Campegio intended to prolong the proceſs, ſince after the commiſſion was read, he ordered the king and queen to be cited to appear the 18th

The legates ſit to hear the cauſe. Burnet, T. III. p. 46. Herbert. p. 107, &c. Hall.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 295.

Artifices of Campegio to ſpin out the affair. Burnet.

c John Longland, biſhop of Lincoln; dr. John Taylor, maſter of the rolls. John Clark, biſhop of Bath and Wells; Herbert, p. 108. John Iſlip, abbot of Weſtminſter, and

of

1529. of June. This was too long a term, if there had been any deſign to diſpatch the affair, eſpecially as the parties were in London, or in one of their palaces near the city. Though Wolſey was the ſenior cardinal, he let Campegio preſide, to ſhow he intended to act without partiality. So, from the firſt day to the laſt, Campegio did all, without Wolſey's ever appearing to oppoſe the affected delays of his collegue between the ſeſſions. I ſhall not enter any farther into the particulars of this famous proceſs, which may be ſeen at large in the excellent hiſtory of the reformation of England, known to all the world, but content my ſelf with relating in general the moſt remarkable circumſtances.

Wolſey lets Campegio preſide.

In the ſecond ſeſſion, the queen's proctors [d] excepted againſt the two legates. But the exception not being deemed valid, ſhe had a further day given her to the 21ſt [e]. On that day, the king and queen appeared in perſon [f]. But the queen, without ſaying any thing to the legates, went and kneeled down before the king, and made a very moving ſpeech, concluding with imploring his juſtice and pity; after which, ſhe withdrew and would never more appear, nor ſuffer any perſon to defend her cauſe [g]. As ſoon as ſhe was retired, the king declared he was very well pleaſed with the queen, and in ſuing to be divorced from her, acted ſolely from

Proceedings in the proceſs. Burnet, T. I. p. 73. and III. p. 46. Hall. Stow.

[d] William Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Nicolas Weſt, biſhop of Ely, John Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and Henry Standiſh of St. Aſaph. Hall, fol. 181.

[e] On the 18th of June, the citation being returned duly executed, Richard Sampſon, dean of the chapel, and Mr. John Bell, appeared as the king's proxies. But the queen appeared in perſon, and excepted againſt the legates as incompetent judges, alledging the cauſe was already avocated by the pope, and deſired a competent time to prove it. The legates aſſigned her the 21ſt, and adjourned the court till then. Burnet, T. I. p. 72.

[f] Biſhop Burnet, from the original regiſter of the proceſs ſays, the king was never in the court. Ref. T. III. p. 46. But the contrary is affirmed by the king himſelf, in a letter dated June 23, to his ambaſſadors at Rome, in theſe words, Both me and the queen appeared in perſon. See Collect. to vol. I. p. 78. To reconcile this contradiction the biſhop ſuppoſes, that they were indeed together in the Hall where the court ſat; but that it was before the cardinals ſat down, and had formed the court. Pref. to vol. II, p. 8.

[g] When the king and queen were called on, the king anſwered, here; but the queen riſing from her ſeat, kneeled down and ſaid to the king, "She was a poor woman and a "ſtranger in his dominions, where "ſhe could expect neither good coun-"cil, nor indifferent judges; ſhe had "long been his wife, and deſired to "know wherein ſhe had offended him: "ſhe had been his wife twenty years "and more, and had borne him ſe-"veral children, and ever ſtudied to "pleaſe him, and proteſted he had "found her a true maid, about which "ſhe appealed to his own conſcience. "If ſhe had done any thing amiſs, "ſhe was willing to be put away "with ſhame. Their parents were "eſteemed very wiſe princes, and no "doubt

from a motive of religion and conſcience [h]. Adding, that his ſcruples concerning his marriage ſprung from thoſe of the biſhop of Tarbe, and were confirmed by the opinion of all the biſhops of England. The archbiſhop of Canterbury confirmed what the king ſaid, concerning the biſhops. But Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter denied, he ever ſet his hand to the writing which was preſented to the king. Mean while, the queen was cited again for the 25th of June, but inſtead of appearing, ſhe ſent in her appeal to the pope in form, from whatever had been or ſhould be done hereafter. Nevertheleſs, ſhe was declared contumacious. The ſame day, the proceſs was reduced to twelve articles, upon which witneſſes were to be examined. The principal article was, prince Arthur's conſummation of his marriage with Catherine, which the queen had denied with an oath, and which notwithſtanding was proved by the teſtimony of ſeveral perſons, as far as a thing of that nature can be. Theſe proofs conſiſted in the age, health, and vigorous conſtitution of the prince, and in his diſcourſes the next morning after the nuptials: ſo that Arthur and Catherine muſt not have ſpoken the truth, the one out of vanity, or the other out of intereſt [i].

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Act. Pub. XIV. p. 299, 300.

The queen appeals from the proceedings of the legates. Burnet. Herbert, p. 113, &c.

Whilſt the trial was proſecuting in England, the emperor's miniſters were earneſtly preſſing the pope to avocate the cauſe to Rome, and Henry's as vehemently ſoliciting the contrary. What is more, both ſides threatened to depoſe him, on account of his being a baſtard. The pope feigned to be terrified by theſe menaces, and this ſeeming fear to declare for either, afforded him a pretence to remain undetermined, till he received advice of the concluſion of his

The pope receives news of the concluſion of his treaty with the emperor. Herbert. Burnet.

" doubt had good counſellors and learn-
" ed men about them when the match
" was agreed: therefore ſhe would
" not ſubmit to the court, nor durſt
" her lawyers, who were his ſubjects,
" and aſſigned by him, ſpeak freely
" for her. So ſhe deſired to be excuſed
" till ſhe had heard from Spain."
That ſaid, ſhe roſe up, and making the king a low reverence, went out of court. Her council were the biſhops of Rocheſter and St. Aſaph, and dr. Ridley. Burnet, vol. I. p. 73.

h He cleared likewiſe cardinal Wolſey from being the firſt mover of the matter, as had been ſuſpected. Ibid.

i Particularly Robert, viſcount Fitzwalter, Thomas, duke of Norfolk, and ſir Anthony Willoughby, depoſed, that they heard prince Arthur ſay publickly, I have been this night in the midſt of Spain. The king's council it ſeems inſiſting moſtly on the conſummation of the marriage, it led them to ſay many things that were indecent; of which the biſhop of Rocheſter complained, and ſaid they were things deteſtable to be heard; but cardinal Wolſey checked him, and there paſſed ſome ſharp words between them. Lord Herbert has given the ſubſtance of all the depoſitions, p. 115. Compl. Hiſt. The place appointed for hearing and determining the cauſe, was a great hall in Black Friars in London, commonly called the parliament chamber. Ibid.

treaty

1529. treaty with the emperor. At length the agreeable news being come, he reſolved to avocate the cauſe before the publication of the treaty, leſt it ſhould be thought to be one of the ſecret articles. Weak precaution to efface or prevent ſuch a ſuſpicion.

Conditions of the treaty. Guicciard.

The ſubſtance of the treaty, which was ſigned at Barcelona the 29th of June, was, That the emperor ſhould reſtore the family of the Medici to Florence, on the ſame foot as formerly: that he ſhould cauſe Ravenna and Cervia to be delivered to the pope: that he ſhould put him in poſſeſſion of Modena and Reggio, ſaving the rights of the empire: that he ſhould aid him to become maſter of Ferrara: that Franceſco Sforza ſhould be reſtored to Milan, if innocent, but if guilty, the emperor ſhould not diſpoſe of the duchy to any prince the pope ſhould diſlike: that the pope and emperor ſhould employ their temporal and ſpiritual arms againſt the hereticks of Germany: that Alexander de Medici ſhould eſpouſe Margaret the emperor's natural daughter: that the pope ſhould grant the emperor a fourth of the eccleſiaſtical revenues in his dominions to wage war with the Turks: that he ſhould abſolve all that were any way concerned in the taking and ſacking of Rome. What greater advantages could the pope have expected, ſuppoſing he had been victorious in the late war? but the emperor believed he could not purchaſe the pope's friendſhip too dear, who might ſtill have greatly embarraſſed him, if he had joined with France, England, and the republick of Venice.

The pope avocates the cauſe to Rome. Burnet. Herbert.

The pope having concluded his treaty with the emperor, told the Engliſh ambaſſadors himſelf on the 9th of July his reſolution to avocate the cauſe to Rome. They uſed all poſſible endeavours to diſſuade him from it, repreſented to him that the holy ſee was going irrecoverably to loſe England. But it was all to no purpoſe. By his late treaty with the emperor, the family of the Medici was to be reſtored to the government of Florence. This alone was ſufficient to outweigh in his mind, all the dangers to which he expoſed the holy ſee, ſo great was his affection for a family from whence he was deſcended, though not born in wedlock. So, the 15th of July he ſigned the bull of avocation. The next day he notified it to Caſſali the king's ambaſſador in ordinary, and to Bennet who had been ſent to him laſt. He alledged in excuſe of the avocation ſeveral reaſons which might have been of ſome weight in the beginning of the proceſs, on ſuppoſition he had been entirely impartial, but which had loſt all their force after all his proceedings, and the concluſion of his

his treaty with the emperor. Three days after, he diſpatched a meſſenger with the bull of avocation into England, where proceedings were very dilatory by the artifices of cardinal Campegio, who preſided in the affair. 1529.

He ſends a courier to England.

The queen, who was cited for the 25th of June, not appearing that day, ſhe had farther time given her to the 28th, and was ſummoned again to appear by the biſhop of Bath and Wells, though in vain. On the 28th, ſome depoſitions were read, after which the ſeſſion was adjourned to the 5th of July, when by reaſon of certain holidays kept at Rome, the ſeſſion was deferred till the 12th. The court met again on the 12th, the 14th, the 17th, the 21ſt, and the 23d. As there was nothing more to do but to pronounce the ſentence, every one thought all would be ended the laſt ſeſſion; but people were ſtrangely ſurpriſed when cardinal Campegio was heard to adjourn the court to the firſt of October. He alledged for reaſon, that it was the time of the great vacation at Rome, and he was indiſpenſably obliged to comply with that cuſtom [k].

Continuation of the proceſs. Burnet. Herbert. Campegio's delays. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 300.

He adjourns the court to the firſt of October. Burnet. Hall. Stow.

Thus did that legate, who was in the pope's ſecrets, amuſe the king in the ſame manner as the pope had amuſed him at Rome near two years, ever ſince the affair was begun. Henry was as much enraged as ſurpriſed at the proceedings of the legates, but diſſembled both his ſurpriſe and reſentment. Shortly after, he plainly perceived to what all theſe affected delays tended, when he came to know that notwithſtanding his engagement, the pope had avocated the cauſe. The bull of avocation being arrived [l], he would not ſuffer it to be notified to him, but intimated to the legates that he was content they ſhould obey the pope's orders. It was not without reaſon that he would not have the bull notified to him. He was cited therein to appear at Rome within forty days, which he could not have done without acting contrary to the laws of the land, which prohibited to obey ſuch citations, and carry cauſes to a foreign court. Upon this foundation it was that he had alwas inſiſted, that the proceſs ſhould be determined in the kingdom. Beſides that, cenſures were denounced againſt him in the bull as againſt a private perſon, if he obeyed not the citation. Some time after, the pope made him a ſort of reparation, in revoking

The bull of avocation comes to London. Burnet.

The king is cited to Rome.

The pope revokes his cenſures.

[k] He pretended that they ſat there as a part of the conſiſtory of Rome, and therefore muſt follow the rules of that court, which from that time till October was in a vacation, and heard no cauſes. Burnet, tom. I. p. 77.

[l] On Auguſt 4. Idem. p. 78.

theſe

1529. theſe cenſures by a brief [m], wherein he proteſted they were inſerted contrary to his intention. But as to the citation itſelf, he only prolonged the day to Chriſtmas.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 346.

Remark on cardinal Wolſey's behaviour. Burnet. Herbert.

The figure cardinal Wolſey made during the pretended judgment of the proceſs was very extraordinary. Of all mankind he was the proudeſt and moſt haughty; he was ſenior cardinal to his collegue, and yet gave place to him in every thing, and ſuffered him to act as he pleaſed, without ever oppoſing his opinion. If the affair had ſucceeded according to the king's deſire, his conduct would doubtleſs have been praiſed. But as every thing turned againſt the king, it was not poſſible for the cardinal to avoid the ſuſpicion of betraying his maſter's intereſts, or at leaſt of ſerving him very ill. Henry himſelf thought ſo, though he did not preſently ſhow it [n]. On the other hand, Anne Bullen, who had always believed the cardinal in her intereſt, was extremely ſurpriſed when ſhe was informed of what had paſſed.

Burnet.

The king had removed her from court [o], whilſt the legates were employed in the judgment of the proceſs; but ſhe was ſent for the moment the bull of avocation was arrived. 'Tis pretended, ſhe did not a little contribute to confirm the king's ſuſpicions of the cardinal. She was perſuaded, if Wolſey had pleaſed, the affair would have taken another turn, but that he had altered his reſolution. Whether her opinion was well grounded, or the vexation to ſee herſelf ſtill ſo remote from her hopes, exaſperated her againſt the cardinal, ſhe looked upon him as an enemy deſerving her whole vengeance. So finding the king diſpoſed to give ear to whatever was ſaid againſt his miniſter, ſhe neglected nothing that could help to ruin him. In this ſhe was aſſiſted by ſeveral perſons of the higheſt rank, who had no reaſon to love that proud prelate.

The king is extremely uneaſy. Burnet.

It is eaſy to gueſs Henry's concern to ſee himſelf on a ſudden ſo remote from his aim. The pope had joined in league with the emperor, which was properly his party. Francis I. from whom he had expected a powerful aid in caſe of need, had juſt concluded at Cambray a treaty with the emperor, whereby he engaged not to aſſiſt that prince's enemies. In a word, queen Catherine remained obſtinate not to accept any expedient that might debar her from being his wife. On

[m] Dated Auguſt 29. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 347.

[n] King Henry received information of his having juggled in the buſineſs, and that he ſecretly adviſed the pope to do what was done. Burnet, T. I. p. 78.

[o] By Wolſey's advice, as ſhe thought. Ibid.

the

the other hand, Henry's love for Anne Bullen, which he had pleaſed himſelf with the hopes of gratifying by a lawful marriage, helped not a little to increaſe his concern. He did not know which way to get rid of the queen, who by her obſtinacy had very much leſſened that eſteem and affection he had always had for her [p]. With a mind full of theſe troubleſome thoughts, and uncertain what to determine, he reſolved to take a progreſs into ſome of his counties, to try to diſpel his melancholy. 1529. He takes a progreſs. Burnet. Hall. Stow.

During his journey, he lodged one night at Waltham, where Edward Fox and ſecretary Gardiner happened to lie at a gentleman's houſe [q] who had two ſons committed to Thomas Cranmer's care. Cranmer was a doctor in divinity, who, having been profeſſor at Cambridge [r], had loſt his place upon being married. He had travelled into Germany, where he had read Luther's works, and embraced his doctrine, but with more moderation than was uſually ſeen in the firſt diſciples of that reformer. Whilſt they were at ſupper, Cranmer being at table with Fox and Gardiner, the converſation ran upon the affair of the divorce, and as the maſter of the houſe had informed the two courtiers of Cranmer's merit and capacity, they deſired him to give his opinion upon that ſubject. Cranmer at firſt modeſtly declined it, but they preſſed him ſo much that he could not excuſe himſelf. So, after ſtating the queſtion, he ſaid, he ſaw no better way to extricate the king out of his difficulties, than to procure in writing, the opinions of all the univerſities in Europe, and of the moſt eminent divines and civilians [s]. That one of theſe two things would follow, either the univerſities and the learned would judge Julius the ſecond's diſ- Dr. Cranmer opens him a way to get over his troubles. Burnet.

[p] Even after Campegio's arrival in England, the king and queen did eat at one table, and lodged in one bed; there being no viſible ſign of any breach between them. But after the ſuit concerning the divorce was commenced, they parted. See Stow, p. 546. About December, Anne Bullen returned to court, and was more waited on than the queen had been for ſome years. At this the people appearing uneaſy, and ſeeming inclined to revolt; it was reſolved to ſend all the ſtrangers out of the kingdom. Burnet, T. III. p. 42, 44.

[q] Mr. Creſſy.

[r] Rapin by miſtake ſays Oxford. He was bred up at Jeſus College in Cambridge, where he was reader of divinity in Buckingham, now Magdalen College, and commenced doctor in 1523. He was born at Aſlockton, in Nottinghamſhire, 1489, being ſon of Thomas Cranmer, eſq; a gentleman of a very ancient family. He had nothing to do with Oxford before he was carried there to be burnt. He was indeed invited to be a reader of divinity in the cardinal's college at Oxford, but declined it. Burnet, tom. I. p. 79, &c.

[s] Though Fox and others affirm, that Cranmer was the firſt adviſer of conſulting the foreign univerſities, yet Cavendiſh, Wolſey's gentleman uſher, ſays, the cardinal firſt propoſed it.

penſation.

1529. penſation ſufficient, or deem it invalid. That in the firſt caſe, the king's conſcience would have reaſon to be eaſy, and in the ſecond, the pope would never venture to paſs ſentence contrary to the opinion of all the learned and able men in Chriſtendom. Fox and Gardiner reliſhing this advice, imparted it to the king, who immediately taking the author's meaning, cried out in a tranſport of joy, That he had got the right ſow by the ear, an expreſſion, which in its coarſeneſs ſhowed how much the king was pleaſed with the expedient. At the ſame time he ſent for Cranmer, who explaining more at large what he had but juſt hinted at table, ſo gained his eſteem, that from that moment he was ordered to follow the court. This is the ſame doctor who will quickly be ſeen to make a conſiderable figure in England, and lay the firſt foundations of the reformation in that kingdom.

The king entertains a great eſteem for Cranmer.

Campegio returns to Rome. Herbert. Hall.

The king being returned from his progreſs, cardinal Campegio, whoſe commiſſion was revoked, took his audience of leave, as having no farther buſineſs in England. Henry had ſo much command of himſelf as to take no notice of his proceedings, and looked pleaſantly upon him. But juſt as the cardinal was going to embark, the cuſtom-houſe officers ſearched all his baggage under colour of looking for contraband goods [t]. Probably, the king hoped to find the decretal bull, which he had ſeen in his hands, not knowing it was burnt [u]. Campegio loudly complained of the inſult, and writ to the king to demand ſatisfaction, as for an affront done to the legate of the holy ſee. Henry coldly anſwered [w], that his cuſtomers had done their duty, in executing orders long ſince eſtabliſhed with regard to perſons going out of the kingdom: that he was ſurprized he ſhould talk of his being legate when recalled, and much more that being biſhop of Saliſbury, he ſhould be ſo ignorant of the laws of the land, as to dare to aſſume that title without his licence. Campegio perceiving by this anſwer, that the king intended not to give him ſatisfaction, thought himſelf very happy in being ſuffered to depart.

They ſearch his baggage.

He complains of it in vain.

[t] It was ſuſpected he was carrying over Wolſey's treaſure. Burnet, tom. III. p. 49.

[u] It is thought they ſearched alſo for ſome love letters of the king's to Anne Bullen, which ſome way or other were conveyed out of the king's cabinet, and ſent to Rome. They now lie in the vatican. Burnet ſaw them in the library, and knowing Henry's hand too well not to be convinced they were writ by him, got dr. Fall, to copy them for him. They were very ill wrote, the hand is ſcarce legible, and the French ſeems faulty. Burnet, vol. III. p. 42.

[w] In a letter dated October 22. Herbert, p 123.

The

The cardinal had good reaſon to wiſh himſelf out of the kingdom. With what moderation ſoever the king behaved to him, he could not be ignorant how angry he was, after ſeeing, ſome days before his departure, the courſe that was taking with his collegue cardinal Wolſey. The 9th of October, the attorney general [x] had preferred a bill of indictment againſt Wolſey, as guilty of breaking the ſtatute of præmunire. The 17th of the ſame month the king ſent and demanded the great ſeal, though it was given him for life. For which reaſon, the cardinal made ſome ſcruple to deliver it, but he obeyed a ſecond command [y], and in few days the king gave the great ſeal to Sir Thomas More, a perſon univerſally eſteemed for his great integrity. The cardinal had no ſooner delivered the great ſeal, but the attorney general preferred other articles of impeachment againſt him. The king having given him leave to appoint attornies to anſwer for him, he choſe two who appeared for him, and proteſted in his name, that he did not know the obtaining of the bulls whereof he was accuſed, was contrary to the laws of the land, and prejudicial to the prerogative royal. As for the particulars wherewith he was charged, they ſaid, he confeſſed them, and caſt himſelf entirely upon the king's mercy. He was accuſed twice, as I ſaid, namely, on the 9th and 18th of October, and both times found guilty, and declared to be out of the protection of the laws. Probably he was indicted firſt, for obtaining ſeveral bulls without the king's expreſs licence, and the ſecond time for exerciſing in England the office of legate a latere, without the king's letters patents to that end, contrary to the intent of the law.

1529.

Cardinal Wolſey's fall. Herbert. Burnet. Fiddes.

He is impeached.

The king takes the great ſeal from him. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 349.

Ibid. p. 348, 350. Hall.

He is put out of the protection of the law. Herbert. Hall.

As ſoon as the cardinal was out-lawed, the king commanded him to leave York Place, and retire to a country houſe belonging to him as biſhop of Wincheſter. Then he ordered an inventory of all his goods to be taken, which contained immenſe riches [z], acquired by many acts of injuſtice. 'Tis ſaid, that of fine holland alone, there was found in his houſe a thouſand pieces. One may judge of the reſt by this ſample. Some time after, he cauſed a very humble petition to be preſented to the king, praying a protection for his perſon; without which, he ſaid, he was ex-

Inventory of the cardinal's goods. Herbert. Stow. Hollingſh. Cavendiſh.

x Chriſtopher Hales.

y And delivered it to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. The king offered it to archbiſhop Warham, but he declined accepting of it. Burnet, tom. I. p. 80.

z They were valued at five hundred thouſand crowns. Burnet, tom. III. p. 50.

1529. posed to the insults of the meanest enemy that would abuse him. The king granted it, November the 17th, with a power to answer for himself in all actions that should be entered against him for the future. Moreover, he left him the archbishoprick of York, and the see of Winchester. It is difficult to account for the king's behaviour with respect to the cardinal, since at the very time he seemed most incensed against him, he sent him a certain ring, which was a token betwixt them of the continuance of his affection. The cardinal, who was then on the road to his country house near Winchester [a], was so transported with joy at the sight of the ring, that he alighted from his horse, and fell upon his knees in the dirt to receive it [b]. But his hopes were not long lived. His enemies, who had the king's ear, took so much pains to exasperate him against him, that at last his affair was brought before the parliament [c].

The king grants him a protection. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 351.

He seems inclined to mercy.

Burnet. Fiddes. Stow.

Wolsey's affair brought before the parliament.

Lord Herbert has inserted in his history the forty four articles of impeachment presented to the king against the cardinal by the house of lords, which differ much from those preferred by Hales the attorney general, either in the Star-

a It was not near Winchester, but at Esher or Asher, near Hampton Court, that he was ordered to withdraw.

b And having no other present to make to the king, he sent him his fool Patch. Stow, p. 548.

c This parliament met on Novemb. 3. and was on Decemb. 17, prorogued to the 21st of April ensuing. The most remarkable statutes enacted now, were these: 1. That part of the executors which take upon them the charge of a will, may sell any land devised by the testator to be sold. 2. That for probates of wills, where a man dies worth only five pounds clear, there shall be paid but six pence; if worth forty pounds, three shillings and six pence; and if worth above forty pounds clear, five shillings. 3. That mortuaries shall be paid only where they have been used to be paid; and according to the following rate: when a man dies worth in moveables above ten marks clear, there shall be paid three shillings and four pence; if worth above thirty pounds, six shillings and eight pence; and if worth above forty pounds clear, ten shillings; and this to be paid only by housekeepers. None to be paid in Wales or Berwick. 4. That servants embezzling their masters goods to the value of forty shillings, shall be punished as felons. 5. That no spiritual person shall take any lands to ferm, upon pain of forfeiting ten pounds a month. That no clergyman, having one benefice with cure of souls, of the yearly value of eight pounds or above, shall take another, unless qualified, as being a doctor or bachelor of divinity, or chaplain to a nobleman. In this same act the number of chaplains every peer may qualify is thus specified: an archbishop eight; a duke or bishop six; a marquis and earl five; a viscount four; the high chancellor, every baron, and knight of the garter three; every duchess, marchioness, countess, and baroness, being widows; and the treasurer, and controller of the household, the king's secretary, dean of the chapel, almoner, and master of the rolls two; the chief justice of the King's bench, and warden of the Cinque Ports, one. See Statut. 21. Hen. 8. Hall, fol. 187, &c. There was, finally, a very extraordinary act passed, by which the king was discharged of all the obligations or assignations made for the payment of all the several sums lent him at several times by his subjects. Burnet, tom. I. p. 83. Coll. p. 82.

Chamber

Chamber or elſewhere. Hales had accuſed him of breaking the ſtatute of præmunire, and exerciſing the office of legate a latere, without the king's licence. Therein, he proceeded according to the tenor of the ſtatute of præmunire, which ran, that no perſon ſhould be exempt from the penalty, but thoſe to whom the king ſhould be pleaſed to grant his letters patents. Now, as the cardinal had not taken care to have a licence in form, he was liable to the penalty, according to the rigour of the law. But in the articles of the houſe of lords there was no ſuch thing. And indeed, it would have been contrary to equity to accuſe the cardinal of exerciſing the authority of legate without the king's permiſſion, ſince the king was known to conſent to it, though not in the manner preſcribed by the law. The attorney general did well to keep to the letter of the law, purſuant to the duty of his office. But it would have been wrong in the houſe of peers to take advantage of the want of a formality to deſtroy one of their body. So, the articles exhibited by the lords, ran upon crimes which had no relation to the ſtatute of præmunire. The cardinal was chiefly accuſed of abuſing his legatine power, contrary to his oath, when admitted to the exerciſe of his legateſhip: of unjuſt proceedings as chancellor: of making himſelf, on ſeveral occaſions, equal to the king [c]: of iſſuing out divers orders of moment without the king's knowledge: of acting arbitrarily on many occaſions, as if he was rather ſovereign than miniſter. All the reſt of the articles were of the ſame nature, importing the ill uſe he had made of his power, as legate, chancellor, prime miniſter, and favourite. But I cannot paſs over in ſilence, a very extraordinary article, namely, that the cardinal knowing he had the great pox upon him, had the confidence daily to approach the king's perſon, frequently whiſpering in his ear, without fearing to infect him with his breath. Theſe articles being ſent down to the commons, Thomas Cromwell member of parliament, and the cardinal's ſervant, ſo undertook his defence, as did him great honour, and was one of the principal cauſes of his future advancement. It is true, he pretended not to clear him of the crimes he was charged with, but only to ſhow he was not guilty of treaſon, as the houſe of peers aſſerted, wherein he ſucceeded to his wiſh.

1529.

Difference between the articles of the houſe, and the attorney general's indictment. Herbert. p. 125, &c. Hall. fol. 189. Hollingſh.

Art. VI.

Thomas Cromwell ſpeaks for him in the houſe of commons.

[c] He uſed to write in his letters and inſtructions, the king and I. And I would ye ſhould do thus. The king and I give unto you our hearty thanks, &c. See Herbert, p. 126. Stype's Mem. tom. I, p. 119.

1529. It is neceſſary now to ſpeak of the peace of Cambray, which was only mentioned by the way. The differences between Charles V. and Francis I. ſo concerned all Europe, that it is very difficult to underſtand the hiſtories of the other ſtates, without a clear notion of the affairs of theſe two monarchs. Francis laboured, during the firſt part of the year 1529, to negotiate a peace with the emperor. After his ill ſucceſs in the war of Naples, he ſaw there was no other way to recover his two hoſtages. He knew the pope continued a ſecret negotiation in Spain, and that it lay in the emperor's power to make peace with all the ſtates of Italy, by reſtoring Sforza to Milan. So, though France and England had made the greateſt efforts, probably, it would have ſerved only to haſten the peace of Italy. But the king of France was not even ſure of prevailing with Henry to act, who was ſtill deſirous to manage the pope and emperor, in hopes of obtaining their conſent to his divorce rather by fair means than by arms. Beſides, though he was bound to contribute large ſums for the war, he payed them only in paper, by acquittances of what was due to him from Francis. So, properly ſpeaking, this was no aſſiſtance to France, drained by the former wars of men and money. Francis had therefore no buſineſs to ſtand in ſuſpence. It was neceſſary for him to make peace at any rate. However, to obtain as good terms as poſſible, he amuſed the Venetians, the duke of Ferrara, and the Florentines, with great promiſes, for fear they ſhould prevent him, and after they had made their peace with the emperor, his condition became worſe. He told them, he was reſolved to lead in perſon a ſtrong army into Italy. He continued this management till he had concluded the treaty of Cambray, wherein he left them all to the emperor's mercy. Probably, Henry was the only ally that knew his intentions. The emperor was not ignorant of the ſituation of the French king's affairs, and doubtleſs, would have made it turn more to his advantage, had not the invaſion, the Turks were preparing againſt Hungary and Auſtria, and the commotions raiſed by the proteſtants in Germany, made him deſirous to leave Italy in quiet. Beſides, he ſaw, that a peace was the only way to break the ſtrict union of France with England. If theſe two monarchs had joined in the league which the proteſtants of Germany were projecting for their common defence, they would have created him troubles which might have broke all his meaſures. Theſe were the motives that inclined the emperor to peace, which

Remarks on the peace of Cambray. Guicciard. P. Daniel. Herbert.

which however he made France purchaſe very dear. Charles and Francis being in the ſame diſpoſition, agreed together by ſecret negotiations, upon the chief articles of the peace, the whole honour whereof they were pleaſed however to leave in appearance to the ladies. In July, Margaret of Auſtria, the emperor's aunt, and governeſs of the Low Countries, and Louiſa of Savoy, ducheſs of Angoulême. Francis's mother, repaired to Cambray [d], and ſigned the 5th of Auguſt, a treaty, the ſubſtance whereof was as follows: 1529.

Chief articles of the peace of Cambray. Guicciard. Mezerai. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 326, &c. Herbert. Hall. Hollingſh.

That the emperor ſhould renounce his demand concerning Burgundy, his right to that duchy remaining however entire.

That the king of France ſhould pay him two millions of crowns of gold de ſoleil, for the ranſom of his ſons, and withdraw all his forces out of Italy.

That he ſhould reſign to him the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois.

That he ſhould reſtore to him the earldom of Aſti, with whatever he held in the duchy of Milan.

That he ſhould renounce all his pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples.

That he ſhould marry queen Leonora, with whom the emperor her brother would give in dower, two hundred thouſand crowns.

In ſhort, beſides ſeveral other private articles, he promiſed to reſtore the heirs of the late duke of Bourbon to all that prince's forfeited eſtates.

Francis deceives his allies.

The treaty being ratified [e], it was ſome time before Francis durſt give audience to the ambaſſadors of Venice and Florence, becauſe he could not without confuſion hear their juſt reproaches. At laſt, he put them off with ſome poor excuſe and freſh promiſes, which he performed no better than thoſe before the peace. What was very ridiculous, even after the peace was concluded, the biſhop of Tarbe his ambaſſador at Venice, not having timely notice, ſtrenuouſly ſollicited the ſenate to ſupport the war, upon the hopes he gave them of a powerful aid.

Henry's generoſity to Francis.

It was alſo very ſtrange, that Henry having proclaimed war with the emperor by a herald, there ſhould be how-

[d] Our king's ambaſſadors there, were Cuthbert Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham, and ſir Thomas More. Herbert, p. 130.

[e] King Henry ſent ſir Nicolas Carew, maſter of his horſe, and dr. Samſon, to Bologna, to ratify it in his name. Hall, fol. 187.

1529. ever no particular treaty between them. Henry was satisfied with an article inſerted in that of Cambray, whereby the king of France was bound to pay him the two hundred and ninety thouſand crowns, due from the emperor, and redeem the rich flower-de-luce, pawned by the emperor Maximilian to Henry VII. for fifty thouſand crowns. He did more; for he generouſly forgave Francis the firſt ſum, and made a preſent of the ſecond to the duke of Orleans, his God-ſon [f], this ſhows, that in making peace, Francis I. had not dealt with Henry as with the princes of Italy, but had convinced him of the neceſſity, he was under, to conclude it.

Herbert. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 328.

1530. The emperor being agreed with Francis upon the principal articles of the peace, departed from Barcelona before he received advice of the concluſion, and arrived the 12th of Auguſt at Genoa with nine thouſand men. The peace of Cambray being publiſhed ſhortly after, the Venetians, the duke of Milan, the duke of Ferrara, and the Florentines, whom the king of France had forſaken, ſaw no other refuge than the emperor's clemency, who had it in his power to make them pay dear for their attachment to France. The diſcuſſion of their affairs being referred to a conference, which the emperor, was to have with the pope at Bologna, each ſent ambaſſadors to take care of their concerns. Here it was that the emperor enjoined the Venetians to reſtore to the pope Ravenna and Cervia, and to himſelf ſome places they ſtill held in the kingdom of Naples. Franceſco Sforza was reſtored to the duchy of Milan, on condition of paying to the emperor four hundred thouſand crowns in hand, and five hundred thouſand in the ſpace of ten years, at ten payments. The duke of Ferrara having offered to make the emperor arbiter and judge of his differences with the pope, his offer was accepted, Clement VII. thinking nothing could be more for his advantage than to ſubmit to the emperor's deciſion, who was now bound by the treaty of Barcelona to procure him Modena and Reggio, and aſſiſt him to take poſſeſſion of Ferrara. As to the Florentines, it was not poſſible to reconcile them with the pope. They would not hearken to any agreement, unleſs they were aſſured of preſerving their liberty, being reſolved to defend it to the laſt drop of their blood. They offered however to purchaſe it with a ſum of money. But the pope

The emperor goes to Genoa, Guicciard. Herbert. Hall.

and afterwards to Bologna, where he ſettles the affairs of Italy. Guicciard.

[f] And alſo remitted ſome of the payments of the penſion he yearly received from France. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 358.

on

on his part, offered them all ſorts of advantages, provided the family of the Medici were reſtored to Florence, upon the ſame foot as before the expulſion of the legate. The parties not agreeing, the emperor ordered the prince of Orange to beſiege Florence and reſtore the Medici. 1530.

The emperor having ended his affairs in Italy, was impatient to return into Germany, where the affairs of religion began to give him diſturbance. For ſome time, the proteſtants had inſiſted continually upon a free council in Germany, which was poſitively promiſed though never intended. During the late war, the emperor had all along amuſed them with the hopes of granting this council. But no ſooner was the peace concluded, than in his conference with the pope at Bologna he promiſed him to do his utmoſt to reduce them without a council. Mean while, the proteſtants knowing his deſign by his menacing anſwer to their envoys after the concluſion of the peace, were thinking of joining in a league for their common defence; and this made the emperor uneaſy, and obliged him ſpeedily to finiſh his affairs in Italy, in order to ſettle thoſe of Germany. Before his departure from Bologna, he received the imperial crown at the pope's hands the 24th of February 1530 on St. Matthias's day, which was his birth-day, and which, on ſeveral occaſions had been very fortunate to him [g]. He ſet out at length from Bologna on the 22d of March 1530, for Germany, being attended by cardinal Campegio, who was to aſſiſt from the pope at the diet of Augſburg.

He promiſes to try to ruin the proteſtants. Sleidan.

He received the imperial crown from the pope. Guicciard.

The prince of Orange inveſted Florence according to the emperor's order, and was ſlain at the ſiege, which the Florentines deſperately maintained. At length, on the 10th of Auguſt, they were forced to capitulate, but however on expreſs condition that they ſhould enjoy their liberty, leaving it to the emperor to ſettle the form of their government. But ſome days after, the adherents of the Medicis raiſing a tumult in the city, and finding themſelves ſupported by a great number of Spaniſh officers, who had entered on divers pretences, Clement VII. was again put in poſſeſſion of the government. Then the emperor, without regarding the article of the capitulation, eſtabliſhed Alexander de Medici his ſon-in-law at Florence, on the ſame foot that his anceſtors had formerly been, and made the ſovereignty hereditary in his family.

Siege of Florence. Capitulation.

The Medicis take poſſeſſion of the government.

Alexander de Medici firſt ſovereign of Florence.

g Since the time of Frederic, 1442, no emperor had been publickly crowned. Herbert, p. 136.

1530. The 1st of June this year, Francis received his two ſons, who were hoſtages in Spain, upon paying the emperor twelve hundred thouſand crowns in hand, and giving ſecurity for the reſt of the ſum. After that, he married Leonora purſuant to the treaty of Cambray. Had he been obliged to find ready money to pay Henry what the emperor owed him, according to the tenor of the treaty, very probably he would not ſo ſoon have recovered his ſons. But Henry proved a generous friend, who, to enable him to redeem them, freely gave him the emperor's bonds to reſtore them to him as well as the pawned jewel abovementioned [h]. Moreover, he renounced all demands of his charges in aſſiſting him, which according to Francis's confeſſion extant in the collection of the publick acts, amounted to the ſum of five hundred twelve thouſand two hundred twenty two crowns of gold ſol, two and twenty pence, ſix farthings in ready money and acquittances upon the two millions Francis owed him. He clogged this great generoſity but with one ſingle condition, that in caſe Francis violated the peace and alliance they had made together, he ſhould ſtill be accountable for all theſe ſums, to which Francis bound himſelf by letters patents.

Francis's two ſons are releaſed. Guicciard. Mezerai.

Henry's generoſity to Francis. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 360, 362, 378, 380. Ibid. p. 361.

p. 380. &c.

By the execution of the treaty of Cambray, the king of France ſaw himſelf at length in profound tranquility, though the late war had coſt him immenſe ſums, the loſs of Genoa and Milan, the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois, a year's captivity, numberleſs vexations, and perhaps ſome of his honour and reputation. But it was not ſo with Henry. After a vaſt charge to ſupport the intereſts of his ally, he was ſtill embaraſſed with the affair of the divorce, and in danger of a ſpeedy quarrel with the emperor. However, as he was naturally ſteady in his projects, all theſe obſtacles were not able to diſcourage him, and he reſolved to ſee the end of the affair, let what would be the conſequence. Thomas Cranmer being then very much in his eſteem, he ordered him to write upon the divorce; and the doctor did it with univerſal approbation. After that, he was commanded to accompany the ambaſſadors ſent by the king to the pope and emperor, to try for the laſt time to find ſome expedient to end the affair, which ſo greatly embaraſſed him. Theſe ambaſſadors found the pope and the emperor at Bologna, and had audience of both. The pope ſhowed an inclination to content

Henry purſues at Rome the buſineſs of the divorce. Herbert. Burnet. Hall.

[h] This jewel in the form of a flower-de-luce, is ſaid to have a piece of the wood of the true croſs in it. Herbert, p. 134.

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the king, but durſt not act without the emperor's conſent, who openly proteſted, he would never forſake the queen his aunt. Cranmer maintained his maſter's cauſe with great warmth, which hindered not the pope from making him his penitentiary in England to pleaſe the king, whom he ſtrove to oblige in things of little conſequence, whilſt he did nothing for him in the principal affair. 1530.

Mean while, Henry, purſuant to Cranmer's advice, had ſent able and learned men [i] into France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, to conſult the univerſities concerning the divorce. We find in the collection of the publick acts, the opinions of the univerſities of Angers, Paris, Bourges, Orleans, Thouloufe, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, all uniform, declaring that Julius IId's diſpenſation for Henry's marriage with Catherine being contrary to the divine law, could not be deemed valid. It might be objected, that the determinations of the French univerſities were ſuſpicious, by reaſon of the ſtrict union at that time between Francis and Henry. But the ſame thing cannot be ſaid of thoſe of Padua and Ferrara, and ſtill leſs of that of Bologna, a city belonging to the pope. Dr. Burnet having largely handled this ſubject, thoſe who have a mind to examine the matter more fully, may conſult his hiſtory of the reformation. It will ſuffice to obſerve here, that the queſtion was, whether Henry's marriage with his brother's widow was contrary to the law of God, and upon that ſuppoſition, whether the pope had power to grant a diſpenſation. The univerſities maintained, that ſuch a marriage was contrary to the law of God, with which the pope had not power to diſpenſe, Oxford and Cambridge being likewiſe conſulted decreed the ſame thing, though not without great oppoſition from ſome of the members [k]. It ſeems at firſt very ſtrange, that the two Engliſh univerſities ſhould

Moſt of the univerſities decide in favour of the king. Burnet. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 390, &c.

Vol. I. p. 85, &c. III. p. 54, &c.

Oxford and Cambridge make the greateſt ſcruple. Burnet. Fiddes.

[i] To Orleans and Thouloufe were ſent ſir Francis Brian, Edward Fox, afterwards biſhop of Hereford, and mr. William Paget. To Paris, Reginald Pool, of the blood royal. In Italy, the king's agents were dr. Richard Crooke, at Padua; Hieronimo de Ghinucci, biſhop of Worceſter, and ſir Gregory Caſſali, at Rome; dr. Stokeſly, at Venice; dr. Cranmer, Andrew and John Caſſali, were likewiſe employed in Italy. Burnet, T. I.

[k] At Cambridge, it was carried at laſt with much ado in a convocation, that the matter ſhould be left to a committee of twenty nine, viz. the vice chancellor. Dr. Edmonds, head of Peter Houſe, ten doctors, ſixteen bachelors of divinity, and the two proctors; the majority of whom, voted the king's marriage unlawful; but decided not whether the pope had power to diſpenſe with ſuch a marriage. The king's agents at Cambridge, were Gardiner and Fox. At Oxford, the regent maſters ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the king, and the doctors and heads were for him, So that the matter remained in

1530. should be more ſcrupulous in the matter than the foreign. But the ſurprize ceaſes, when it is conſidered that theſe ſcruples aroſe, not from the queſtion itſelf, but from the conſequence, their determination might occaſion. Moſt of the members of the univerſities were ſuriouſly averſe to Luther's doctrine, which began to ſpread in England, and were afraid of countenancing it by deciding againſt the pope. Beſides, they ſaw that the king's marriage with Anne Bullen would follow upon his divorce with Catherine, and this ſecond marriage they would have gladly prevented, becauſe Anne Bullen was much inclined to the reformation [l], and expreſſed a very particular eſteem for Cranmer, whoſe preferment for the ſame reaſon they dreaded.

The reaſon of it. Burnet.

Henry's falſe ſteps in the matter of the divorce. Burnet.

The ambaſſadors who had been ſent into Italy [m], returning without effecting any thing, Henry, who till then had ſhown great regard for the pope, reſolved to alter his behaviour towards him. He might have known by experience that Clement was to be gained only by his intereſt. It is certain, if at firſt he had proceeded with more vigour, and powerfully ſupported the war in Italy, the pope would never have thought of joining with the emperor. A good Engliſh fleet in the Mediterranean would have made Francis maſter of Naples and ſaved the city of Genoa. The pope would thereby have been ſo kept in awe, that he would have been glad to have always the king of England for his friend. Inſtead of acting in this manner, Henry remained quiet during the whole campaign of 1528, ſuffering himſelf to be amuſed by the deceitful hopes given him by the pope. So the French were driven out of the kingdom of Naples, and the pope was at liberty to treat with the emperor concerning the recovery of Florence, which he would never have thought of, had the French been ſuperior in Italy. Henry perceived

in agitation from the 12th of February, to the 8th of April. At laſt it was carried in a convocation (from which by an order from the chancellor, ſays Wood, all the maſters of arts were excluded, but according to Burnet, conſiſting of all the doctors and maſters) that the buſineſs ſhould be decided by thirty three doctors and bachelors of divinity, who declared the marriage of the brother's wife to be contrary to the laws of God and nature, and put the common ſeal of the univerſity to their decree, on April 8. Longland, biſhop of Lincoln, was the king's agent at Oxford. Burnet, tom. I. p. 85, 86. See Fiddes Coll. p. 180, &c.

l Having received ſome impreſſions of it in the ducheſs of Alençon's court. Burnet, tom. I. p. 87.

m The head of this embaſſy was Thomas Bullen, earl of Wiltſhire, and Ormond, (21 Hen. VIII.) who refuſed at his audience of the pope at Bologna, to kiſs his toe, though he graciouſly ſtretched it out to him. He was accompanied by John Stokeſley, elect biſhop of London, and Edward Lee. Burnet, vol. I. p. 87, 95.

his error when it was too late to repair it, that is, after the pope was united with the emperor and Francis bound by the treaty of Cambray. He was left alone to support himself againſt the emperor and pope, and it was very happy for him that the Turks and the proteſtants of Germany ſo embaraſſed the emperor, as to hinder him from thinking of England. So, all means failing to accompliſh his deſign but what could be found in his own kingdom, he began, though a little too late, to make uſe of the inclinations of his ſubjects, who for the moſt part were not very fond of the pope. 1530. He is at a great loſs.

We have ſeen in ſeveral places of this hiſtory, how at all times the Engliſh complained of the tyranny of the popes, and the remedies applied by the parliaments to that grievance. It is true, the private intereſt of the kings rendered theſe remedies in ſome meaſure ineffectual, becauſe, as they frequently wanted the popes for their temporal concerns, the laws were not put in due execution. But that altered not the inclinations of the Engliſh. [o] The principles of the Lollards were ſtill deeply imprinted in the minds of great numbers. Beſides, Luther's books, whereof many were brought into England, had opened the eyes of multitudes; ſo that it may be affirmed, at the time I am ſpeaking of, the Engliſh in general had quite another notion of religion than their anceſtors, eſpecially with reſpect to the papal authority. The three laſt popes, Alexander VI. Julius II. and Leo X. had ſhown ſo little of religion in their conduct, and Clement VII. ſo cloſely followed their ſteps, that it was naturally inferred, it was impoſſible, Jeſus Chriſt ſhould have given the government of his church to ſuch vicars. Thus the Engliſh were very ready to ſhake off the pope's yoke, if the king for the ſake of his own private intereſt had not ſupported the exorbitant power ſo long complained of. But Clement VII. had no ſooner joined with the emperor, than the king's intereſt became the ſame with the people's. To this chiefly are to be aſcribed all the changes mentioned hereafter. Diſpoſition of the Engliſh to the popes, contrary to the intereſt of their kings. The king's and people's intereſt becomes the ſame.

Henry having reſolved to make the pope ſenſible of the danger of loſing England, if he continued any longer to favour the emperor, cauſed a letter worded in ſtrong terms to be ſent him by the great men of the kingdom, according to the example of their anceſtors in the reign of Henry III [n]. They Letters of great men to the pope. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 405. Herbert. p. 141. Burnet.

[n] Lord Herbert ſays, it was done by the parliament; but that is a miſtake, the letter being dated the 13th of July, it appears by the records there could be no ſeſſion at that time, the houſes being prorogued from the 21ſt of June, to the 1ſt of October. The letter it ſeems was ſent about to the chief members

1530. They plainly told him, "That the king's cauſe being their "own, if he continued to deny them what was abſolutely "neceſſary for their quiet, they were reſolved to apply the "remedy themſelves, which was vainly expected from him." This was ſufficient to ſatisfy him, that the patience of the Engliſh was almoſt worn out, and they would not ſuffer themſelves to be curbed or even amuſed any longer by the court of Rome. Indeed, the letter had not the deſired effect, but however it ſhowed the pope the diſpoſition of the Engliſh, and how neceſſary it was to uſe them gently. Wherefore he returned the great men a very moderate anſwer, vindicating his conduct with reſpect to the king in the beſt manner poſſible. Mean while, he ſent for ſir Gregory Caſſali, the king's ambaſſador in ordinary, and hinted to him that the affair might be adjuſted by means of a diſpenſation for the king to have two wives. This we learn from the ambaſſador's letter of the 18th of September, wherein after acquainting the king with what the pope ſaid, he added, that the emperor's miniſters were alſo deſirous that the affair ſhould be ended by this expedient. But Henry was ſo aware of all the pope's artifices, that he took no notice of the overture. His reſolution was, either to have a bull to null the marriage, or to procure himſelf at any rate the ſatisfaction he required. And therefore, fearing that the pope would unexpectedly ſend into England a bull of excommunication or interdict, he iſſued out a proclamation, forbidding under ſevere penalties to receive any bull from Rome contrary to the prerogatives of the crown. His deſign was to bring the affair before the parliament and clergy, and after gaining theſe two bodies to his intereſt, to cauſe it to be determined in England, without regarding the pope's proceedings againſt him. The difficulty was to prepoſſeſs the people in his favour. To that end, he ordered to be printed and publiſhed an abſtract of the reaſons for the divorce, that theſe reaſons being known to all the world, he might meet with leſs oppoſition in the parliament. The abſtract [o] contained two principal points. The firſt

The pope's anſwer. Herbert. p. 143.

Expedient propoſed by the pope. Ibid. p. 141.

Henry rejects it.

Proclamation to forbid the receiving any bulls, &c. Sept. 19. Hall. Stow.

Henry publiſhes his reaſons for the divorce. Burnet, T. I. p. 97. &c.

bers for their hands, and Cavendiſh tells us with what chearfulneſs cardinal Wolſey ſigned it. It was ſubſcribed by the two archbiſhops, four biſhops, two dukes, two marquiſſes, thirteen earls, two viſcounts, twenty three barons, twenty two abbots, eleven commoners, moſt of them the king's ſervants. Herbert, p. 142.

o Learned men were appointed to compare all that had been written on the ſubject, and out of all the tranſcripts of the manuſcripts, of fathers, and councils, to collect whatſoever did ſtrengthen it. Three of theſe manuſcripts are in the Cotton library. All theſe and many more were ſummed up in a ſhort book, and printed firſt in Latin, then in Engliſh, with the determinations of the univerſities before it. See Burnet, vol. I. p. 97.

was, That the king's marriage with Catherine was contrary to the law of God. The ſecond, That Julius II. had not power to grant a diſpenſation for that marriage, and conſequently the diſpenſation could not render it lawful. As this affair was the origin of the great events which will hereafter occur, it will not be perhaps unacceptable to the reader to ſee the ſubſtance of the arguments alledged on both ſides. 1530.

It was ſaid for the king, I. That the levitical law forbidding a man to marry his brother's wife was not a poſitive precept, which bound only thoſe to whom it was given, but obliged all mankind without exception. That this evidently appeared, in its being found among many others, which forbid the crimes wherewith the Canaanites were polluted. Now the Canaanites could not be polluted with crimes forbidden only by a poſitive law given to another nation.

II. Another argument was taken from what John the Baptiſt ſaid to Herod in the new teſtament, "It is not lawful "for thee to take thy brother's wife," becauſe St. John could allude only to the laws of Moſes, and conſequently owned them to be divine.

III. It was ſhown from ſeveral paſſages of Tertullian, and writings of the popes, that the church always deemed the levitical prohibitions as parts of the univerſal law of nature and all mankind. To this was added the authority of divers provincial ſynods, of the Conſtantinopolitan general council, of the council of Conſtance in the condemnation of Wickliff, of many Greek and Latin fathers, and of ſeveral Schoolmen.

IV. It was proved by the authority of the popes and councils, that a marriage is compleated by the mutual contract of the parties, though it be never conſummated. For that reaſon it was ſaid, Adonijah could not marry Abiſhag, who had been his father David's wife, though David never knew her. That upon the ſame account, Joſeph could not put away Mary without a bill of divorce; a clear evidence that their marriage was compleat, though not conſummated. Hence it was inferred, that though prince Arthur had not conſummated his marriage, it was not the leſs valid. But it was maintained, that it was as certain as a thing of that nature could be, that the marriage was conſummated. It was proved firſt by violent preſumptions. Secondly, becauſe after Arthur's death, the princeſs his widow was ſuppoſed to be with child, and ſhe never ſaid any thing to the contrary.

It

1530. It is true, it might be objected that Catherine had ſince ſworn, ſhe was never known by that prince. But it was replied, the canon law forbids the taking of oaths, when there are ſtrong preſumptions to the contrary. Beſides, the queen's oath could not be reckoned deciſive, ſince it was deſtroyed by the brief produced by her own advocates.

V. Julius's diſpenſation being the ſole foundation on which the validity of the king's marriage was eſtabliſhed, it was ſhown by a croud of witneſſes, both antient and modern, That the pope has not power to diſpenſe with the laws of God. Nay, it was affirmed, That if he diſpenſed with the decrees of the church, it was uſurpation, and that ſeveral biſhops in England itſelf, had reſiſted the popes when they would have aſſumed ſuch a liberty.

On the other ſide, the queen's advocates replied to theſe reaſons:

Arguments for the queen.

I. That the prohibitions in Leviticus were not parts of the moral law, ſince God himſelf had diſpenſed with them, in commanding the brother to marry his brother's widow. But of what nature ſoever the law was, if it were diſpenſed with by Moſes to the Jews, why might it not be as well done by the pope to the Chriſtians?

II. It was ſaid, the law in Leviticus againſt marrying the brother's wife muſt be underſtood of not taking her while the brother was alive; for after he was dead, by another law, a man was commanded by God himſelf to marry his brother's wife.

III. The crime St. John Baptiſt reproached Herod with might be adultery as well as inceſt, ſince according to Joſephus and Euſebius, Herod's brother Philip was alive when St. John ſpoke.

IV. The popes daily diſpenſed, contrary to the laws of God, with vows and oaths, without being cenſured. Beſides, it was maintained, the pope was the only judge, whether the prohibition was moral or not.

V. It was alledged, the pope had granted the diſpenſation upon a very weighty conſideration, to keep peace between the two crowns of Spain and England.

VI. It was urged, that the marriage had ſubſiſted near twenty years, and never been thought invalid.

VII. Laſtly, It was affirmed, if there were any nullities in the bull of diſpenſation, the pope was the only competent judge of it.

The

The king's advocates replied to theſe arguments, and were 1530.
anſwered again by the writers on the queen's ſide, both practiſing what is very common on ſuch occaſions, that is, they evaded the force of the reaſons of the oppoſite party, by keeping to generals. I ſhall ſay no more of it. Thoſe that are curious to ſee the arguments on both ſides, may be ſatisfied by reading the hiſtory of the reformation of England, where they are fully ſet forth. It will ſuffice to remark, that in theſe diſputes was ſpent the whole year 1530, Henry being very glad the people ſhould be thoroughly informed of the affair, before it was brought to the parliament. Burnet. Vol. I. p. 97. &c.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, cardinal Wolſey remained at his country houſe, living betwixt hope and fear, without being able to form any probable conjecture of the king's behaviour towards him. Though all his goods were ſeized, and that ſeemed to denote he intended to ſhow him no favour, yet he ſaw from time to time ſome rays of goodneſs ſhine upon him [p], which made him hope that his maſter, who had loved him ſo well, would not be for ever inexorable. And indeed, the twelfth of February, the king granted him a general pardon of all his offences of what nature ſoever. Among all the pardons in the collection of the publick acts, there are none ſo full and particular as this. Then, the king came to an agreement with the cardinal, by which he left him the archbiſhoprick of York, with all its revenues and dependencies, except York Place. As to the ſee of Wincheſter and abbey of St. Albans, the king reſerved to himſelf the revenues, though he left him the titles. But the cardinal was bound to reſign theſe two benefices when required. In conſideration whereof the king aſſigned him a thouſand marks ſterling a year out of the biſhoprick of Wincheſter, with a promiſe to grant him the like penſion upon ſome other benefice, in caſe this was taken from him. Moreover, he gave him to the value of ſix thouſand three hundred and ſeventy four pounds, three ſhillings and ſeven pence halfpenny, in money and goods, part of thoſe belonging to the cardinal which had been confiſcated [q]. All the reſt remained to the king

Cardinal Wolſey's uncertain ſtate.

The king grants him a very full pardon. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 366, 371.

They come to an agreement. Ibid. p. 365.

p. 375.

[p] November 1, the king ſent ſir John Ruſſel to him with a Turquoiſe ring, as a token of his care and affection. Herbert, p. 125. Stow, p. 550.

[q] That the curious reader may form an eſtimate from thence of the real proportion the value of money bears now to what it did then, here is a liſt of the money and goods as we find it in the original grant: firſt, in ready money three thouſand pounds. Item, in plate nine thouſand five hundred ſixty five ounces and one eighth, at three ſhillings eight pence the ounce, amounteth

1530. king with the cardinal's conſent, who owned it as a particular favour that the king was pleaſed to leave him any thing. This was all he preſerved of the immenſe riches acquired during his credit. But what afflicted him moſt ſenſibly, was, that his two colleges, founded with ſo much pains, and called by his own name, to be an everlaſting monument of his glory, were likewiſe confiſcated. He writ to the king upon that ſubject, in a manner that perfectly ſhowed his extreme concern for that loſs. He even entreated Cromwell, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to hinder his two colleges from being involved in his ruin. But it was all in vain. The king took poſſeſſion of all the lands belonging to them [r], and depriving them of the name of their founder, endowed them anew in his own.

Wolſey tries in vain to ſave his colleges. Burnet. Herbert. Strype's Mem. p. 118.

He has ſtill ſome hopes. Herbert. Fiddes. p. 512.

Notwithſtanding all this, Wolſey had ſtill hopes, by reaſon of ſome marks of friendſhip given him by the king upon certain occaſions. He had permitted him to remove to Richmond, where he was nearer his perſon. Moreover, hearing he was ſick, he ſent a lord to viſit him in his name, and even cauſed Anne Bullen to write to him [s]. But at the

amounteth to one thouſand ſeven hundred fifty two pounds thirteen ſhillings and ſeven pence halfpenny. Item, divers apparel of houſhold, as hangings, &c. amounting to eight hundred pounds. Item, eighty horſes and geldings with their furniture, valued at one hundred and fifty pounds. Item, in mules for the ſaddle, four, with their furniture, valued at ſixty pounds. Item, in mules for carriage ſix, with their furniture, valued at forty pounds. In Ling one thouſand, valued at fifty pounds. In Cod and Haberden eight hundred, valued at forty pounds. In ſalt eight waye, valued at ten pounds. In implements of the kitchen, as pots, &c. at eighty pounds. In mutton (ſheep) ſeventy, valued at twelve pounds. In fifty two oxen, valued at eighty pounds. In wearing apparel, to the value of three hundred pounds. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 375.

[r] They remained in the king's hands till 1532, in which time ſeveral of the manors and other eſtates, particularly in Eſſex, and Oxfordſhire, were granted to ſir Richard Page, and other courtiers. In 1532, the king by Cromwell's and Gardiner's advice, founded anew the college in Oxford, (now called Chriſt Church) and ſettled on it two thouſand pounds a year; but it was diſſolved again, by commiſſion, in 1545, and two months after was revived by the king's letters patents: and the next year the king removed the epiſcopal ſee from Oſney to this college. As for the building, Wolſey finiſhed only the hall, and the kitchen. Fiddes life of Wolſey, p. 306, &c. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 409, 410, 443. Beſides his two colleges, the cardinal founded, in the univerſity of Oxford, lectures of divinity, civil law, medicine, philoſophy, mathematicks, greek, and rhetorick. Fiddes, p. 209, &c.

[s] The king ſent him a ring ſet with a ruby, whereon was his own picture, by dr. Butts, aſſuring him he was not offended with him in his heart. And, in his letter to Anne Bullen, he ſays, good ſweetheart, as you love me, ſend the cardinal a token at my requeſt, and in ſo doing, you ſhall deſerve our thanks. Whereupon ſhe ſent him a tablet of gold which hung at her ſide. The king ſent him alſo four loads of rich furniture. Fiddes's life of Wolſey, p. 513, 514.

ſame time that the compaſſion expreſſed for him by the king cheriſhed his hopes, it made his enemies apprehenſive of his return to court, and therefore they never ceaſed to exaſperate the king againſt him. In ſhort, as they could not ſee him ſo near the court without fearing the revival of the king's affection for a miniſter, he had ſo paſſionately loved, they cauſed an order to be ſent him [t] to withdraw to his dioceſe of York. Very probably, Anne Bullen contributed moſt to his diſgrace, ſince none but a miſtreſs could poſſibly make the king forget ſuch a favourite. However this be, the cardinal being forced to ſubmit, began his journey [u] to the north with a train, though not ſo large as uſual during his proſperity, yet conſiſting ſtill of a hundred and ſixty horſe [w]. He arrived about the end of September at Cawood [x], where he ſtaid according to the cuſtom of the archbiſhops of York, till things were ready for the ceremony of his inſtallment, which was to be performed in a month with a magnificence little ſuitable to his preſent condition. But whilſt he was preparing to enjoy in his archbiſhoprick the ſmall remains of authority, which he imagined would be ſtill left him, he was arreſted by the earl of Northumberland [y] for high treaſon. He would have inſiſted at firſt upon his privilege as cardinal. But the earl told him, that ſhould not hinder him from executing the king's orders. At the ſame time his phyſician was ſeized, and ſent to London with his legs tied to his horſe. It is not known to this day, whether the king had been poſſeſſed that the cardinal had a deſign upon his life, which however is not very probable. Be this as it will, he ſet forward by eaſy journies to London, extremely concerned to think, he was going to appear as a criminal in a city, where he had before commanded with almoſt a ſovereign authority. But in all likelihood his grief turned to his advantage, as it threw him into a fit of ſickneſs, which conſtrained him to ſtop at Leiceſter abbey, where he ended his days the 30th of November [z]. Before he expired, he ſaid to the king's

1530.

He is ſent away to York, Fiddes. Herbert. Stow. Hall.

Pol. Virg. Stow.

and arreſted of high treaſon. Nov. 4. Herbert. Hall. Stow.

He is conducted to London.

He dies by the way.

His laſt words.

[t] By Thomas Cromwell, his late ſervant. Fiddes, p. 514.

[u] But before he ſet out, he received from the king the ſum of ten thouſand pounds. Cavendiſh.

[w] And ſeventy two carts with his houſhold ſtuff. Burnet, tom. I. p. 81.

[x] A caſtle about twelve miles from York, belonging to the archbiſhops.

[y] Henry Percy; and by ſir Walter Welſh. Fiddes, p. 522. Hall ſays, that he had writ to the pope and ſeveral princes, letters reflecting on the king, and ſtirred them to revenge his cauſe, fol. 194.

[z] In his way he ſtayed a fortnight at the earl of Shrewſbury's, at Sheffield Park, where he was taken ill one day at dinner. Cavendiſh ſays, ſpeaking of the effects of his diſtemper, it was apparent he had poiſoned himſelf. By the mediation of the earl, ſir William

1530. king's officer who ſtood near his bed: "If I had ſerved "God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not "have given me over in my grey hairs." But I do not know whether he had reaſon to boaſt of his zeal and diſintereſtedneſs in the ſervices he had done the king. He added, ſpeaking to the ſame officer, that if, as he thought him worthy, he ſhould ever be admitted to the king's council, he ſhould take care what he put in his head, for he would never be able to put it out again. This ſeems to intimate, he had counſelled the king to undertake the divorce, which afterwards he would have diſſuaded him from. And indeed, he deſired the ſame perſon to tell the king, that he prayed him to call to remembrance what had paſſed betwixt them about the divorce, and hoped, that when he ſhould be leſs prejudiced, he would do him more juſtice. This ſhows that he looked upon that affair as the ſole cauſe of his diſgrace. Thus died this famous cardinal, the proudeſt and moſt haughty of men, and we may add, the moſt ambitious and moſt greedy of eſtates and honours. It is affirmed, that while he governed the king, he never gave him advice without a view to his own intereſt. This alone would be ſufficient to obſcure all the fine qualities he might otherwiſe have, but which in the main amounted only to a great penetration, whereof he made an ill uſe. The king ſhowed a concern for his death [a]. And yet, ſince he had ordered him to be arreſted for high treaſon, very probably his ruin was determined. Henry was of a temper to accompliſh whatever

Herbert. Cavend. Stow. Hollingſh.

The king ſhews ſome concern for his death. Herbert.

liam Kingſton, conſtable of the Tower, (the perſon to whom he ſpoke his laſt words) was ſent by the king to convey him to London. With much ado, being hardly able to ſit his horſe, he got to Leiceſter abbey, where upon their coming out to receive him, he ſaid, father abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you. He was buried in the abbey chapel, of which even the ruins are not at preſent to be diſcovered. He died the 28th of November, according to Burnet; and according to Fiddes the 29th, of a dyſentery, p. 529. He had begun a monument for himſelf with his own image, which one Benedetto, a ſtatuary of Florence took in hand 1524, and continued till 1529, receiving for ſo much as was already done, four thouſand two hundred and fifty ducats. The deſign whereof was ſo glorious, that it exceeded far that of Henry VII. But upon his death the king ſeized what was finiſhed and called it his. Thus the cardinal's tomb had the ſame fate with his college. He is ſaid to behave mighty well during the time he was in the north, after his diſgrace, and to become very popular. As no man (ſays Polydore) did ever riſe with fewer virtues, ſo (ſays lord Herbert) few that ever fell from ſo high a place had leſſer crimes objected againſt him. He is ſaid (according to one of the articles of his impeachment) to leave two natural ſons behind him, whereof one called Winter, was loaded with church preferments. Herbert, Burnet, Stow, &c. Fiddes, p. 521, &c. 530.

[a] He was very much afflicted with the news of it, and ſaid he would have given twenty thouſand pounds he had but lived. Herbert, p. 148.

he

he undertook [b]. This will plainly appear hereafter, in his extraordinary ſeverity to perſons, who doubtleſs were not ſo guilty as this favourite. 1530.

The affair of the divorce [c] and its conſequences employing Henry during the reſidue of his life, it will for the future be the principal thing I ſhall have to ſpeak of to the end of this reign. But as by the alterations introduced by this prince into his kingdom, his affairs led him to concern himſelf with the troubles of Germany, it is neceſſary, for the underſtanding of the ſequel, briefly to mention what paſſed in that country.

Affairs of Germany as to religion. Sleidan.

The emperor's aim in calling the diet of Augſburg, was rather to inflame than appeaſe the religious troubles. Since he made peace with France, and Italy was as it were ſubject to his yoke, he was forming vaſt projects. He ſaw himſelf maſter of Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries; his brother Ferdinand was now king of Bohemia, and had been elected king of Hungary. With theſe advantages, he hoped to be able to ſubdue the reſt of Europe. It was neceſſary to begin with Germany, where he had great power, as emperor and archduke of Auſtria, becauſe if he once became abſolute in the empire, and could diſpoſe of the forces of the German princes, he imagined France and England would not be able to reſiſt him. The troubles cauſed by religion in Germany ſeemed to him a very ſpecious pretence to arm againſt the proteſtants, judging, that after ruining them by the help of the catholicks, theſe would in their turn be eaſily ſubdued. I cannot be accuſed here of aſcribing to this monarch deſigns he never really had, ſince it is notorious that himſelf and ſucceſſors purſued gradually, and, I may ſay, openly the execution of the ſame project. The wars that afflicted Europe for more than a century, were ſolely excited by the boundleſs ambition of the houſe of Auſtria, whom the other ſovereigns were concerned to oppoſe.

Progreſs of the reformation. Sleidan.

Since Luther's preaching in Germany, the reformation had made ſo great progreſs, that ſeveral princes of the empire, and many Hans Towns had openly embraced it. As they were accuſed of introducing many innovations in religion, in anſwer to that charge, they proteſted, their intent was only to adhere to the doctrine of the goſpel and religion of the primitive church. And therefore, they demanded

[b] Biſhop Burnet juſtly obſerves, that king Henry loved to raiſe mean perſons, and upon the leaſt diſtaſte to throw them down, and ſacrifice them to public diſcontents. Tom. I. p. 9.

[c] It was called the king's weighty affair. Burnet.

1530. that a free council might be held in ſome city of Germany, where the religious differences might be calmly examined by the word of God. But this was a method which their adverſaries could not allow. They ſuppoſed, as a thing certain, that the religion profeſſed before Luther's appearance was the true religion, and being without ſpot, wrinkle, or the like, had no need of reformation. According to that principle, they thought the point was not to examine it at all, but to compel the recuſants or hereticks to conform. This was the conſtant maxim, long ſince followed by the Romiſh clergy, and which cauſed them to uſe fire and ſword to extirpate thoſe they were pleaſed to term hereticks. But in the ſituation of Germany, at the time I am ſpeaking of, it was not eaſy to practiſe that maxim. It was not private perſons only who declared againſt the Roman church, but cities, whole nations, and ſovereigns. So the zealous abettors of the old religion were not in condition to reduce them by force. Wherefore they choſe to feed them with hopes of a free council, till the affairs of Europe were ſo diſpoſed, that it might be hoped to reduce them by way of authority. Several diets had been held upon that ſubject in Germany, where, contrary to the opinion of the court of Rome, the emperor and the catholick princes had been obliged to conceal their ſentiments and conſent to a toleration, which however left them at liberty to act another time, according to their real principles.

When Luther began to appear, the religious diſputes turned only upon the exceſſive abuſes of the papal power, and a few other points. Then Luther had on his ſide almoſt all the lay princes of Germany, and many Hans Towns, each of which was a republick. From that time, he made new diſcoveries, and publiſhed them to the world. But he had not upon all the articles the ſame number of followers, as upon that of the papal authority. Beſides, the emperor and the zealous catholicks oppoſed with all their power the progreſs of the reformation. Care was taken to intimidate ſuch as inclined that way, or to continue them in the old religion by promiſes, by places, by poſts, which did not a little help to confirm them in their firſt ſentiments. So for ſome years, the reformers uſed all poſſible endeavours to gain proſelytes, and the Romiſh clergy were as diligent to hinder their progreſs. Mean time, whilſt they ſtrove only in this manner, the reformation daily took root, which obliged the adverſaries to ſeek other means to prevent its growth; thoſe hitherto uſed not proving very effectual.

In

In 1524 Charles V. coming to the diet of Worms, ſent for Luther, and after a hearing baniſhed him the empire with all his adherents, by a formal decree in the diet's name. But ſome pretend, the diet was not concerned in the decree. However, the emperor perſiſted to maintain it. But it ſeems the Germans conſidered it not as obligatory. The next year, the diet held at Noremberg produced againſt the court of Rome a hundred grievances, of which they demanded the redreſs by means of a free council. 1530.

Another diet held at the ſame place paſſed a decree, whereby it was reſolved to demand a free council in Germany. But upon their diſſolution, the catholicks aſſembled by themſelves at Ratiſbon, and ordered the decree of Worms to be executed.

In another diet at Spires in 1526, the emperor cauſed it to be declared, that he meant not that any reſolution ſhould be taken concerning the affairs of religion, but only concerning the method of executing the decree of Worms, till there ſhould be a general council. But as this council was yet very remote, the diet decreed, the emperor ſhould be prayed to procure a council in Germany within a year, and in the mean while, every one ſhould ſo govern himſelf in point of religion, as to be able to give an account of his conduct to God and the emperor.

During theſe tranſactions, the war which the Turks had carried into Hungary, ſuſpended for ſome time the execution of Charles V's projects againſt thoſe who had embraced the new religion, becauſe he wanted the aſſiſtance of all the German princes, as well proteſtants as catholicks [d]. Beſides, his war then with France ſuffered him not to think much of the affairs of Germany. But in 1529, being upon the point of making peace with France, he thought he might talk in a higher ſtrain. He called a diet at Spires, where it was ordered that thoſe who had hitherto obeyed the decree of Worms, ſhould continue to obſerve it, and the reſt that had not ſubmitted, ſhould make no innovations in religion, nor hinder their ſubjects from going to maſs. Againſt this decree the elector of Saxony and Brandenburgh, the landgrave of Heſſe, and the princes of Lunenburg, made a ſolemn proteſtation, from whence all their party were called

[d] January 21, king Henry empowered Thomas, earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond, John Stokeſley, biſhop elect of London, dr. William Lee, and dr. William Benet, to conclude a league with the pope, the emperor, the kings of France, Portugal, &c. againſt the Turk. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 354.

1530. proteſtants. The emperor, who was then in Italy, very roughly received the proteſtation brought to him by deputies, and thereby obliged the proteſtants to unite for their common defence, the emperor diſcovering by his words that he had ill deſigns againſt them. In the diet which was to meet at Augſburg in April 1530, but did not however aſſemble till June, he was reſolved to lay the foundation of his projected war againſt the proteſtants.

At the opening of the diet, the emperor's chancellor made a long ſpeech, complaining in his maſter's name of thoſe who had hitherto endeavoured to alter the ancient faith, and cardinal Campegio exhorted the Germans to extirpate the errors that were crept into Germany. That done, the proteſtants deſired, they might declare their belief before the diet. This was denied them, and they were made to take as a favour the leave granted them to deliver their confeſſion of faith in writing. The landgrave of Heſſe ſeeing ſo great partiality in the diet, withdrew without taking leave; whereupon the emperor commanded the gates of Augſburg to be ſhut, ſhowing, he intended to uſe violence towards thoſe that remained in the city. But upon the elector of Saxony's remonſtrances, he ordered them to be opened. In ſhort, after many debates [a], he cauſed to be publiſhed in the diet's name, a decree entirely againſt the proteſtants, and which upon the hopes he gave them of a general council, obliged them to deſtroy whatever had been done in point of religion to that day.

The diet ending in this manner, the emperor ordered the archbiſhop of Mentz to aſſemble the electors, to proceed to the election of a king of the Romans, intending to cauſe his brother Ferdinand to be choſen. The proteſtants ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this meeting, affirming, there was no occaſion to elect a king of the Romans, and demonſtrating the inconveniencies which would ariſe from his deſign to render the imperial crown as it were hereditary to the houſe of Auſtria. In fine, ſeeing that notwithſtanding their remonſtrances it was deſigned to proceed to the election, they met at Smalcald the 22d of December 1530, and concluded a defenſive league againſt all who ſhould attack them on account of religion. Then they made a formal proteſtation againſt the intended election of a king of the Romans,

League of Smalcald.

[a] In one of which, upon the proteſtants affirming theirs was the ancient religion, the emperor would needs diſpute himſelf, which the Spaniſh writers ſay he did with that eagerneſs, that he drew his dagger. Herbert, p. 150.

without their consent. In this situation were the affairs of religion in Germany about the end of the year 1530. 1531.

After the emperor had quitted Italy, the pope's nuntio continually pressed him to pronounce judgment upon the affair of the duke of Ferrara. The pope could not imagine but the judgment would be in his favour, considering the emperor's engagement with him, by the treaty of Barcelona. But whether the emperor had more fully examined the matter, or for some other reason, he gave sentence, that Modena and Reggio belonged of right to the duke of Ferrara; but to satisfy the pope, he should pay a hundred thousand ducats, for which the pope should be obliged to give him the investiture of Ferrara, as granted to his predecessors; and to begin to execute this sentence, he delivered Modena to the duke. The pope, extremely displeased with a judgment so different from what he expected, refused to submit to it, and in hopes of seizing Ferrara, would not receive the hundred thousand ducats offered him by the duke. The emperor disobliges the pope in the affair of Ferrara. Guicciard.

Clement VII. being thus incensed against the emperor, had great inclination to be reconciled with the kings of France and England, imagining he should be received with open arms. Indeed, Francis I. had unwillingly agreed to the treaty of Cambray, and solely because there was no other way to recover his sons. But since he had received them, he had been thinking how to retrieve what he had lost by that treaty. To this end, he privately laboured to sow jealousies among the princes, by making them apprehensive of the emperor's ambition, and promising them assistance. As soon as he was informed of the pope's discontent, he thought, nothing should be neglected to gain him to his interest at so favorable a juncture: Wherefore he proposed a marriage between Catherine de Medici daughter of the late duke Lorenzo, and the duke of Orleans his second son; an honour to which the family of the Medici durst never aspire, if the king had not offered it himself. On the other hand, Henry knowing the union between the pope and the emperor was the sole cause of the obstacles in the affair of the divorce, did not question, he should easily effect his designs, if he could set them at variance. But two things hindered him from applying himself to that means. The first was, he could not trust the pope. The second, that he began to find his subjects much more inclined to shake off the papal yoke, than he had imagined, and therefore did not think himself under a necessity to depend upon the pope. Francis I. tries to gain the pope. He offers to marry his son the duke of Orleans with Catherine de Medici. Henry dares not trust the pope. He thinks himself no longer obliged to rely upon him.

1531. If he had at firſt humbly addreſſed to the pope, it was partly becauſe he feared the people's prejudice in favour of Chriſt's vicar. But when he found this prejudice was not ſo ſtrong as he had believed, he never troubled himſelf about the pope's oppoſition. His kingdom being ſafe from invaſions by land, he had nothing to fear from any prince in Europe, provided his ſubjects were not terrified with the thunders of the Vatican. But the Engliſh were not in that reſpect the ſame as formerly. Wickliff had begun to enlighten them; the conduct of the late popes had increaſed their light; and Luther's books and followers had quite opened their eyes. Since the ſpreading of the new doctrine in England, the pope's authority was ſo diſcredited, that the Engliſh for the moſt part wiſhed for a favourable opportunity to throw off a yoke they had ſo long groaned under. This made the king reſolve to have his cauſe tried by the parliament and convocation.

He imparts the affair of the divorce to the parliament. Herbert. Burnet.

The parliament meeting the 6th of January, the chancellor opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, declaring, that the king earneſtly wiſhed to annul his marriage, not from diſhoneſt motives, as ſome laboured to make his people believe, but for the peace of his conſcience, and the welfare of the kingdom, being unwilling to leave the ſucceſſion of the crown in danger of being diſputed. Then he cauſed a great number of books and treatiſes written on that ſubject, with abſtracts of ſeveral authors both antient and modern, to be brought with the determinations of the univerſities of France, Italy and England, which were all left upon the table to be examined at leiſure [f]. The king's deſign was alſo brought before the convocation, who declared, they were ſatisfied the king's marriage was contrary to the law of God. The king required no more at that time. He had another important affair to debate with the clergy, which was to be decided before this was farther examined. Very likely, the convocation being informed of the king's intent, the more readily gave their opinion for him, as they perfectly

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 398, &c. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The clergy decide in favour of the king. Burnet.

f The king firſt brought in the books and determinations of the univerſities to the houſe of lords, and after they were read and conſidered there, the chancellor did on the 20th of March, (or, according to lord Herbert, on the 31ſt) with twelve lords ſpiritual and temporal, go down to the houſe of commons, and ſhewed them the books, and produced twelve original papers, with the ſeals of the univerſities to them, which ſir Brian Tuke read openly in the houſe; when that was done, the chancellor ſpoke the ſpeech mentioned above. So that he did not open the ſeſſion of parliament with it, as Rapin ſays a few lines above. See Burnet, tom. I. p. 105. Herbert, p. 152. Hall, fol. 195.

knew

knew how much they ſhould want his favour in the buſineſs in hand, which was of the utmoſt conſequence. 1531.

Cardinal Wolſey had been accuſed by the attorney general, of exerciſing in England his Legatine authority without the king's ſpecial licence, and of diſpoſing as legate of ſeveral benefices, contrary to the ſtatutes of proviſors and præmunire. Hence it naturally followed, that thoſe who had owned his authority, and appeared in his courts, were equally liable to be indicted. By this means, all the clergy were in the ſame caſe, ſince there was ſcarce one but what had applied to him during the courſe of his legateſhip. So, after the king had procured of the convocation an approbation of his proceedings concerning the divorce, he ordered an indictment to be brought into the king's bench againſt all the clergy, for breaking the laws of the realm [g]. He had in this a double view; the firſt to draw a good ſum from the clergy; the ſecond, to humble that powerful body, and ſo leſſen their great credit with the people, who before had always ſeen them ſupported by the royal authority. He knew he ſhould meet with the greateſt oppoſition from the clergy in the affair of the divorce. For that reaſon, he was very glad to put it out of their power to hurt him, by keeping them as it were in dependence, and by ſowing a kind of diviſion between the clergy and people, by the ſatisfaction theſe would probably expreſs at the diſgrace of the eccleſiaſticks, who had ever treated them with great haughtineſs. He thereby put the clergy under a neceſſity of recurring to the royal protection, and conſequently of ſhewing leſs zeal for the intereſt of the court of Rome. This ſucceeded according to his expectation. In vain did the clergy plead, that the king himſelf had connived at the cardinal's proceedings. What had not been ſerviceable to Wolſey, was not capable of excuſing them that had owned his authority. So the court proceeded to a ſentence, that the clergy were all out of the king's protection, and liable to the pains in the ſtatute of præmunire. The people were extremely pleaſed, and particularly the favourers of the new religion, to ſee the clergy humbled to ſo great a degree. On the other hand, the clergy plainly perceived, that as the laity ſtood affected, it would be in vain to reſiſt the king. They could expect no more aſſiſtance from Rome. Since the pope had quarrelled with the king, he had loſt all his

All the clergy are accuſed of breaking the ſtatutes of præmunire. Herbert. Burnet.

They are condemned. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

[g] Namely, the ſtatutes againſt proviſions and proviſors. Burnet, tom. I. p. 106.

power;

1531. power; and as the king ſhewed he would no longer regard him, the thunders of the Vatican were looked upon with contempt. The clergy, in this their ill ſituation, reſolved to purchaſe the king's favour at any rate, finding they could no longer depend upon the people, who were much altered from what they were formerly. So the convocation of Canterbury having debated upon the affair, reſolved [h] to offer the king a hundred thouſand pounds for a pardon. Purſuant to the reſolution, ſome of their members were ordered to draw an act for that purpoſe. Probably, they who were charged with this commiſſion were friends of the court, and had a mind to take this opportunity to give the king a prerogative which none of his predeceſſors had ever enjoyed. Lord Herbert and doctor Burnet ſay, the convocation reſolved to preſent a petition to the king, to pray him to accept of a hundred thouſand pounds. But as this inſtrument is extant in the collection of the publick acts, it may now be ſpoken of with greater exactneſs. It was not a petition, but a publick act of the clergy, in form of letters patents, whereby they gave that ſum to the king. It was ſaid in the inſtrument, that it was, firſt, in conſideration of his great merit. Secondly, in teſtimony of the clergy's gratitude for the great benefits he had procured the catholick church, as well by his pen as his ſword. Thirdly, for his zeal againſt the Lutherans, who were labouring to deſtroy the church of England, of which the clergy acknowledged the king ſole protector, and ſupreme head [i]. Laſtly, in hopes he would be pleaſed to grant the clergy and all their members, a pardon of all the offences committed againſt the ſtatutes of proviſors and præmunire.

They offer the king 100,000l.

An act is drawn up, wherein the clergy calls him head of the church of England.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 413. March 22.

When this inſtrument was read in the convocation, many diſliked that the clergy ſhould be made to ſay, that they acknowledged the king for protector and ſupreme head of the church of England. Some imagined, it was inſerted through inadvertency and exceſſive flattery, whereof the penners of the inſtrument had not conſidered the conſequence. Others ſaid, it was intended to ſurprize the convocation, by inſerting theſe words in the body of an inſtrument, which was only to grant a ſum to the king. They added, theſe words, which ſeemed to be put in by accident, and without

Oppoſition to that title. Burnet. Herbert.

[h] On January 24. This ſum was to be levied in five years. Rymer, tom. XIV, p. 414.

[i] —Cujus ſingularem protectorem, unicum & ſupremum dominum, & quantum per Chriſti legem licet, etiam ſupremum caput ipſius majeſtatem, recognoſcimus.—Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV, p. 414.

deſign,

deſign, were however of very great conſequence, and as the convocation had not taken any reſolution upon that point, they were for razing them out. But on the other hand, thoſe who were in the ſecret, pretended the words could not be put out by a formal reſolve, without diſpleaſing the king, and giving him occaſion to refuſe the offered compenſation. This cauſed ſuch debates, that they were forced to put off the deciſion of the affair to the next day. It was not without reaſon that ſeveral dreaded the conſequence which might very naturally be drawn from theſe words, ſince it was evident, the clergy was thereby engaged to acknowledge the pope no longer head of the church of England, which could not have two ſupreme heads at once. This was in effect the king's intention, as well as theirs who had penned or drawn the inſtrument, as plainly appeared the next day. Thomas Cromwell, with others of the king's council, going to the convocation very clearly hinted, that the point in debate yeſterday was very agreeable to the king, and he could not but conſider the oppoſers as very diſaffected perſons. After ſuch a declaration, there was not one that durſt directly oppoſe it, eſpecially as the archbiſhop and ſeveral other prelates openly maintained, that the king was truly the ſupreme head of the church of England. So the act paſſed as it was drawn. Only ſome moved to add this reſtriction, as far "as is conſiſtent with the law of Chriſt." But it was not the king's intention to leave a door for thoſe to eſcape, who ſhould hereafter diſpute his ſupremacy [k]. The inſtrument being ſealed the 22d of March, was preſented to the king, who very graciouſly accepted both the clergy's preſent, and his new title, of which he afterwards made great uſe. The convocation of the province of York reſolved likewiſe to give the king eighteen thouſand eight hundred and forty pounds. But as they omitted in the grant to acknowledge the king ſupreme head of the church of England, they were told, that their preſent would not be accepted, if they ſpoke not like the convocation of Canterbury. So the clergy of York province were forced to inſert the ſame acknowledgment in their inſtrument. In this

1531.

The king extorts the clergy's conſent. Herbert. Burnet.

[k] Though archbiſhop Parker and our author ſay, the act paſſed without the reſtriction, yet it appears by ſeveral paſſages in Henry's letter to biſhop Tunſtal, who in the convocation at York had proteſted againſt it; that the words quantum per Chriſti legem licet were inſerted, and the act ſo paſſed, by nine biſhops, (the biſhop of Rocheſter being one) and fifty two abbots and priors, and the major part of the lower houſe of convocation, and particularly Stephen Gardiner. Burnet, vol. I. p. 112. Herbert, p. 151.

manner

1531. manner the king procured, or rather extorted from the clergy, the title of ſupreme head of the church of England. It is certain, that though ſome freely gave it him, yet the major part were not of that opinion [l]. This is evident from the method uſed to obtain it. The acknowledgment was procured in the manner we have ſeen, by Warham archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas Cromwell, and ſome others, who verily believed there was no occaſion for the pope. Thoſe who flattered themſelves at firſt, that the words were inſerted without deſign in the inſtrument brought into the convocation of Canterbury, might have ſeen their error, if they had attended to another article in the ſame inſtrument, and which was alſo inſerted in that of the province of York, namely, that the clergy did promiſe for the future neither to make nor execute any conſtitution without the king's licence. This was, in other words, acknowledging the king for ſupreme head of the church of England. We ſhall ſee hereafter what uſe Henry made of this new title.

The clergy of York province are forced to follow the example of thoſe of Canterbury.

The king being ſatisfied with the clergy, granted them a pardon in ample form. But when the pardon was brought into the houſe of commons, they refuſed to paſs it, unleſs the laity, who might have been guilty of the ſame offences, were alſo included [m]. Henry offended at their oppoſition, ſent them word, he would be maſter of his own favours, and not ſuffer them to be forced from him. The king's reſolution terrified the commons, who to avoid his indignation, paſſed the pardon as it was, throwing themſelves upon his mercy as to what concerned the laity. Then the king, ſatisfied with their ſubmiſſion, granted to his temporal ſubjects a pardon like that to his ſpiritual. It ſeems however, that the colleges and monaſteries were excepted, who not being included in the pardons, were forced to compound with the king, as we find in the collection of the publick acts.

Pardon granted to the clergy. The commons want the laity to be included in it. The king offended at it. The pardon paſſes. The laity pardoned. See Statut. Herbert. Burnet. Stow. Monaſteries compound with the king.

So far were the people from riſing, (as they would doubtleſs have done, had they been under the ſame prejudice with their anceſtors in the reigns of Henry II. and king John;) that on the contrary, joy was viſibly painted on their faces, being highly delighted to ſee the clergy humbled. Thus

The people rejoice at the clergy's diſgrace.

[l] When archbiſhop Warham, upon ſome not ſpeaking for or againſt it, ſaid, that ſilence was to be taken for conſent; they cried out, we are all ſilent then. Herbert, p. 851.

[m] They apprehended, that, either they might be brought into trouble, or at leaſt their having tranſgreſſed the ſtatutes, might be made uſe of to draw a ſubſidy from them. Burnet, tom. I. p. 113.

that

that body, ſo formidable heretofore, inſtead of daring to reſiſt the king, were conſtrained to fly to his protection, becauſe they ſaw plainly, the people ſhewed no concern at their diſgrace, and they had no remedy elſewhere [n]. 1531.

When the pope heard what had paſſed in England, he was terribly embarraſſed. He ſaw Henry purſuing ſuch meaſures as would probably be attended with fatal conſequences. However, he durſt not venture to proceed haughtily, for fear of engaging in a quarrel, which he foreſaw would not be to his advantage. Beſides his not being pleaſed with the emperor, he ſaw him upon the point of being fully employed by the Turks, and the German proteſtants, at a time when France and England were in ſtrict union. So, perceiving no aſſiſtance ſpeedy enough, in caſe he ſhould attempt to exert his authority, he choſe to be ſilent, in expectation of a proper ſeaſon to act, or at leaſt to be reconciled to the king. The pope diſſembles his ſentiments. Herbert. Burnet.

This affair being ended, Henry prorogued the parliament [o]. Then he ordered the determinations of the univerſities to be printed, with the opinions of the learned concerning his marriage, that againſt the next ſeſſion every one might be informed of the ſtate of the caſe and of his motives to proſecute the divorce. Mean while, as in putting away the queen, his intent was to marry Anne Bullen, he paſſionately wiſhed the queen would be perſuaded to conſent to the divorce, in order to avoid the inconveniencies which might ariſe from her obſtinacy. To that purpoſe, he Henry tries in vain to bring the queen to conſent to the divorce. Herbert. Burnet. Strype's Mem. Hall. Hollingſh.

[n] During this ſeſſion of parliament, one Richard Rouſe, a cook, on the 16th of February, poiſoned ſome ſoup in the biſhop of Rocheſter's kitchen, with which ſeventeen perſons were mortally infected; one of the gentlemen died of it, and ſome poor people that were charitably fed with the remainder, were alſo infected, one woman dying. The perſon was apprehended, and by act of parliament (22 Hen. VIII.) poiſoning was declared treaſon, and Rouſe was attainted and ſentenced to be boiled to death, which was to be the puniſhment of poiſoning for all times to come; (but was repealed 1 Ed. VI. and 1 Mariæ I.) The ſentence was executed in Smithfield ſoon after. Burnet. Stow, p. 560. Hall, fol. 199.

[o] It was prorogued, on March 31, to the 13th of October. The moſt remarkable ſtatutes enacted during this ſeſſion, were: 1. That no maſter, wardens, or fellowſhip of crafts, and trades, nor any rulers of fraternities, take from henceforth of any apprentice, or any other perſon, for the entry of any apprentice into their ſaid fellowſhip, above two ſhillings and ſixpence; nor for his entry, when his years and term is expired, above three ſhillings and four pence, upon pain of forfeiting forty pounds. 2. That four juſtices of the peace in every ſhire, whereof one to be of the quorum, ſhall have power and authority to enquire, hear, and determine, in the general ſeſſions of the peace, all matters relating to bridges and highways. This act alſo explains by whom bridges and highways are to be repaired. See Statute, 21 Hen. VIII.

ſent

1531. sent some bishops and lay-lords [p], earnestly to press her, either to consent to the divorce, or refer the decision of the affair to four prelates and four seculars. But as she could could not be prevailed with to desist from her appeal to the pope [q], he sent her word to chuse where she would reside in any of his manors, and, the 14th of July 1531, took his leave of her, at Windsor, intending never to see her more [r].

Hall. Hollingsh.

Three persons burnt for religion. Herbert. Fox.

What had lately passed in the parliament and convocation encouraged the well-wishers to a reformation in the church, to which they already saw some preparatives. For this reason, religious disputes became more frequent and publick than formerly. But the king perceiving what inferences would be drawn from his first proceedings, was pleased to show, that in throwing off the papal yoke, he designed not to strike at the fundamental truths of religion. So, to frustrate those who had any such thought, he commanded the laws against hereticks to be rigorously executed. This occasioned the death of three protestants, namely, Bilney, Bayfield, and Baynham, of whom the two first were burnt this year, and the other in the following April [s].

Affairs of Germany. Sleidan. Herbert.

Whilst these things were transacting in England, the affairs of Germany were more embroiled. In the beginning of the year, Ferdinand of Austria king of Bohemia and Hungary was elected king of the Romans, notwithstanding the protestation of the confederates of Smalcald, and crowned a few days after at Aix la Chapelle. This was in consequence of a league concluded between the catholick princes of Germany in the foregoing November. But this league was offensive, whereas that of Smalcald was only defensive. Never had the protestants any design to force the consciences of such as differed from them in opinion. But the intent of the catholick league was to compel the protestants to return to the church, they had forsaken. These protested against Ferdinand's election as unnecessary and contrary to the usual forms. But their protestation had no effect.

[p] Of his council, the last day of May, to Greenwich. Herbert, p. 153. Hall, fol. 199.

[q] Her answer to the lords was, "That she prayed God to send the "king a quiet conscience; but that "she was his lawful wife, and would "abide by it, till the court of Rome "declared the contrary." Burnet, tom. I. p. 114. Hall, fol. 200.

[r] She removed first to Moor, then to Easthamstead, and at last to Ampthill, where she stayed longer. Burnet, tom. I. p. 114.

[s] Thomas Bilney, batchelor of both laws, was burnt August 19. Bayfield, a monk of Bury, November 27, 1531, and Baynham, a gentleman and lawyer, April 30, 1532. See Fox.

The

The reſt of the year was ſpent in ſundry negotiations, wherein the emperor ſeemed to have no other aim than to adjuſt the religious differences, though in effect his deſign was only to amuſe the proteſtants, and hinder them from taking meaſures for their defence, when they ſhould be attacked. As they were not ignorant of his artifices, they writ on that ſubject to the kings of France and England, who returned them favourable anſwers, with a promiſe of aſſiſtance in caſe it was attempted to oppreſs them. Not that theſe two monarchs deſired to countenance the reformation, but it was their intereſt to protect the German proteſtants, becauſe their deſtruction could not but exceedingly increaſe the emperor's power. Indeed, this was one of the chief means whereby that prince intended to execute his vaſt deſigns. 1531.

Whilſt the emperor was forming projects to become maſter of Germany, under colour of ſupporting the intereſts of religion and the empire, Francis I. was trying to create him troubles capable of producing ſome change which he might improve. His vexation to have been forced to ſign the treaty of Cambray threw him upon earneſtly ſeeking means to repair his loſſes, and eſpecially to recover Genoa and Milan. To that end, he careſſed or threatened the pope, according as he ſaw it proper to uſe one or other of theſe means, and put the proteſtants of Germany in hopes of a powerful aſſiſtance, in caſe they were attacked by the emperor *. But chiefly he laboured to ſecure the king of England, becauſe he could be moſt ſerviceable to him. He confirmed him, as much as poſſible, in his reſolution to puſh the affair of the divorce, in order to keep him always at variance with the emperor and the pope. Sometimes he intimated to him, that if the juſtice due to him was obſtinately refuſed, he would join in a league with him to withdraw their dominions from the tyrannical power of the court of Rome. Then, fearing he would agree with the emperor, he adviſed him ſpeedily to marry Anne Bullen, well knowing it would be a certain means to widen their breach. Nay he ſent a letter to the pope, wherein he appeared no leſs concerned than Henry himſelf in the affair of the divorce. Among other things he told him, that if out of complaiſance or fear he continued to be governed by the emperor, he muſt not think it ſtrange that the king of England ſhould endeavour to procure by extraordinary means the juſt ſatisfaction he had ſo long expected in vain; adding, 1532. Francis tries to raiſe the emperor troubles. Guicciard. Mezerai. Herbert.

* And alſo ſtirred up the Turks to invade the German dominions. Herbert, p. 154.

that

1532. that his intereſts were ſo ſtrictly united with Henry's, that he was indiſpenſibly obliged to aſſiſt to the utmoſt of his power a prince of whom he gloried to be the perpetual ally. In ſhort, he prayed him to conſider, whether it was prudent to give thoſe, who could not be compelled to obey the opportunity and will to withdraw their obedience. But Clement ſeeing only the emperor's forces in Italy, took care not to follow ſuch dangerous counſels.

Francis and Henry try to frighten the emperor and pope. Burnet.

The two kings finding at length it was impoſſible to gain the pope, reſolved upon an interview, to contrive means to break the emperor's meaſures. But they thought proper firſt to ſpread a report, they were going to make a new league, in order to frighten the pope, and hinder him from cloſing again with the emperor, from whom he was a little alienated by the affair of Ferrara. Accordingly, they concluded a league at

They make two treaties to that end.

London ſigned the 23d of June. But it is manifeſt the treaty was made only with the forementioned view, ſince it contained but two articles that could have reaſonably alarmed the pope or the emperor, had they been known to them. The

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 435. June 23. Herbert.

firſt was, that in caſe the emperor ſeized the Engliſh merchants effects in the Low Countries, the king of France would do the ſame with reſpect to the emperor's ſubjects, the Germans excepted: nay, this article was guarded by ſo many reſtrictions on the part of the French king, that it plainly appeared to be only a mere pretence to make a treaty. By the ſecond, if the king of England was attacked by the emperor, Francis was to ſend him an aid of five hundred lances, and if the king of France was invaded, Henry was to aſſiſt him with a body of foot not exceeding five thouſand men [u].

Divers reports about the treaty.

As the publick was not acquainted with the particulars of the treaty, ſeveral reports were ſpread. Some ſaid, the two kings had agreed to join in the league of Smalcald, or at leaſt, to ſend a powerful aid to the German proteſtants. Others fancied, that as the Turks threatened Auſtria, and the emperor would be unavoidably obliged to lead his forces into that country, Francis would invade at the ſame time the duchy of Milan, and Henry carry war into the Low Countries. All theſe reports, though uncertain, made the emperor very uneaſy, becauſe they were grounded upon very probable conjectures.

[u] When the French ambaſſador in England, returned into France, king Henry ſent by him fifty thouſand crowns, to be employed in the defence of the rights and privileges of the empire. Herbert, p. 154.

The

The interview of the two kings between Calais and Boulogne was not till October [w]. They had principally two things in view. The firſt, to divert the blame thrown on them by the emperor, in ſpreading over all Europe, that whilſt Chriſtendom was going to be invaded by the infidels, they remained idle ſpectators of the danger, without offering the leaſt aſſiſtance to thoſe who were preparing to defend her. Their other view was, to keep the Italians and Germans in the expectation of a freſh war, for fear they ſhould become too compliant to the emperor's will. To effect their deſign, they gave one another letters patents, whereby they engaged jointly to raiſe an army of eighty thouſand men to ſtop the progreſs of the Turks, and to lead the ſame either into Germany or Italy, as there ſhould be occaſion. But this pretended agreement was never put into the form of a treaty. Du Tillet ſpeaks of it in his inventory of the treaties between France and England, by the name of letters of agreement: But there are no ſigns of it in the collection of the publick acts of England. Wherefore it is not probable, theſe two monarchs deſired to execute this pretended project, the ſole aim whereof was to juſtify them to the world and inſpire the emperor and pope with terror. Doubtleſs that was the reaſon of their affecting to publiſh it. 1532. Francis and Henry's interview. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert.

During the interview, Henry complained much of the pope, and Francis even improved upon him, in a long enumeration of the complaints he had received from the Gallican church on account of the court of Rome's exactions. But this was only to amuſe Henry, ſince he was at that very time in ſecret negotiation with the pope concerning the duke of Orleans his ſecond ſon's marriage with Catherine de Medici. It manifeſtly appears by that prince's whole conduct, that his ſole aim was to make the king of England's friendſhip ſubſervient to gain the pope, in order to recover Genoa and Milan, which he had always in view. Wherefore he outwardly expreſſed a ſtrong attachment to Henry's intereſt. He even preſſed him not to ſtay for the pope's diſpenſation to marry his miſtreſs, who was preſent at the interview, having lately been made marchioneſs of Pembroke [x]. Whilſt the two kings were together, they feaſted one another ſeveral times, a particular account whereof is needleſs in this place. Henry Francis's Deſigns. He adviſes Henry to marry Anne Bullen.

[w] King Henry landed at Calais, October 11, and the interview was on the 20th. See an account of the nobility, and other remarkable perſons that attended him, in Hall, fol. 206, &c. Stow, p. 561.

[x] September 1; with a penſion of a thouſand pounds a year. Hall, fol. 206.

1532. came to ſee Francis at Boulogne, and Francis returned his viſit at Calais [y]. They parted the 30th of October to return, the one to Paris, the other to London. But by reaſon of the bad weather, Henry ſtaid ſome days at Calais [z], where it is ſaid he privately married Ann Bullen [a]. It is more probable however, as ſome affirm, that it was not till the January following [b].

The kings viſit one another.

Henry marries Anne Bullen.

Burnet. T. III. p. 70. Hall.

During this whole year, the emperor was greatly embarraſſed. Soliman emperor of the Turks threatned to invade Hungary with a powerful army, which he accordingly did. Germany was in trouble, becauſe the proteſtants who had now been menaced, were taking effectual meaſures for their defence, and refuſed to acknowledge Ferdinand of Auſtria for king of the Romans. On the other hand, the emperor was not ignorant of the pope's diſcontent on account of the duke of Ferrara's affair, and that the kings of France and England were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to draw him off from his party, in order to diſturb Italy. Moreover, the Italians were quiet, only becauſe there was ſtill an imperial army in Italy and no preparation in France to ſupport them, in caſe they attempted to hold up their head. Mean while, in the midſt of this ſeeming tranquility, they eagerly wiſhed to ſee ſome revolutions to free them from their apprehenſions of the emperor's over-grown power. In fine, the interview of Francis and Henry extremely troubled the emperor, apprehenſive as he was, that if Soliman proſpered in Hungary, they would embrace that opportunity to invade the duchy of

The Turks threaten Hungary.

The emperor is at a loſs. Sleidan.

y Francis went back from Boulogne with Henry, in this order, that while Francis was on French ground, he gave place, but when he came to the Engliſh pale, Henry gave him the precedence. Being now come near Calais, the duke of Richmond, Henry's natural ſon, a goodly young gentleman, bravely attended, met them. The lodging which Francis was brought to, was moſt richly furniſhed with cloth of gold and tiſſue, imbroidered in ſome places with pearls and precious ſtones. There ſeveral ſervices were brought in a hundred and ſeventy diſhes, all of maſſy gold. The marchioneſs of Pembroke made them a curious and rich maſk, in which both kings danced. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were made knights of St. Michael. Stow ſays, there was no leſs than eight thouſand perſons in Calais on this occaſion. See Hall, fol. 207, &c.

z He returned to England Novemb. 14. Hall, fol. 209.

a Rowland Lee, afterwards biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, celebrated the marriage in the preſence of archbiſhop Cranmer, the duke of Norfolk, her father, mother, and brothers. Herbert, p. 161.

b January 25. Others ſay it was November 14. Stow, p. 562. Hall, fol. 209. Burnet, T. I. p. 126. The news of this marriage was ſoon carried to Rome. The pope publiſhed, on November 15. a brief againſt king Henry, in which he exhorted him, to bring back the queen, and to put Anne away, within a month after the receipt of the brief; otherwiſe he excommunicated both him and Anne. Burnet, T. III. p. 17.

Milan and the Low Countries. It was neceſſary therefore to think without loſs of time of preventing the dangers which might proceed from all theſe quarters, and to begin with the moſt urgent affair, the ſatisfying of the proteſtants in order to have their aſſiſtance againſt the Turks. To that purpoſe, he came the beginning of the year to the diet of Ratiſbon, where he found means to negotiate with the proteſtants an agreement, whereby no perſon was to be diſturbed on account of religion till a council was called. He intended not punctually to perform an agreement, extorted from him by neceſſity. He received however this benefit by it, That all the princes and ſtates of Germany, as well proteſtant as catholick, furniſhed him with a powerful aid, which enabled him to aſſemble an army of eighty thouſand foot and thirty thouſand horſe. 1532.

The diet of Ratiſbon grants ſomething in favour of the proteſtants.

Charles obtains an aid.

Whilſt this army was forming, the emperor, willing to ſound the king of France's intentions, ſent and deſired his aſſiſtance againſt the Turks, but received an unſatisfactory anſwer, which, added to the interview of the two kings, confirmed his ſuſpicion that they were contriving ſomething againſt him. But Soliman haſtening his campaign in Hungary, hindered him from thinking of means to prevent the miſchief he feared from the two confederate kings. Indeed, the Turks not only advanced into Hungary, but even into Auſtria, with deſign to give him battle. But he wiſely avoided it, ſince in loſing it he would have been without refuge, and Auſtria with part of Germany would inevitably have fallen under the dominion of the Turks. Whereas by ſtanding, as he did, upon the defenſive, with an army of above a hundred thouſand men, he prevented them from making any conſiderable progreſs, and compelled them at length to return into their own country. As ſoon as he had certain advice that Soliman was upon his march to Conſtantinople, he departed for Italy, from whence he deſigned to return into Spain.

He ſuſpects the king of France. P. Daniel.

His campaign again the Turks Guicciard. Herbert.

He paſſes into Italy.

About the middle of November he came to Bologna, where the pope waited to confer with him. As their deſigns were very oppoſite, there was not that harmony between them, as at their interview in the year 1529. The emperor thought only of ſecuring Italy, and preventing the king of France's return. The pope, on the contrary, wiſhed to keep him always uneaſy on that account, as well to render himſelf neceſſary as to be freed from a ſtate of dependence. The emperor required the pope to call a council in Germany, otherwiſe he ſaw no poſſibility of finding a lawful pretence to ruin the proteſtants.

He confers with the pope at Bologna. Guicciard.

1532. proteſtants. But after what had paſſed at Conſtance and Baſil, the very name of a council was become ſo odious to the court of Rome, that Clement VII. could not reſolve to call one. He knew what had befallen John XXII. and Eugenius IV. and therefore had no mind to have his authority queſtioned. The emperor demanded moreover the pope's conſent to a league, he intended to form between all the ſtates of Italy, to which each ſhould contribute in proportion to its forces, in order to ſecure the country from all invaſion. That is to ſay, he would have in Italy an army maintained at the expence of others, and always ready to defend the duchy of Milan, in caſe the French king ſhould think of invading it. The pope approved of the project, not in order to keep Italy in its preſent ſituation, ſince it was very much to his prejudice that the emperor ſhould remain ſo powerful there, but to have a pretence to be rid of the German and Spaniſh troops, who were a terror to the Italians. He foreſaw that a league of ſo many parties, whoſe intereſts were different, would not long ſubſiſt, and that after it was broken, he ſhould himſelf become more neceſſary and conſiderable. He deſired only that the Venetians ſhould come into the league, and bear their part of the charge. In ſhort, the emperor farther demanded of the pope, that he ſhould give his neice Catherine de Medici to the duke of Milan; his aim being to engage him for his niece's ſake in the defence of the Milaneſe, for fear in the end the king of France ſhould find a favourable opportunity to gain him to his intereſt. But Clement alledged againſt this propoſal, his engagement with the king of France, who had done him the honour to demand Catherine for the duke his ſecond ſon. He repreſented to the emperor, that he could not prefer the duke of Milan to the duke of Orleans, without making the king of France his irreconcileable enemy, who would never forgive ſuch an affront. So their whole negotiation ended only in the projected league, in which the Venetians refuſed to be included. They contented themſelves with promiſing the emperor, they would punctually perform their engagement with reſpect to the duchy of Milan. In fine, the emperor having ſent for ambaſſadors from Milan, Ferrara, and Mantua, it was endeavoured for ſome time to ſettle the terms of the league. But the diſpute between the pope and the duke of Ferrara very much retarded the concluſion, becauſe the duke would not come into the league before he was ſecure of peace at home. However, after great pains, the emperor prevailed with the pope to allow the duke an eight months reſpite. This affair

He demands a council. P. Daniel.

He propoſes a league for the ſafety of Italy. Guicciard.

was

was the reaſon the league could not be ſigned till February the next year. 1532.

Henry's proceedings againſt the clergy, and his diſpoſition with regard to the pope, greatly encouraged thoſe who longed to ſee a reformation in the church. To conceive a right notion how the Engliſh ſtood affected in this reſpect, it is neceſſary to know what the people's ſentiments were concerning religion. It may be undeniably affirmed, that as to the reformation of the pope's exorbitant power and the clergy's immunities, there was ſcarce an Engliſhman, if you except all or moſt of the eccleſiaſticks, but what heartily wiſhed it. It was now three hundred years ſince the parliament firſt began to endeavour it, but without a perfect ſucceſs, becauſe it was contrary to the intereſt of the kings. But as for a reformation of doctrine, the well-wiſhers to it were very far from being the majority, Theſe were not ſufficiently numerous to venture to propoſe it openly, eſpecially as they were not countenanced by the king. But when the pope's exceſſive authority, or the pride and riches of the clergy were exclaimed againſt, they boldly joined with the reſt of the people, without fear of being diſcovered, becauſe that was the ſentiment of all the people, or at leaſt of almoſt all the laity. But in expreſſing their zeal againſt the clergy, their aim was to promote the reformation of doctrine, becauſe they knew the chief obſtacle would always proceed from the governors of the church. Here therefore they believed they ought to begin, in order to arrive at a thorough reformation. So, among thoſe that wiſhed to reduce within due bounds the papal power, and the clergy's immunities, there were doubtleſs many who had no farther views, and imagined the reformation would end there. Others, on the contrary, hoped that after taking this firſt ſtep, it would be impoſſible to ſtop, wherein they had for warrant what had happened in Germany. But they took care not to undeceive the others, for fear of cooling their zeal, by ſhowing them too ſoon the conſequences of the firſt ſtep, in the buſineſs of the reformation.

How the Engliſh ſtood affected as to religion.

The parliament meeting the 15th of January 1532, the commons were almoſt unanimouſly inclined to redreſs the grievances ſo long complained of in vain, with reſpect to the papal power and the eccleſiaſtical privileges. There had never been ſo favourable an opportunity. When formerly the parliaments were diſpoſed to make any attempt of this nature, the kings were unwilling to concur with them, becauſe the ſtate of their affairs permitted them not to break

The commons are inclined to reduce the power of the clergy. Herbert. Hall.

1532. entirely with Rome. But the affair of the divorce had put things upon another foot. The king was diſſatisfied with the pope, and conſidered the clergy both ſecular and regular as ſecret enemies, by reaſon of their attachment to the court of Rome. So, his intereſt required that the pope and clergy ſhould be humbled, and diviſion ſown between them and the people, knowing that the former could hurt him only in proportion to their credit with the latter. As for what foreigners might do, he thought himſelf in no danger, ſo long as he remained ſtrictly united with France, and the more, as the emperor was then employed by his war with the Turks, and the troubles of Germany.

Addreſs preſented to the king. The king's anſwer. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingſh.

All this being artfully inſinuated to the houſe of commons, they preſented an addreſs to the king [c], praying him to conſent to a reformation of ſundry grievances, occaſioned by the immunities of the clergy [d]. The king anſwered, that before he gave his conſent to their requeſt, which ſeemed to him of great moment, he wiſhed to hear what the clergy had to ſay for themſelves. But under this ſhow of equity, his intent was to intimate to the clergy, how much they wanted his protection, ſince he could either promote or reſtrain the proceeding of the commons as he pleaſed. Some time after, the parliament paſſed certain acts, which only glanced at ſome of the clergy's privileges, the people had moſt reaſon to complain of [e]. But for that time, the reformation was carried no farther. Nay, care was taken to make the eccleſiaſticks amends, by paſſing an act to releaſe them from the payment of annates [f], which was become a heavy burden. The act ran, that the kingdom was daily impoveriſhed by the great ſums paid to the ſee of Rome, for firſt-fruits, for

Statutes againſt the clergy.

Act concerning annates, or firſt fruits.

c Or rather a liſt of their grievances comprized in a book. It was preſented April 30. Herbert, p. 155. Hall, fol. 205.

d They complained of the proceedings of the ſpiritual courts, and eſpecially their calling men before them, ex officio, and laying articles to their charge without any accuſer; and then admitting no purgation, but cauſing the party accuſed, either to abjure, or to be burnt, Burnet, T. I. p. 116. Hall, fol. 202.

e By ſome of theſe ſtatutes it was enacted, 1. That no perſon in holy orders, convict of petit treaſon, wilful murder, &c. ſhall be admitted to make his purgation before the ordinary, and be ſet at liberty; but ſhall remain in priſon, till he has given ſureties for his good behaviour. 2. That clerks convict, breaking the priſons of their ordinaries, ſhall be adjudged felons. There were alſo other good ſtatutes made; for erecting goals in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; againſt perjury, and untrue verdicts; about the commiſſion of ſewers; that no perſon ſhall be cited out of the dioceſe where he lives, except in ſome particular caſes; as alſo againſt making feoffments of eſtates to chauntries, pariſh churches, &c. See Statut. 23. Henry VIII.

f Or the firſt fruits of the biſhopricks,

palls,

palls, for bulls, &c. That ſince the ſecond year of the reign of Henry VII. one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds had been paid to thoſe uſes, and that more was like to be ſhortly exported, by reaſon many of the biſhops were very aged: that beſides, the annates were firſt introduced only as a contribution for the war againſt the infidels, to which however they were never applied. And therefore it was enacted, that all payments of annates ſhould ceaſe for the future: that as for the bulls, there ſhould only be paid five pounds in the hundred, according to the clear annual value of the biſhopricks. That if, on account of this regulation, bulls ſhould be denied by the pope, the biſhop elect ſhould be preſented by the king to the archbiſhop of the province for his conſecration: that in caſe the archbiſhop ſhould refuſe it on pretence of want of palls, bulls, and the like, any two biſhops appointed by the king ſhould perform the office, and the biſhop ſo conſecrated acknowledged for lawful. Nevertheleſs the parliament declared, it ſhould be in the king's power to null or confirm the act within ſuch a time; and if in this interval, he ſhould make an amicable compoſition with the court of Rome, it ſhould have the force and authority of a law. But if, upon this act, the pope ſhould pretend to vex the realm by excommunications or interdicts, ſuch cenſures ſhould neither be regarded nor publiſhed, and, all interdicts notwithſtanding, the prieſts might lawfully, without any ſcruples of conſcience, celebrate divine ſervice as before [g]. 1532.

Mean while, among the great number of repreſentatives in the houſe of Commons, there were ſeveral who were entirely againſt a rupture with the pope. They perceived however, it would infallibly follow upon the king's divorce. Wherefore they uſed all poſſible endeavours to prevent it. One Temſe a member of parliament was ſo hardy as to move, that the houſe ſhould go in a body and addreſs the king to take his queen again. Henry hearing of this, ſent for Thomas Audley the ſpeaker, and in his perſon ſeverely reprimanded the commons, for ſuffering a motion to

Boldneſs of a commoner. Herbert. Hall. Burnet.

The king reprimands the commons.

g This bill began in the houſe of lords; from whence it was ſent to the commons, and being agreed to by them, received the royal aſſent, but had not the final confirmation mentioned in the act, before the 9th of July 1533, and then by letters patents, in which the act is at length recited, it was confirmed. Par. Rolls. By this act was laid the foundation of the breach that afterwards followed with Rome. This act is not in the ſtatute book. Burnet, T. I. p. 117, 118.

1532. be made concerning an affair which fell not under their cognizance [h].

He wills them to conſider the biſhops oaths. Burnet. Hall.

Some days after [i], the king ſent again for the ſpeaker, and told him, that having compared the oath taken by the biſhops to the pope with that they took to the king, it ſeemed to him they were but half ſubjects, and therefore he deſired the commons to examine the matter, and take care of the intereſts of the crown. But the plague which raged then at London, and conſtrained the parliament to break up preſently after [k], hindered the commons from debating upon this affair at that time [l].

The pope complains of the acts aboliſhing the annates. Burnet. The king's agents anſwer.

The power given the king by the parliament to aboliſh the annates, or make an amicable compoſition with the pope, was a clear evidence that the act had been procured by the intrigues of the court. The pope was extremely offended at it. But when he complained to the king's agents, he was told, he might have ſaved himſelf that vexation, and there was ſtill a remedy, ſince the king had power to repeal the act. This was an intimation, that he might depend upon it, the king would behave according as he had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his proceedings.

Thomas More reſigns the great ſeal, Burnet. Hall. which is given to ſir Thomas Audley. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 433, 439. p. 446.

Thomas More, who was lord chancellor, and a perſon of excellent judgment, foreſaw now, the king's proceedings would in the end produce a total rupture with Rome. He would have readily conſented that ſome abuſes ſhould be reformed. But he found, as matters were managed, the reformation would go much farther than he deſired. He put great difference between withdrawing entirely from the pope's obedience, and retrenching ſome of his uſurpations. So, being unwilling to be inſtrumental in the rupture, he reſigned the great ſeal on the 16th of May. Some days after, the king made ſir Thomas Audley, lord keeper of the great ſeal, till the 26th of January 1533, when he was made lord chancellor.

h He told the ſpeaker moreover, it touched his ſoul; he wiſhed his marriage were good, but the learned had determined it to be null and deteſtable, and therefore he was obliged in conſcience to abſtain from her, which he aſſured him flowed from no luſt, or fooliſh appetite. He was then forty one years old, and at that age thoſe heats abate. But except in Spain and Portugal, it had not been heard of, that a man married two ſiſters; and he never heard that any chriſtian before himſelf, had married his brother's wife. Therefore he aſſured him his conſcience was troubled, which he deſired him to report to the houſe. Ibid. p. 122. Hall, fol. 205.

i May 11. Hall, fol. 205.

k It was adjourned on May 14, to February the 3d, 1533. Hall, fol. 206.

l Hall, Burnet, and lord Herbert, place Henry's interview with Francis, after this ſeſſion of parliament.

Whilſt

Whilſt Henry uſed ſundry means to ſhow the pope his danger, in obſtinately refuſing what he required, the emperor was no leſs ardently endeavouring to obtain a ſentence in favour of queen Catherine. The way theſe two monarchs applied to the pope was not by humble intreaties, but by menaces, which had the greater effect, as he was naturally timorous, and ſlow to reſolve upon things that required a ſpeedy reſolution. By theſe two oppoſite demands he ſaw himſelf indeed between the hammer and anvil, as he ſaid himſelf in the beginning of the affair. On the other hand, he found by Henry's late proceedings, that England was going to be loſt to him and his ſucceſſors. This conſideration was very capable of putting him upon ſeeking expedients to content that monarch, without prejudice to the honour of the holy ſee. He would thereby have preſerved a kingdom which had been ever devoted to the popes, and from whence they had drawn large revenues. But on the other hand, the emperor had ſtill an army in Italy, and was able to revenge his refuſal. Clement of all things feared the loſs of Florence, which the emperor could take from him with more eaſe than he had procured him the poſſeſſion. It is no wonder therefore, if this fear, being the moſt imminent, prevailed. It would be a great miſtake to aſcribe to the pope any motives of juſtice, equity, good, and benefit of the church, or religion. Theſe things for ſome time had ſerved only for preambles to bulls. His own and his family's intereſt was the ſole rule of his conduct. So, finding himſelf extremely preſſed by the emperor to paſs ſentence upon queen Catherine's appeal, he could no longer be excuſed from giving him ſome ſatisfaction [m]. He declared therefore to the Engliſh agents [n], that having long expected in vain that their maſter would of himſelf return to the right way, he was obliged to cite him to Rome. Henry having notice of it, ſent with all ſpeed Edward Karne, doctor of law, with the new character of excuſator, to alledge the reaſons againſt a citation to which the king of England could not be liable. Karne coming to Rome in March [o], the pope ſcrupled to receive him as excuſator, a character whereof there was no precedent to be found in the chancery. However, he committed the examination of this title to a congregation, which

1532.

The emperor and Henry equally threaten the pope; Burnet. who is at a great loſs.

His own intereſt prevails.

Herbert. Burnet.

Karne ſent to Rome as the king's excuſator. Herbert. Burnet.

m He writ, on January 25, to king Henry, to exhort him a ſecond time to take again his wife. See Herbert, p. 156. Burnet, T. I. p. 118.

n Sir George Caſſali, and doctor William Benet. Herbert, p. 158.

o He was accompanied by doctor Edmond Bonner. Burnet, T. I. p. 120.

made

1532. made no haſte to give their opinion, that the excuſator might not have power, before he was acknowledged, to oppoſe the reſolutions already taken.

A new delay granted the king. Burnet.

At laſt, in a conſiſtory the eighth of July, it was reſolved, that, without examining the king of England's reaſons for not appearing in perſon, he ſhould be intreated to ſend to Rome a proxy to defend his cauſe. Mean while, as the vacation which was to laſt till the firſt of October, was then juſt begun, a delay till that time was tacitly given the king. During this interval, the pope ſent him a brief to require him to ſend a proxy to Rome. At the ſame time he cauſed the following overtures to be made him: that the affair of the divorce ſhould be examined in any indifferent place by a legate and two auditors of the Rota; which done; the pope himſelf would would paſs ſentence. Secondly, That all the ſovereign princes of Chriſtendom ſhould agree to a truce of three or four years, within which time the pope promiſed to call a general council. The king replied by Sir Thomas Elliot who was ſent on purpoſe, That he could not agree to a truce without the king of France's concurrence. Secondly, That it was not a proper juncture to call a council. Laſtly, As for the affair of the divorce, being king of England, he was to take care of the prerogatives of the crown, and the laws of the realm, which allowed not that any proceſs ſhould be tried in a foreign court. That beſides, the canons of the church expreſly decreed, that all matrimonial cauſes ſhould be judged in the countries where the parties reſided.

The pope's offers. Burnet. Herbert.

The king's anſwer. Burnet. T. I. p. 125.

To theſe reaſons he added a proteſtation in form, declaring that he was not obliged to appear at Rome, either in perſon or by proxy, and tacked to the proteſtation the determinations of ſome univerſities [p], he had conſulted. However, he propoſed three things to the pope. Firſt, he required that the caſe ſhould be decided by the archbiſhop of Canterbury and two other biſhops, or elſe by the whole clergy of the kingdom. But it muſt be obſerved, that the ſee of Canterbury had been vacant ſince Auguſt by Warham's death [q], and if the pope had cloſed with this propoſal, the king would not have failed to fill the ſee with a prelate devoted to him. His ſecond offer was, that the cauſe ſhould be judged by four arbitrators, one to be named by the king [r], another

The king proteſts againſt the citation. Act Pub. XIV. p. 416, 422. Burnet. Herbert.

He makes the pope three offers, which are rejected.

[p] Thoſe of Orleans and Paris. See Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 416, &c.

[q] He died Auguſt 23. Stow, p. 560.

[r] Either the biſhop of London, or ſir Thomas More. Herbert, p. 161.

by

by the queen, a third by the king of France, and that the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhould be the fourth. In the third place, he propoſed that the cauſe being judged by the archbiſhop, or by umpires, if the queen ſhould think fit to appeal from the ſentence, the appeal ſhould be brought before three judges, whereof he would name one, the pope another, and the king of France a third. The pope replied to theſe propoſals, that he ſaw the king would not recede from his pretended rights, and therefore it ſhould not be thought ſtrange that he reſolved to preſerve his own. 1532.

All the obſtacles to the divorce come from the emperor.

It is however certain, if the pope durſt have ſatisfied the king, he would gladly have done it, by reaſon of his fear to loſe England entirely. It was not the difficulties in the affair of the divorce that hindered him from proceeding. Had they been much greater than they were, he would have readily overlooked them all. For, ſuppoſing the unlimited power aſſumed by the pope, it was as eaſy for Clement VII. to null Henry's marriage, as it was for Julius II. to grant a diſpenſation. But he had to manage the honour of his ſee, and the intereſts of the emperor, who threatened him, and was able to execute his threats. Had not the emperor been concerned in the affair, it would have been very eaſy to find an expedient to content the king, without prejudice to the papal authority. It was only to aſſure the king, the cauſe ſhould be decided in his favour, and he would have willingly agreed that the pope ſhould have been the ſole judge. But the pope could give him no ſuch aſſurance by reaſon of the emperor's oppoſition; and therefore Henry could not reſolve to put the affair into his hands at the hazard of being condemned. Upon this account it was that he propoſed infallible expedients to gain his cauſe. But on the other hand, the pope could not accept of theſe expedients, without injuring his dignity. Thus the affair was ſolely retarded by the emperor's interpoſition. Had it not been for him, the pope would have contented the king, and the king would have ſubmitted to the pope, and remained as before an obedient ſon of the holy ſee. Hence therefore it may be inferred, that the king's proceedings as well in the late parliament as afterwards, flowed not ſo much from his real opinion that the papal authority was uſurped, as from his ſeeing no other way to be delivered from his preſent difficulties, than by denying it to be in the pope's power to do what Julius II. had done. It is however very likely, he was afterwards fully convinced of the truth of what he aſſerted at firſt only out of neceſſity. On the other hand, if the pope paſſed ſentence

1532. tence againſt Henry, as we ſhall ſee preſently, it was not from a belief that his marriage with Catherine was lawful, but ſolely to ſave the honour of the holy ſee, and through fear of the emperor. And here who can forbear admiring the ſecret ways of providence, which rendered a reconciliation between the pope and the king impracticable, in order to produce an event which was to be attended with ſo momentous conſequences for England?

Henry is cited to Rome. Herbert. Burnet.

At length the vacation being over, Henry was cited the fourth of October to appear at Rome, either in perſon or by proxy, and Karne ſolemnly proteſted [s] againſt the citation. What has been ſaid happened before the emperor's arrival at Bologna. Clement VII. who was going immediately after the citation to confer with that prince, promiſed Karne that all proceedings ſhould be ſuſpended, ſo long as the emperor was in Italy. This was all the favour Karne could obtain [t].

Affairs between England and Scotland. Buchanan; Herbert. Hall. Hollingſh.

Whilſt Henry ſeemed wholly employed in the affair of his divorce, a quarrel aroſe between England and Scotland. Buchanan pretends, Henry willing to take the advantage of his union with France, and imagining, Francis I. would ſuffer him to oppreſs king James, made inroads into Scotland [u], as if he intended to renew the war. He adds, that the only pretence of this rupture was, that the Scots had ſpoken ſome injurious words againſt the Engliſh. Be this as it will, the king of Scotland being prepared for his defence, Henry thought not fit to purſue his deſign. He choſe rather to agree that the difference ſhould be decided by the king of France's mediation, who for that purpoſe ſent an ambaſſador to Newcaſtle. The king of Scotland was ſo offended with Francis for ſo cooly eſpouſing his cauſe, that he was going to join with the emperor. But at length all was happily

s On November 14. Herbert, p. 159.

t King Henry having obtained from cardinal Wolſey, a grant of the archbiſhop of York's palace at Weſtminſter, then called York Place, now Whitehall; and got a confirmation of the cardinal's grant from the chapter of the cathedral of York; did alſo this year purchaſe the hoſpital of St. James, founded by the citizens of London, before the time of any man's memory, for fourteen leprous maidens; and built in the room of it, the palace now called St. James's, to which he annexed the park, and encloſed it with a brick wall. Hall, fol. 203. Stow's Survey, b. VI. p. 4. — About June this year, the pope granted king Henry, by a bull, a commiſſion to erect ſix new biſhopricks, to be endowed by monaſteries that were to be ſuppreſſed. Burnet, T. I. p. 121. This deſign was at firſt formed by cardinal Wolſey, as appears from Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 273, 291.

u He ordered ſir Arthur Darcey to make thoſe inroads, pretending for cauſe thereof the reſtitution of the Douglaſſes. Herbert, p. 166.

pily adjuſted, and the two kings of England and Scotland remained friends as before. 1533.

It was not for Henry's intereſt to undertake a war againſt Scotland, when he was to prepare for his defence againſt the emperor. It was very probable, the pope had not engaged to judge queen Catherine's appeal without being firſt aſſured, that the emperor, the queen's nephew, would execute the ſentence. This indeed was his deſign, but the troubles which came upon him, hindered his engaging in that enterpriſe. He reckoned that the Italian league before-mentioned would be a ſure defence for the duchy of Milan. But he ſoon perceived, he was himſelf the dupe of the politick pope. This league was at length ſigned at Bologna the 24th of February 1533, according to his wiſh. Every ſovereign that had dominions in Italy, the Venetians excepted, engaged to find a certain ſum monthly, for the maintenance of an army which Antonio de Leva was to command as general of the league. The emperor's intention was, that the army ſhould conſiſt of his own troops, and be conſtantly maintained: but the deſign of the confederates was very different. They had conſented to the league, only that the emperor, having nothing to fear for Italy, might withdraw all his troops. But they never meant that the army, maintained at their expence, ſhould ſerve to keep them in ſubjection, which would neceſſarily be the caſe, if the army continued always on foot, under the command of the emperor's general. They repreſented to him therefore, that the league being only defenſive, it was not proper to continue an army without neceſſity, to ruin them in expences; but upon the firſt motion of the French, they would not fail to perform their agreements. What arguments ſoever the emperor alledged, it was not poſſible to bring them to what he deſired. He was forced therefore to be ſatisfied with their promiſes, becauſe he was not in condition to maintain an army in Italy at his own charge. Then he diſbanded part of his troops, and ſent the reſt to Naples and Spain. He departed from Bologna about the end of February and came to Genoa, where he ſtaid ſome time; after which, on the 8th of April, he embarked for Spain extremely diſpleaſed with the pope, who through all his diſguiſes could not help ſhowing his inclination to France. Indeed, he was now agreed with the cardinals of Tournon and Grammont upon an interview with Francis, and the marriage of Catherine de Medici with the duke of Orleans.

League concluded at Rome for the ſecurity of Italy. Guicciard.

Different views of the emperor and the allies.

The allies refuſe to keep an army in time of peace.

The emperor withdraws his troops out of Italy.

He returns to Spain.

The marriage of the duke of Orleans with Catherine de Medici agreed upon.

The

1533. The ſtate of Italy was not the only thing that employed the emperor. He had, as was obſerved, promiſed the proteſtants a free council in Germany. But though the word free was equally uſed by thoſe who demanded a council and by him that promiſed it, they were far from meaning the ſame thing. The proteſtants underſtood by that word, that a council ſhould be held in Germany, where not only they might have free acceſs and full liberty to produce their reaſons, but alſo that the points in diſpute ſhould be decided ſolely by the word of God. The emperor meant, on the contrary, to retain only an outward ſhew of the word, and by rendering his party ſuperior in the council, ſo cauſe matters to be ſo decided that the proteſtants ſhould be forced, either to revoke all their innovations, or reject the council's deciſions. In the latter caſe, which was moſt likely, the emperor plainly perceived, they would give him a pretence to attack them, which was the thing he intended. But in the execution of this deſign a great obſtacle occurred; namely, a council, let it be what it would, was a terror to the pope. Though he knew the emperor demanded a council not with intent to alter religion, yet he was afraid of being ſacrificed to the proteſtants, if that monarch's intereſt required it. Beſides, the ſtrict alliance between Francis and Henry made him uneaſy. In ſhort, he could not reſolve to call a council, without being ſure of managing it as he pleaſed. And this could ſcarce be expected, as matters then ſtood in Chriſtendom. Since his being on the papal throne, he had pleaſed neither the emperor, nor the king of France, nor the king of England, nor the potentates of Italy, and yet, of the ſubjects of all theſe ſovereigns was the council chiefly to conſiſt. He knew himſelf to be a baſtard, and that alone to be ſufficient to depoſe him, in caſe his enemies were ſuperior in the council. What had paſſed at Conſtance and Baſil gave him juſt reaſon to dread, that a council held in a free city of Germany, might form the ſame deſigns. Upon all theſe conſiderations, when the emperor deſired him at the conference of Bologna, to call a council, he forbore to give a poſitive anſwer. He contented himſelf with committing the examination of his requeſt to certain cardinals, under colour of being informed of the reaſons pro and con. The popes have a character to ſuſtain, which often throws them into great perplexity. In publick, they muſt make ſhow of a great zeal for God's glory, for religion, and for the good of the church, and withal of a great diſintereſtedneſs for every thing which perſonally concerns them. But, for fear what they thus profeſs outwardly ſhould be taken literally, they

Affairs of Germany. Sleidan. Herbert.

The pope is againſt a council. Sleidan.

Reaſons of a congregation of cardinals againſt the council.

they must in private undeceive those who treat with them, and discover to them that their own interest is the principal subject of the negotiation. So, what they say publickly is always just and right, and seems to tend only to the greater glory of God. But in the end it is too frequently perceived, that religion serves only for a cloak to their temporal concerns. On the present occasion, a general council seemed absolutely necessary to put an end to the troubles caused by the religious differences in several places, and particularly in Germany. The pope not only agreed upon a council with the emperor, but even feigned to wish it heartily. Mean while, as a council was contrary to his interests, reasons drawn from the good and advantage of religion were to be found to reject it, or defer the convening. This was done by the commissioners, appointed to examine the emperor's request. They drew a memorial setting forth the necessity of a council, but shewing withal the inconveniences of admitting the protestants to dispute upon matters already settled, and the uselessness of the council if they were not admitted. The memorial being communicated to Francis, he replied to it by another, demonstrating that the inconveniencies mentioned in the first ought not to hinder the calling of a council. Moreover, he particularly chalked out the methods which were to be used to banish all partiality. But this memorial was not acceptable to the emperor, because a free council was not what he desired, but a council that would afford him an opportunity and pretence to attack the protestants of Germany; after which, he did not despair of bringing the catholicks also under his yoke. Francis answered the emperor's reasons against his memorial, but it was to no purpose. It was almost impossible that two princes, whose interests were so opposite and who were so jealous of each other, should agree in any one point. Thus the pope had his wish, since the calling of the council was deferred to a more proper season. I must now speak of what passed in England in the year 1533.

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Francis answers their reasons. Herbert.

The council is put off. Herbert.

Whilst the pope and emperor were conferring at Bologna, Henry assembled the parliament the 4th of February. As hitherto the pope had not relaxed in the least, except that he had delayed the excommunication wherewith he had threatned the king, it was deemed proper to proceed farther and let him see, he was not at all feared. So, the parliament passed an act, expressly forbidding all appeals to Rome on pain of incurring a præmunire. This was to convince the pope, there was no occasion for him, since at the very time that

Session of the parliament in England. Herbert. Burnet. Hall.

Statute against all appeals to Rome.

1533. that the point in queſtion between him and the king was, to know whether the affair of the divorce ſhould be judged in England, people were forbid to carry their cauſes to Rome. But there was another reaſon which induced the king to procure this act, namely, having heard that Francis was going to make an alliance with the pope, he imagined that for the future his friend would act but faintly in his favour; and therefore he was now determined to have his cauſe tried in the kingdom, without troubling himſelf any farther about the pope's proceedings against him [w]. The archbiſhoprick of Canterbury being vacant by Warham's death, it was neceſſary to fill the ſee, that the ſentence might be given by the primate of England. Wherefore, Henry had caſt his eyes on Dr. Thomas Cranmer then in Germany [x]; but, contrary to his expectation, he had found the doctor [illegible] averſe to accept than others would have been [illegible] to deſire that high dignity. It was ſix months before he could be perſwaded to take upon him that burden. In fine, his reluctance being conquered by the king's patience, he began his journey to London, though very ſlowly, in hopes the king might alter his mind. However, as a farther delay was directly contrary to the king's meaſures, Cranmer could no longer defer ſubmitting to his will. The king himſelf undertook to demand his bulls [y], which, though eleven in all, were rated but at nine hundred ducats [z]. The pope forbore of his own accord

Cranmer made archbiſhop of Canterbury. Burnet. Hall. Herbert.

w The other acts that paſſed this ſeſſion were theſe. I. That beef, pork, mutton, and veal, ſhould for the future be ſold by Averdupois weight; and no perſon take for a pound of beef or pork, above one halfpenny; and for a pound of mutton, or veal, not above three farthings. 2. That a man killing a thief in his own defence, ſhall not forfeit his goods; which was the penalty of thoſe who were guilty of chance medley. 3. There was alſo an act made for encouraging the deſtruction of crows, rooks, and choughs. 4. And one for paving the ſtreetway between Charing Croſs, and Strand Croſs. See Statut. 24. Henry VIII.

x Negotiating the buſineſs of the divorce among the learned men of Germany. Burnet, T. I. p. 127.

y And accordingly ſent for them about the end of January. Idem. p. 128.

z Theſe being the laſt bulls in his reign, it will not be amiſs to give an account of them, as they are ſet down in the beginning of Cranmer's regiſter. By the firſt, he is, upon the king's nomination, promoted to the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury; this is directed to the king. By a ſecond directed to himſelf, he is made archbiſhop. By a third, he is abſolved from all cenſures. A fourth, is to the ſuffragans. A fifth, to the dean and chapter. A ſixth, to the clergy of Canterbury. A ſeventh, to all the laity in his ſee. An eighth, to all that held lands of it, requiring them to receive him as archbiſhop. All theſe are dated February 21, 1533. By a ninth, of February 22, he was to be conſecrated, upon taking the oath in the pontifical. By a tenth, dated the 2d of March, the pall was ſent him. And by an eleventh of the ſame date, the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhop of London, were required to put it on him. Theſe were the ſeveral artifices to make compoſitions high, and to enrich the apoſtolick chamber. Burnet, T. I. p. 128.

to

to require the annates, foreſeeing they would be refuſed. To enable Cranmer to be at this charge, the king made him a preſent of the revenues of the archbiſhoprick, from the 9th of September the laſt year. Theſe obſtacles being removed, there aroſe another much more conſiderable. Cranmer refuſed to take the uſual oath to the pope, believing he could not do it with a ſafe conſcience. In his firſt journey into Germany he had read Luther's books, which entirely convinced him of the truth of many of the proteſtant tenets, and particularly of the little foundation in ſcripture for the ſpiritual power aſſumed by the pope over the whole church. Conſequently, he could not reſolve to ſwear an obedience, which in his opinion was not due to him. Mean while, Henry conſidering Cranmer as a perſon who by his principles and reſolution could effectually ſerve him in the deciſion of the affair of the divorce, of which he deſired to ſee the end, preſſed him ſo earneſtly to ſwear the cuſtomary oath, that he was prevailed with at length by an expedient propoſed to him, namely, to make a formal proteſtation againſt the oath he was to take [a]. This is by no means one of his moſt commendable actions. However, he was conſecrated the 13th of March according to Burnet. And yet, the king put him not in poſſeſſion of the temporalities till the 29th of April. This gives occaſion to ſuſpect, there is a miſtake in the firſt of theſe dates.

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He refuſes to take the oath to the pope. Burnet.

He yields at laſt, but makes a proteſtation. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 456, 457. Burnet. p. 128.

This affair being ended, the king required the convocation of the province of Canterbury to give their opinion upon theſe two points. Firſt, whether pope Julius's diſpenſation for the king's marriage with Catherine was ſufficient and able to render ſuch a marriage valid? Secondly, whether it was ſufficiently proved that Arthur had conſummated his marriage with Catherine? Whereupon, the convocation declared on the 5th of April, that the pope had not power to diſpenſe contrary to the law of God, and that the conſummation of Arthur's marriage was proved, as far as a thing of that nature could be. The convocation of York made the like deciſion the 13th of May following.

The convocation of Canterbury and York decide the points about the divorce for the king. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 454, 472. Burnet.

Whilſt the clergy were employed in debating theſe points, Henry writ to Francis, deſiring him to ſend a truſty perſon, to whom he might diſcover ſome things which he would not make publick. Francis ſent William de Bellay lord of

Francis ſends de Bellai to London. Bellai. Mezerai. Herbert.

[a] This proteſtation imported, that he did not intend by that oath, to reſtrain himſelf from any thing that he was bound to, either by his duty to God, to the king, or the country; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of theſe. Burnet, T. 1. p. 129.

1533. Langeais, ordering him to acquaint the king, that he had concluded a marriage between his ſecond ſon the duke of Orleans and Catherine de Medici, and that the pope and himſelf were to meet at Marſeilles to celebrate the nuptials: that in ſuch a juncture he believed his preſence would be very neceſſary to ne[illegible] his own affairs himſelf with the pope: but in caſe he [illegible] interview, he would do w[illegible] Langeais being come to [illegible] the king told him that Clement VII. having obſtinat[illegible] n England, he had determi[illegible] therefore had already eſpouſ[illegible] to have his marriage null[illegible] ury. That however, he w[illegible] te till May, to ſee what the king of France could do with the biſhop of Rome (for ſo he called the pope.) But if he could obtain nothing, his deſign was to withdraw himſelf wholly from the papal authority. He imagined then, the pope and Francis would meet in May, but it was not till October. He told Langeais further, that he had compoſed a treatiſe upon the incroachments of the biſhops of Rome and the prerogatives of ſovereign princes, but would not publiſh it, till he ſaw no hopes of reconciliation.

Henry imparts his marriage to Bellai. Herbert.

Herbert. p. 168. Strype's Mem. p. 149.

He makes it publick.

Shortly after, the king's marriage with Anne Bullen was made publick, which certainly was very wrong. Since the king was reſolved to have his firſt marriage nulled by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, he ſhould have ſtaid till the ſentence was pronounced. All that can be ſaid in excuſe of this irregular conduct is, that the new queen was four months gone with child, and her breeding could hardly be concealed any longer. But notwithſtanding this, the king might have cauſed his firſt marriage to be nulled a little ſooner, or the ſecond to be publiſhed a little later, ſince there was but a month between the publication and the ſentence. However, Henry deſpairing to prevail with the pope, and not much fearing him, thought to have no farther regard either for him or the publick, being almoſt aſſured of ſucceeding in whatever he undertook, conſidering how the people ſtood affected. In ſhort, being fully determined to end the affair, he ſo ordered, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury demanded his leave to ſummon queen Catherine. Before he came to this extremity, he tried more than once to perſuade the queen to conſent to the divorce. But all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he granted the archbiſhop the leave he deſired. The queen was cited to appear at Dunſtable, in

Remark on that ſubject.

Cranmer cites the queen, and upon her not appearing pronounces ſentence; Herbert, Burnet.

the neighbourhood of the place where ſhe reſided, the 20th of May [b]. But as ſhe refuſed to appear, the archbiſhop gave ſentence the 23d of the ſame month, declaring the king's marriage with Catherine null, as being contrary to the law of God. On the 28th, at Lambeth, by another ſentence, he confirmed the king's marriage with Anne Bullen, and on the 1ſt of June the new queen was crowned. 1533. Hall. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 462, 467. and confirms the king's ſecond marriage.

Thus ended this famous proceſs, the iſſue whereof afforded no leſs matter for divers reflections than the beginning, every one reaſoning as ſwayed by prejudice or intereſt. Thoſe who were againſt the king took notice of his error in eſpouſing a ſecond wife, before his firſt marriage was legally diſſolved. They ſaid moreover, that of all the prelates in England, Cranmer was the laſt that ſhould have been choſen for judge, ſince he had ſo openly declared againſt the firſt marriage. That his partiality was apparent, not only in his haſte to give ſentence, but alſo in his confirming the king's ſecond marriage, which had been conſummated whilſt the firſt ſtill ſubſiſted. Reflections on the king's conduct. Burnet.

Thoſe who were for the king affirmed, the ſentence was but a mere formality, which rendered not the marriage void, but only declared it ſo. That it ſufficed, the ſentence was conformable to the determinations of the Engliſh clergy and all the univerſities in Europe, and to the ſentiments of the pope himſelf, who would have nulled the marriage, had he not been biaſſed by worldly conſiderations. They juſtified Cranmer by alledging, that having changed his character ſince his declaring for the divorce, that declaration ought not to hinder him from being judge, no more than a lawyer when he comes to ſit on the bench is debarred the trying of cauſes in which he formerly gave counſel. That though there were ſome default in the form, it could not be denied, Reaſons alledged for the king.

[b] The archbiſhop went to Dunſtable (about ſix miles from Ampthill, where the queen was) accompanied with Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, and the biſhops of London, Bath, and Lincoln, and ſat in court on the 10th of May, the king appearing by proxy, but the queen not at all. Upon which ſhe was declared contumacious, and a ſecond and third citation were iſſued out. Then the evidences that had been brought before the legates of the conſummation of the marriage with prince Arthur were read. After that, the determinations of the univerſities, divines, and canoniſts, with the judgments of the convocations of both provinces were produced, and the whole merit of the cauſe was opened. And then on the 23d, with the advice of all that were preſent, it was declared, that the marriage had been only de facto, and not de jure, and conſequently null from the beginning. One thing is to be obſerved, that the archbiſhop is called in the ſentence, the legate of the apoſtolical ſee. Whether this went of courſe as one of his titles, or was put in to make the ſentence firmer, the reader may judge. Burnet, T. I. p. 131. Hall, fol. 210.

1533. the ſentence was juſt in itſelf, which was ſufficient to quiet the king's conſcience, who alone was concerned in the affair. As for the new queen, no fault could be found with her conduct, ſince [illegible] marriage, whether [illegible] year, or in the [illegible] it could not be [illegible] validity of her [illegible] at, ſhe ſhould [illegible] firſt, which wa[illegible] moſt people wo[illegible] not to judge of [illegible] days but by reaſ[illegible] conſider it in that view, independently [illegible] by the consequences. It will not perhaps be unacceptable to the reader, to ſee here a ſhort recapitulation of the conduct of the chief actors in this ſcene. I ſhall confine myſelf to this, without fully examining the proceſs, which is not ſo much the buſineſs of a hiſtorian as of a divine or civilian.

Remarks upon the proceſs of the divorce, and the conduct of the principal parties. Upon the king.

It is almoſt impoſſible to know poſitively, whether Henry, when he undertook the affair of the divorce, was convinced that his marriage was contrary to the law of God, or at leaſt was really troubled in conſcience upon that account. All that can be ſaid in his favour is, that he himſelf affirmed as much, and none but the ſearcher of all hearts can know, whether he thought as he ſpoke. It cannot be denied, that the ſole conſideration of ſuch a marriage is of itſelf capable of breeding ſuch ſcruples, eſpecially as the king's might be confirmed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury's, and the biſhop of Lincoln's his confeſſor. But, on the other hand, it may be conjectured from ſeveral circumſtances, that it was only a pretence to put away Catherine and marry Anne Bullen. In the firſt place, he had lived eighteen years with the queen without ſhowing any ſcruple. In the ſecond place, if he was not in love with Anne Bullen when his ſcruples firſt ſeized him, it cannot be denied, he was very much ſo, when he moſt ardently preſſed the affair of the divorce. So, it may be conjectured, that his love might turn into belief what at firſt was only a doubt. In the third place, very probably it was cardinal Wolſey that inſpired, by himſelf or another, the king with theſe ſcruples, to be revenged of the emperor and the queen. This bold and daring miniſter imagined,

* The men generally ſpake in behalf of the king, and the women took the queen's part. Hall, fol. 199.

either

either the affair would eaſily ſucceed, conſidering his great credit at the court of Rome, or in caſe of oppoſition, it would be no more difficult on this than on ſeveral other occaſions, to cauſe the king to alter his mind. But Henry's love unexpectedly happening, Wolſey found he had taken wrong meaſures. Beſides, the determinations of the univerſities did not a little contribute, without doubt, to confirm the king in his opinion. However, without farther inquiry whether Henry was ſatisfied of the juſtice of his cauſe, let us conſider in few words how he behaved in ſo nice an affair. He ſuppoſed that Julius II. could not grant a diſpenſation for his marriage, and conſequently the marriage was void of itſelf. And yet, he thought he wanted Clement VII's bull to declare it ſo. Herein was a contradiction which could not but greatly embaraſs him. If Julius's diſpenſation was null by the law of God, it was needleſs to revoke it, and if a revocation was neceſſary, conſequently it was good till revoked. Thus, Henry was bound till the pope ſhould pleaſe to decide the point. When Cranmer had given him another notion of the affair, by intimating to him, that independently of the power aſſumed by the pope, the chief thing was to be aſſured of the right by the opinions of the learned, he cried out in a tranſport of joy, "He had got at "laſt the right ſow by the ear", that is, he found in Cranmer's advice a ſolution of the difficulties, he could not get over in following the doubtful principle of the pope's power, becauſe its extent was not ſettled. He reſolved therefore to procure the opinions of the univerſities. But at length, weighing the conſequences of a rupture with Rome, he reſumed the firſt way, and applied again to the pope. By this he wronged his cauſe very much; for in taking the pope for judge, it was no longer in his power to limit the authority he was willing to acknowledge. But he was excuſable, ſince it was hardly poſſible to throw off at once his prejudice with reſpect to the papal power, whereof he had not at firſt ſo clear an idea as afterwards. Then, finding the pope acted only from worldly conſiderations, which hindered him from giving him the ſatisfaction he required, he returned to the way he had left. So, proceeding upon his own conviction, and the determinations of the univerſities, he cauſed his marriage to be declared null, without regarding the pope's authority, which he was reſolved to forſake. I omit the reaſons he alledged to prove the neceſſity of his divorce. That of conſcience was doubtleſs the beſt, if ſincere. That relating to the uncertainty of the ſucceſſion was proper to

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1533. demand a ſentence, but not to ground the divorce upon, becauſe the divorce ſuppoſed the marriage void, which was to be judged.

Remarks on the pope. Let us now conſider the pope's conduct, where we find nothing favoring of [illegible] Clement VII. never examined the caſe by the maxims of religion, juſtice, or equity, but always with reſpect to the [illegible] his family's intereſts. If he had attended to what [illegible] required, he would have examined, whether Henry's marriage was contrary to the law of God, and whether in that caſe, a pope had power to grant a diſpenſation. If he had been convinced that Julius II. [illegible] a right which belonged not to him he ſhould have [illegible] the bull he demanded. But if, on the contrary, he was perſuaded, the marriage was agr[illegible] to the [illegible] or not being ſo, it was in the po[illegible] a pope to grant a diſpenſation, he ſhould have confirmed it, and tried to remove the king's ſcruples, without ſeeking ſo many evaſions. That was the duty of a pope. But inſtead of acting in that manner, he conſidered only what good or hurt might accrue to him from the king's demand, independently of the juſtice or injuſtice of the thing. Whilſt he was priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo, or fugitive at Orvieto, and thought he ſtood in need of Henry, he poſitively promiſed to content him. Afterwards, he only amuſed him, till, by the emperor's means, he had recovered Florence. As ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of that ſtate, which he had ſo much deſired, he avocated the proceſs to Rome, but, in all appearance, with intent never to decide it, if he could help it; becauſe whilſt the two parties remained uncertain of the deciſion, he made himſelf neceſſary to both. Can it therefore be ſaid, there was any ſign of juſtice or religion in his proceedings? certainly, if Henry was to blame, as it is pretended, to feign ſcruples on purpoſe to gratify his paſſion. Clement was no leſs ſo, not to try to reclaim him before the affair was begun, or to content him in caſe his ſcruples were well-grounded. Though Henry had acted only through paſſion, which is however very uncertain, he would have been much more excuſable than the pope, who, in the poſt he filled, ought to have proceeded upon very different principles.

Remarks on the emperor. As for the emperor, he undoubtedly acted in this affair from motives of honour, intereſt, and policy, without juſtice or religion being concerned in his proceedings. He looked upon the queen of England, his aunt's divorce, as a diſhonour, which, added to his intereſt to create Henry troubles,

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bles, who was in strict alliance with France, was but too capable of inducing him to obstruct it to the utmost of his power.

Upon queen Catherine.

As for queen Catherine, very probably, she acted with sincerity. As she believed the pope's authority unlimited, she thought herself the king's lawful wife, and in that belief, did not th[illegible]ght to another, on pretence [illegible]ples, which, in her opinio[illegible] could not own her marria[illegible]er daughter the princess M[illegible]nced her marriage was [illegible] pope had power to render [illegible] submit to the same auth[illegible]lared. Nevertheless, sh[illegible]g taken a false oath, to [illegible].

Upon Anne Bullen.

Much [illegible]. But without insisting upon Sanders's invectives, which have been sufficiently refuted [d], she can be charged before marriage but with one single fault, namely, her yielding to the king before his marriage with Catherine was nulled. But it was very difficult for a young lady of her rank, to have resolution enough to resist the temptation of being a queen, if she could be so lawfully, as it is likely the king made her believe. It cannot however be said, she yielded to the king's desires before her marriage. He espoused her at the latest in January, and she was not brought to bed till September [e]. So there is nothing in that which can give occasion for any suspicion.

Upon the pope's, the king's, and the emperor's agent's.

As for the rest who were concerned in the affair, as the cardinals, and the king's, and the emperors minister's, it

[d] Sanders has assured the world, that the king liking her mother, sent her husband, sir Thomas Bullen, ambassador to France, and in his absence, begot Anne Bullen upon his wife. At his return, he sued a divorce against her in the archbishop's court, but the king letting him know she was with child by him, he was, upon the king's desire, reconciled to his wife. Thus Anne Bullen, though she went under the name of sir Thomas's daughter, yet was of the king's begetting. As he describes her, she was ill shaped and ugly, had six fingers, a gag tooth, and a tumour under her chin. At fifteen years of age, he says, both her father's butler, and chaplain lay with her; and when in France she led such a dissolute life, that she was called the English hackney. That the French king liking her, she was called the king's mule. But returning to England, she gained the king's affection, by the appearance of a severe virtue, with which she disguised herself. The same author adds, that the king had likewise enjoyed her sister, with a great deal more to the disgrace of this lady and her family. Hence we may see to what a height of rancour and malice bigotry and blind zeal in religious matters are capable of carrying a man! Burnet, T. 3. p. 41.

[e] September 7, of the princess Elizabeth, which afterwards mounted the throne. Hall, fol, 217. Stow, &c.

may

1533. may be affirmed, they acted only from worldly views, without any regard to religion.

Upon the univerſities. It cannot be ſaid, the univerſities of France and England decided the queſtions propoſed with entire freedom, ſince it is known what an influence ſovereigns have upon the actions of their ſubjects, when they are concerned. As to the univerſities of Italy, both parties accuſed one another of having corrupted them, the one by money, and the other by threats. As for the Engliſh clergy, they had lately received ſuch a check, that they had reaſon to dread giving the king a freſh occaſion of anger. But it cannot be thence inferred, that they decided contrary to their ſentiments, ſince it often happens that truth is not oppoſite to intereſt.

Upon Cranmer. The ſame may be ſaid of Cranmer, who being now tinctured with Luther's doctrine, could not look upon Julius's diſpenſation as capable of rendering a marriage valid, which in itſelf was null and repugnant to the law of God. Indeed, he may have earneſtly embraced this opportunity, to give a mortal wound to the papal authority, in order to promote the reformation. But it cannot be affirmed, that he acted againſt his knowledge, in pronouncing the ſentence of divorce. At leaſt, his whole behaviour was directly oppoſite to ſuch obliquities.

By what has been ſaid, it may be eaſily perceived, that in this affair, which was properly a caſe of conſcience, very few of the actors had any but political views, without much regard to the precepts of religion. Nevertheleſs, God who directs all the actions of men, without their knowing very often, to what they may tend, drew from the proceedings of Henry, Clement, and Charles, the end he deſigned, that is, the reformation of the church of England, as will be ſeen in the ſequel. If any one deſires fully to examine the caſe of Henry VIII's divorce, he would do well to caſt off all prejudice, and take care not to be miſled by the authors who have writ on the ſubject. But if a man is contented with examining it hiſtorically, he is to conſider only the political views of the principal actors.

Catherine remains inflexible. Burnet, Hall. Herbert, She is to be ſtiled princeſs dowager. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 48.

The ſentence of divorce being made publick, Henry took care to acquaint Catherine with it, by the lord Mountjoy, who tried in vain to perſuade her to ſubmit. She ſtill remained inflexible affirming, ſhe would be the king's wife till the pope had nulled the marriage. This anſwer being brought to the king, he ordered her to be ſtiled only princeſs dowager of Wales. But ſhe refuſed to be ſerved by any that would not treat her as queen; and the king thought not

not fit to remove ſuch as would ſhow her that reſpect [f]. Shortly after, he notified his divorce, and new marriage to all the ſovereigns, and particularly to the emperor, who coldly told the Engliſh ambaſſador [g], he would conſider what he was to do in the caſe. 1533.

Henry notifies his marriage to the emperor. Herbert. Burnet.

The news of the king's marriage, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury's ſentence having reached Rome, the pope was extremely angry with Henry, and the more, as a copy of his book againſt the papal authority had now appeared in Rome itſelf. The cardinals of the imperial faction improving this occaſion, very earneſtly preſſed him to give ſentence againſt the king, remonſtrating to him, that if he reſented not ſuch an affront, the authority of the holy ſee would be at an end. Theſe remonſtrances produced their effect. The pope nulled the archbiſhop's ſentence, and declared the king himſelf liable to excommunication, unleſs during the month of September, he reſtored the cauſe to its former ſtate [h]. He contented himſelf for this time with only threatening him, becauſe he did not yet deſpair of reclaiming him by the king of France's means, with whom he was going to confer at Marſeilles.

The pope nulls the archbiſhop's ſentence. Herbert. Burnet. Hollingſh.

The pope gives a comminatory ſentence againſt the king.

The pope's aim in that interview was, firſt to celebrate the nuptials between Catherine his niece, and the duke of Orleans. In the next place, to deviſe with Francis ſome expedient to adjuſt his differences with the king of England, or if that could not be done, to diſingage Francis from Henry's intereſts. Francis wiſhed ſincerely, that ſome way might be found to reconcile them, becauſe he hoped to join in a league with both, the more eaſily to recover the duchy of Milan. Henry had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade him from the interview, being apprehenſive it would produce between Francis and Clement an union which

The pope's deſign in the interview of Marſeilles. Burnet. T. III.

[f] William Blount, lord Mountjoy, was to mix promiſes with threatnings, particularly concerning Catherine's daughter's being put next queen Anne's iſſue in the ſucceſſion. But all would not do. She ſaid, ſhe would not damn her ſoul, nor ſubmit to ſuch an infamy: that ſhe was his wife, and would never call herſelf by any other name, ſince the proceſs ſtill depended at Rome. Mountjoy having written a relation of what had paſſed between him and her, ſhowed it her; but ſhe daſhed with a pen all thoſe places in which ſhe was called princeſs dowager. Burnet, T. I. p. 132.

[g] Sir Thomas Wyat.

[h] The more moderate cardinals were for finding a temper, that the ſentence ſhould not be definitive, but ſhould be given upon what had been attempted in England by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, (which in the ſtile of the canon law, was called the attentates,) and it was done accordingly. The ſentence was affixed ſoon after at Dunkirk. Burnet, T. I. p. 133. Herbert, p. 172.

could

1533. could not but be to his prejudice [i]. He had ever reckoned that Francis would act in concert with him to frighten the pope, and that their menaces would induce him at laſt to give him the ſatisfaction he required. But perceiving he could not prevail, he had publiſhed his marriage. From that time, he was fully reſolved to widen the breach with Rome, unleſs the pope and the king of France ſhould, at their interview, ſome ſatisfactory expedient, by which he was very willing to wait. [illegible] he ſent the duke of Norfolk [k] in embaſſy to France, with orders to accompany him to Marſeilles, and ſee whether there was yet any hope of agreement.

Henry's deſign.

He ſends the duke of Norfolk to Marſeilles. Hall. Herbert. Burnet. Hollingſh.

The duke of Norfolk coming to the French court the 1ſt of July, waited upon the king who was then on his journey to Marſeilles [l], intending however to make ſome ſtay in Languedoc, before he went to the congreſs. He accompanied him ſome time, but hearing in the beginning of Auguſt, what was done at Rome againſt the king his maſter, would have returned, imagining his preſence would be of little ſervice at Marſeilles. Nevertheleſs, at the king of France's ſollicitation, he contented himſelf with ſending the lord Rochfort for freſh inſtructions from the king, who immediately recalled him. However, Francis ſo artfully managed Henry, that he perſuaded him to ſend a perſon to Marſeilles, to be a witneſs of what ſhould paſs at the interview. Henry made choice of Stephen Gardiner, Sir John Wallop and Sir Francis Brian, with Edmund Bonner, a very proper perſon to execute the orders he gave him.

He recalls him.

Gardiner, Brian, and Bonner, are ſent to Marſeilles.

The pope and Francis met at Marſeilles the beginning of October, and within a few days, the duke of Orleans conſummated his marriage with Catherine de Medici [m]. This affair being ended, Francis ſollicited the pope in behalf of the king of England, and prevailed with him at laſt to give Henry entire ſatisfaction; but, to ſave the honour of the holy ſee, he would judge the cauſe himſelf in a conſiſtory,

The duke of Orleans's marriage.

The pope promiſes Francis to content Henry. Herbert. Burnet.

[i] Francis acquinted king Henry, that his chief deſign in this interview, was to ſerve him; but Henry replied, that he was ſo ſure of his nobility and commons, that he had no apprehenſion of any thing the pope could do. Burnet, T. III. p. 72.

[k] Together with George Bullen, lord Rochford, ſir William Paulet, ſir Anthony Brown, and ſir Francis Brian, attended with a hundred and ſixty horſe. Hall, fol. 211. Herbert, p. 168.

[l] And endeavoured to diſſuade him from the interview and marriage propoſed, or, at leaſt, to ſuſpend it till the pope had given our king ſatisfaction; offering alſo aid for a war in Piedmont, if he would ſuffer no more money to go out of his realm to Rome, and inſtead of the pope, to erect a patriarch. Herbert, p. 169.

[m] The pope himſelf married the young couple. Herbert, p. 170.

from

from which the cardinals of the emperor's faction ſhould be excluded. Thus far all went very well. But Bonner, to whom doubtleſs it was not thought fit to diſcover the ſecret, demanding an audience of the pope [n], acquainted him with the king his maſter's appeal to the next general council, from the ſentence given or to be given againſt him. The pope told him, before he declared himſelf, he would adviſe with the cardinals that were with him. Some days after [o], having ſent for Bonner, he gave him for anſwer, that according to the opinion of the cardinals, the appeal was unlawful. Bonner, without being ſurprized at the anſwer, acquainted him in the ſame manner with the like appeal of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, from the ſentence which nulled his judgment for the divorce. This put the pope into ſuch a rage, that he talked of throwing Bonner into a cauldon of melted lead [p]. Guicciardini ſays Francis was ſo offended with Bonner's inſolence, that he offered the pope to do all that lay in his power to procure him ſatisfaction for the affront. But if this be true, it was only a mere compliment.

1533.

Bonner acquaints the pope with the king's appeal. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 476. Herbert. Burnet. The pope rejects it. Bonner notifies Cranmer's appeal. The pope threatens him. Burnet.

Clement departed from Marſeilles the 12th of November, as much pleaſed with the king of France as he was diſſatisfied with Henry. Mean while, Francis not deſpairing yet to adjuſt this affair, ſent into England John de Bellay biſhop of Paris, to propound new expedients to the king. This prelate, who had reſided ſome time at the court of England as ambaſſador, wrought ſo with Henry, that he perſuaded him at length to agree to an expedient he propoſed to him [q]. So, pleaſed with having obtained more than he durſt have expected, he very readily undertook to carry the good news himſelf to the pope, though it was then in the depth of winter. He found the pope inclined to do what he could to end the affair amicably, and drew from him a poſitive promiſe, that the cauſe ſhould be judged at Cambray by ſuch as the king of England ſhould have no reaſon to except againſt. But Clement not truſting entirely to a verbal promiſe, deſired to have it under the king's own hand, that he approved of what was concerted. Moreover, to avoid all delays and evaſions, he fixed the day for

The biſhop of Paris is ſent to Henry with freſh expedients. Herbert. Henry accepts them. Burnet. The biſhop goes to Rome. Herbert. Burnet. The pope deſires the king's approbation in writing.

[n] November 7. Ibid.
[o] November 10. Ibid.
[p] Or burning him alive. Burnet, T. I. p. 134.
[q] Namely, that if the pope would put off the execution of his ſentence, until he had indifferent judges ſent, who might hear the buſineſs, he would alſo defer the execution of what he was inclined to do in withdrawing his obedience from the Roman ſee. Herbert, p. 173.

the

1533. the return of the courier, who was to be ſent into England.

He fixes the day for an anſwer.

This weighty affair being thus upon the point of concluſion, the [illegible] with the pope to revoke [illegible] had given his word. However, they repeated their inſtances with ſuch

The emperor's agents preſs the pope to retract. Burnet.

earneſtneſs, that [illegible] if Henry's anſwer came not by the time appointed, he ſhould think himſelf [illegible] and reſuming on the day appointed, [illegible] pope to give ſentence againſt H[illegible] refuſed, and

The pope refuſes a delay of ſix days. Herbert. Burnet.

threatening [illegible] the emperor's intereſt. In ſhort, they ſo [illegible] him, that though the biſhop of Paris only [illegible] not obtain it. The pope, frighted by the menaces of the imperialiſts, was ſo entirely devoted to them, that what ſhould have been done, according to the uſual forms, in three conſiſtories, was done in one. In a word, the pope, without ſtaying for an anſwer from England, publiſhed a ſentence [r], declaring Henry's marriage with Catherine good and lawful, and requiring him to take his wife again, with denunciation of cenſures in caſe of diſobedience. Two days after came the courier with full powers for the biſhop of Paris, as the pope had deſired. Several cardinals moved to revoke what had been done; but the emperor's party preſſed him ſo cloſely, that the motion was rejected. Thus the pope, who had amuſed the king for ſix years by affected delays, could not be perſuaded to grant him ſix days, and by this precipitation, was the cauſe of the Romiſh church's loſs of the kingdom of England.

He publiſhes a ſentence againſt Henry.

The courier returns juſt after.

The pope refuſes to revoke the ſentence. Herbert. Burnet.

Remark on the king's conduct.

It muſt however be confeſſed, that it is very difficult to conceive what the king's view was in the agreement he pretended to make with the pope. Can it be ſuppoſed he meant to quit his newly acquired title of ſupreme head of the church of England? but he appeared ſo jealous, during the reſt of his days, of this ſupremacy, which kept the clergy in awe, whereas before, the clergy depended more on the pope than on him, that there is no likelihood he would think of parting with this prerogative. And yet, how could the king's ſupremacy ſubſiſt in caſe he agreed with the pope? Or how could the pope reſolve to content him with reſpect to his divorce, without requiring him to reſign his ſupremacy? Certainly it is impoſſible to reconcile theſe two things;

r On the 23d of March. Burnet, T. I. p. 136.

which

which gives occaſion to ſuſpect, the king acted not with ſincerity in his pretended agreement with the pope, and that after having juſtified his divorce by the pope's ſentence, he meant to drop him there, and withdraw from his obedience. This ſuſpicion is confirmed by what paſſed in England, at the very time the king diſpatched the courier to Rome, with the engagement the pope had deſired. I have obſerved that the biſhop of Paris went poſt from London about the end of December: that upon his arrival at Rome he ſent a courier to the king to acquaint him with what he had obtained of the pope; and that the king ſent back the ſame courier with his approbation. Now what ſpeed ſoever the biſhop and courier could make, it is impoſſible the courier could return to Rome before the middle of January. But at the very time the king diſpatched the courier, he held at Weſtminſter a parliament, where acts were paſſed directly contrary to the agreement he ſeemed to deſire [s]. 1533. Burnet, T. III. p. 92.

The parliament meeting the fifteenth of January 1534, opened the ſeſſion with repealing the ſtatute of Henry IV. againſt hereticks. This was not with deſign to exempt them from the penalties in that ſtatute, ſince it was enacted in this that they ſhould be burned, but only to hinder the clergy from being ſole judges in cauſes of this nature. That was the real intent of the new act, whereby, for the future, hereticks were to be proſecuted and tried according to the laws of the land, without any regard to the canon law [t]. 1534. Parliament. Herbert. Hall. Burnet. Act to take from the clergy the cognizance of hereſy.

By another ſtatute, which the parliament paſſed at the ſame time, it was enacted, Firſt, That all convocations ſhould be called for the future by the king's writ. Secondly, That the king ſhould name thirty two perſons, ſix-

[s] This year, on June 24, died Mary, queen dowager of France, and wife of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. Hall, fol. 217.

[t] By the ſtatute of Henry IV. biſhops might, upon ſuſpicion of hereſy, commit any perſon to priſon, without preſentment or accuſation, contrary to what was practiſed in all other caſes. Therefore the ſtatute of Henry IV. was repealed, but thoſe of Richard II. and Henry V. were left ſtill in force, with the following regulation: that hereticks ſhould be proceeded againſt upon preſentments, by two witneſſes at leaſt, and then committed, but brought to anſwer to their indictments in open court; and if found guilty, and would not abjure, or were relapſe, to be adjudged to death; the king's writ de hæretico comburendo being firſt had. This act is the fourteenth in the Statute book, thirty third in the records, thirty firſt in the journal. It may eaſily be imagined how acceptable this act was to the whole nation, ſince it was an effectual limitation of the eccleſiaſtical power, in one of the moſt uneaſy parts of it. And this regulation of the arbitrary proceedings of the ſpiritual courts, was a particular bleſſing to the favourers of the reformation. Burnet, tom. I. p. 147.

teen

1534. teen of both houſes of parliament, and as many of the clergy, to examine the canons and conſtitutions of the church, with power to abrogate or confirm ſuch as they thought fit. As it is certain the parliament acted by the directions of the court, it may eaſily be conceived the king was not much inclined to agree with the pope, though by the engagement he did ſend or had already ſent to Rome, he ſeemed reſolved.

Another ſtatute, whereby the king is impowered to name thirty two commiſſioners to reform the canons.

Here is another argument of the little regard Henry had for the pope, at the very time he was going to obtain all his deſires. Before the news came to England of the ſentence againſt the king, the parliament paſſed an act of attainder againſt Elizabeth Barton, commonly called the holy maid of Kent, who pretending to be inſpired, foretold, that "if the "king married Anne Bullen he ſhould not be a king a month "longer." This nun having been wrought upon and inſtructed by a certain curate, counterfeited the propheteſs and mixed with her prediction invectives againſt the king's proceedings in the affair of the divorce, and threats againſt his chief counſellors. Several Franciſcans countenanced her pretended revelations, ſo that ſhe was in great repute with the people; nay, archbiſhop Warham, ſir Thomas More, and John Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, were deceived with the reſt. But at length, the nun and her accomplices being apprehended by the king's order, the affair was ſo carefully examined, that the whole contrivance was diſcovered, and the counterfeit propheteſs condemned to die with her corrupters. However, as the affair had made a great noiſe, the king was pleaſed it ſhould be brought before the parliament, to render their condemnation more authentick. Sanders would fain reckon this nun and her accomplices for martyrs, though their own confeſſions ſufficiently juſtified their condemnation [u]. If the king had really intended to be reconciled to the court of Rome, nothing could be more unſeaſonable than to paſs this act, when the affair of the divorce ſeemed to be upon the point of being adjuſted to his ſatisfaction.

Act of attainder againſt Elizabeth Barton. Hall. Burnet.

An account of her. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Burnet. Strype's Mem.

She is adjudged to die.

Burnet.

Whilſt

[u] Elizabeth Barton, of Kent, in the pariſh of Aldington, being troubled with a ſort of hyſterical fits, which diſtorted her limbs ſo, that people began to think her inſpired of God, was perſuaded by Richard Maſter, the pariſh prieſt, who hoped to draw great advantages from it, to pretend to prophecy and ſupernatural impulſe. Whereupon he taught her to counterfeit trances, and to utter ſpeeches againſt the wickedneſs of the times, particularly againſt hereſy and innovation. At length ſhe gave out, that on ſuch a day ſhe ſhould be perfectly cured, if ſhe went in pilgrimage to the image of the

Whilſt the parliament was employed in theſe matters, Henry received news of the ſentence * given and publiſhed againſt him at Rome, with all the circumſtances demonſtrating the little regard the pope had for his perſon and dignity. Theſe haſty proceedings convincing him there was nothing more to be expected from Rome, he no longer delayed to execute his reſolution to break off all correſpondence with the pope. The parliament was no leſs offended than the king with the pope's conduct. So, the whole legiſlature, being in the ſame mind, reſolved utterly to aboliſh the papal authority in England. After what Clement had done, there was 1534. The king and parliament offended at the news of the pope's ſentence. Herbert.

the bleſſed virgin, in a chapel within the pariſh of Aldington, the reputation whereof the crafty prieſt had a method to raiſe. On the day appointed, above two thouſand people were gathered together to ſee the miraculous cure. Being brought to the chapel, ſhe fell into one of her fits, and ſpoke many words of great piety, ſaying, that by the inſpiration of God, ſhe was called to be a nun, and that doctor Bocking (a canon of Chriſt church, in Canterbury, an aſſociate of the prieſt's) was to be her ghoſtly father. Preſently after ſhe ſeemed, by the interceſſion of our lady, to be perfectly recovered, and afterwards became a nun, in the priory of St. Sepulchre's, in Canterbury, where Bocking frequently viſited her. He, with ſome others, being apprehenſive the king's marriage with Anne Bullen might be detrimental to the popiſh religion, perſuaded the nun to menance the king with death. The friers that were in the conſpiracy, had agreed to publiſh theſe revelations in their ſermons up and down the kingdom. They had given notice of them to the pope's ambaſſadors, and brought the maid to declare her revelations to them. They had alſo ſent an account to queen Catherine, for encouraging her to ſtand out and not ſubmit to the laws. The king, who had deſpiſed the thing long, ordered, that in November the laſt year, the maid and her accomplices ſhould be brought into the Star Chamber, where, before many lords, they all without rack or torture confeſſed the whole cheat, and were adjudged to ſtand in St. Paul's all the ſermon time, after which, every one on the Sunday following read his confeſſion openly before the people. Then they were carried to the Tower, where they lay till the ſeſſion of parliament. The matter being brought before the houſe, the nun, Richard Maſter, doctor Bocking, Richard Dering, Henry Gold, a London miniſter, Richard Riſby, were attainted of high treaſon, and executed at Tyburn, April 21. The biſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas Abel, and four more, were judged guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, and to forfeit their goods and chattels to the king, and to be impriſoned during pleaſure. The wicked deſigns of this impoſture did much alienate people from the intereſt of Rome, and made the other acts both paſs more eaſily, and be better received by the people. It was alſo generally believed, that what was now diſcovered was no new practice, but that many of the viſions and miracles by which religious orders had raiſed their credit, were of the ſame nature; and it made way for the deſtroying of all the monaſteries in England. Biſhop Fiſher, pleaded in his excuſe, that all he did was only to try whether her revelations were true. And for his concealing what ſhe had told him about the king, he thought it needleſs to ſay any thing, becauſe ſhe (as ſhe ſaid) had told it to the king herſelf. So he refuſed to make any ſubmiſſion; and yet it does not appear that the king proceeded againſt him upon this act. See Hall, fol. 219, &c. Stow, p. 570. Burnet, tom. I. p. 150, &c.

* From Edward Karne, and William Revet, who were employed to ſolicit this important buſineſs. Herbert, p. 173.

1534. no other way; it was neceſſary either to withſtand him vigorouſly, or prepare to endure all the ſeverities and indignities, to which England was liable in the reigns of Henry II. and John Lackland. But the times were altered. The Engliſh were no longer willing to ſubmit to the baſe actions required by the popes of their anceſtors, neither was the king's intereſt different from that of his ſubjects. Thus, every one being equally tired of the papal yoke, it was deemed more honourable to demoliſh at once that formidable power, under which the kingdom had ſo long groaned, than vainly to expect, it would of itſelf be reduced within due bounds. It may be eaſily judged, the favourers of the new religion were not ſparing of their pains to bring things to this ſtate. The reſolution that had been taken was quickly put in execution. In a few days an act was paſſed containing ſundry articles, all tending to the ſame point.

Statut. c. 20.

Act aboliſhing the papal authority.

The firſt confirmed the ſtatute for aboliſhing the annates, or firſt fruits.

By the ſecond it was enacted, that for the future, the pope ſhall have nothing to do in the nominating or preſenting of biſhops; but that, when a biſhoprick ſhall become vacant, the king ſhall ſend to the chapter a congé d'elire, and in caſe the election ſhall not be over within twelve days after the licence, it ſhall belong to the king. That the biſhop elect ſhall ſwear fealty to the king, and then be recommended by his majeſty to the archbiſhop to be conſecrated. That if the biſhop elect or archbiſhop refuſe to obey the contents of this act, they ſhall be liable to the penalty of præmunire. Moreover, all perſons were expreſly forbid to apply to the biſhop of Rome for bulls, palls, and the like.

Statut. c. 21.

By a third article, were aboliſhed, Peter-pence, all procurations, delegations, expeditions of bulls, and diſpenſations coming from the court of Rome; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury was appointed to grant all ſuch diſpenſations, &c. as ſhould not be contrary to the law of God, on condition that part of the money thence ariſing ſhould be paid into the king's exchequer [x]. Moreover, all religious houſes, exempt and not exempt, ſhould be ſubject to the archbiſhop's viſitation [y].

[x] All diſpenſations formerly taxed at or above four pounds, ſhould be alſo confirmed under the great ſeal.

[y] All monaſteries, &c. heretofore exempt from the archbiſhop's viſitation, were ſtill to be ſo, and ſuch abbeys whoſe elections were formerly confirmed by the pope, were now to be confirmed by the king. See the act, being 21 in the Statute book, 27 in the Record, and 8 in the Journal.

By

By a fourth, it was enacted that the king's marriage with Catherine, widow of his brother prince Arthur, ſhould be held null and void, and that ſhe ſhould be reputed only princeſs dowager of Wales. On the contrary, the king's marriage with Anne Bullen is declared valid, and the ſucceſſion to the crown ſettled upon their iſſue. Moreover, it is ſaid, that any perſon of what quality ſoever, who ſhall ſpeak or write againſt the king's marriage, ſhall be adjudged a traitor to the king and ſtate, and that all the king's ſubjects without diſtinction ſhall be obliged to ſwear, they will obſerve and maintain the contents of this act. After this, follows a liſt of the marriages forbid by the law of God, among which is that of a man with his brother's widow; and it was enacted, that no ſuch marriages ſhould be allowed for the future, and that ſuch as were then in being ſhould be diſſolved. 1534. Statut. c. 22.

Thus was the papal authority aboliſhed in England by act of parliament. Indeed, there were few biſhops and abbots preſent when the act paſſed [z]. However, there was but one ſingle biſhop who refuſed to ſet his name to it, becauſe they made a great difference between ſubmitting to an act paſſed by a lawful authority and giving their vote for it. The generality of the people expreſſed great joy to ſee themſelves freed from a yoke, which neither they nor their forefathers could bear. None but the monks exclaimed againſt it, and drew upon themſelves the king's indignation, the effects whereof they afterwards felt. Thoſe who wiſhed for the reformation were highly pleaſed to ſee the main obſtacle removed, believing the reſt would quickly follow. But this reformation, which they ſo impatiently expected, made not in this reign all the progreſs, they imagined they had reaſon to hope. The people rejoice at it.

The parliament breaking up the 30th of March [a], after all the members had ſworn to obſerve what was enjoined in the

[z] There were preſent only the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Bath and Wells, Landaffe, and Carliſle, with twelve abbots. Burnet, tom. I. p. 144.

[a] Beſides the acts mentioned above, there were others of ſome importance made; namely, 1. That perſons indicted of petit treaſon, wilful murder, robbery, or other felony, and upon their arraignment ſtanding mute, or peremptorily challenging above twenty of the jury, or elſe refuſing to anſwer directly to their indictments, ſhall not have the benefit of the clergy. 2. By another, the deteſtable vice of buggery was adjudged felony. 3. There was alſo an act made to prevent the deſtroying of wild fowl, whereby it was enjoined, that none ſhould be taken from the laſt day of May, to the laſt of Auguſt, upon pain of one year's impriſonment. 4. Whereas ſome people had gathered into few hands, ſeveral farms, and

1534. the foremention'd act, the king ſent commiſſioners throughout the kingdom to adminiſter the ſame oath to all his ſubjects. The collection of the publick acts contains the oaths of ſeveral abbots and friars of all orders to this effect: that they would be faithful to the king, the queen, their heirs and ſucceſſors: that they owned the king for ſupreme head of the church of England: that the biſhop of Rome has no more juriſdiction than any other biſhop: that they renounced his obedience: that they would preach ſincerely doctrines agreeable to the holy ſcriptures: that in their prayers they would pray firſt for the king as ſupreme head of the church of England, then for the queen and their children, and laſtly for the archbiſhop of Canterbury [a]. Some time after the archbiſhop of York certified by a writing of the 5th of May, that in the convocation of his province it was declared, the pope had no more power in England than any other biſhop. Only John Fiſher biſhop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More late chancellor, refuſed to ſign the act of parliament, which contained three principal articles, the inceſtion of the crown, the nullity of the king's firſt marriage with the validity of his ſecond, and the abolishment of the papal authority. They offered to ſign the firſt article, but for the other two, they ſaid, their conſcience would not ſuffer them to conſent to them, whereupon they were committed to the Tower [c].

Oath taken by the ſubjects according to the act.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 487, &c.—527. Burnet. T. I. p. 146.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 492.

Fiſher and More refuſe to take the oath, and are ſent to the Tower. Herbert. Strype. Burnet.

Whilſt

and great plenty of cattle, particularly ſheep, ſome to the number of twenty thouſand, whereby the rents of lands were not only increaſed, but alſo tillage very much decayed, ſome churches and towns had been pulled down, and the price of corn, cattle, &c. exceſſively enhanced; it was therefore enacted, that no man ſhould keep above two thouſand ſheep at one time: and not hold above two farms at once, and thoſe to be in the pariſh where he lives. 5. That no man ſhould buy bound books brought from beyond ſea, nor buy any ſuch by retail. See Statut. 25 Hen. VIII.

[a] Gardiner wrote to Cromwell from Wincheſter the 6th of May, that the lord Audley and others, with all the abbots, priors, wardens, and curates, within the ſhire had taken the oath. The forms in which they did it are not known, for though they were enrolled, yet in queen Mary's days Bonner and others were commiſſioned to examine the records, and raze out all things done either in contempt of the ſee of Rome, or the defamation of religious houſes. However, two of the ſubſcriptions of religious orders, dated May 4, 1534, eſcaped their diligence. One is by ſix abbies, the other by the prioreſs and convent of the Dominican nuns at Deptford. See Burnet's collection, N. 50. vol. I.

[c] At a meeting of the privy council at Lambeth, many were cited to take the oath. More was firſt called, and the oath being tendered him; he replied, after having conſidered the act, he would neither blame thoſe that made it, nor thoſe that ſwore the oath: but for his part, though he was willing to ſwear to the ſucceſſion, if he might be ſuffered to draw up the oath himſelf, yet for the oath that was offered him, his conſcience ſo moved him, that he could not, without hazarding his

ſoul,

Whilſt theſe oaths were adminiſtring throughout the kingdom, the king ſent the archbiſhop of York and the biſhop of Durham [d] to tell Catherine, ſhe muſt forbear aſſuming the title of queen, and to lay before her the reaſons that moved the parliament to deprive her of it. But ſhe replied, ſhe believed her marriage with the king good and lawful, and ſhould hold it as ſuch to her dying day: that ſhe had never conſummated her marriage with prince Arthur; and they who affirmed it, ſpoke not the truth: that ſhe was not bound to ſubmit to the archbiſhop of Canterbury's ſentence, ſince the pope had nulled it and decreed the contrary [e]: that the king's marriage with Anne was not valid, as being made during the appeal: that ſhe was not obliged to ſubmit to the acts of the parliament, not being the king's ſubject but his wife: that beſides, theſe acts were made by the king's ſubjects, upon an affair wherein he was party. 1534. Henry acquaints Catherine with the act of parliament. Herbert. p. 175. The queen's anſwer.

Though Henry would have been very glad of Catherine's ſubmiſſion to what the parliament had enacted, it was not her obſtinacy that gave him the moſt uneaſineſs. The emperor having undertaken to execute the pope's ſentence, Henry was naturally to expect to be attacked by that powerful enemy. In order therefore to prevent him, or to put himſelf in a ſtate of defence, he deſired to make a league with Negotiation between Francis and Henry fruitleſs. Herbert.

ſoul, take it. Upon which, being deſired to withdraw, others were called upon, and did all take the oath, except Fiſher, who anſwered in almoſt the ſame manner as More had done. Then More was again brought in, and they ſhewed him how many had taken it; he ſaid, he judged no man for doing it, only he could not do it himſelf. Being aſked the reaſon, he replied, he feared it might provoke the king the more againſt him if he ſhould offer reaſons, which would be called diſputing againſt law: but however, if the king would command him to do it, he would put them in writing. Cranmer urged him with this argument, that ſince he blamed not others for taking it, it ſeemed he was not perſuaded it was a ſin, but was doubtful in the matter: but he did know certainly, he ought to obey the king and the law; therefore he was obliged to do that about which he was certain, notwithſtanding his doubtings. He anſwered, though he had examined the matter very carefully, yet his conſcience leaned poſitively to the other ſide, and offered to purge himſelf by oath that it was purely out of conſcience that he refuſed it. The abbot of Weſtminſter preſſed him (with an argument too often uſed in the like caſes) that he might ſee his conſcience was erroneous, ſince the great council of the realm was of another mind. Cranmer in a letter to Cromwell, earneſtly preſſed to accept the oath as More and Fiſher offered; for if they once ſwore to the ſucceſſion, it would quiet the kingdom, ſince all others would acquieſce and ſubmit to the judgments of ſo great men. But this ſage advice was not followed. Burnet, vol. I. p. 156. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 174.

[d] Edward Lee, and Cuthbert Tunſtal: they waited upon Catherine at Bugden, near Huntingdon. Herbert, p. 175.

[e] Adding, that ſhe would never leave the name of a queen, but always take herſelf for king Henry's wife. Herbert, p. 175.

1534. the king of France by a new treaty, which would render their union more effectual for their common defence. Francis ſeemed very ready to comply, but meant that all the terms ſhould be to his advantage, and to make Henry ſubſervient to his deſigns elſewhere. He had ſtill an eye upon the duchy of Milan, as upon what belonged to him of right, and had been unjuſtly taken from him, and deſigned to recover it, though he had expreſly renounced it by the treaty of Cambray. To that end he had ſacrificed the honour of his houſe, in marrying his ſecond ſon to a baſtard branch of the family of the Medici, becauſe he did not think he could proceed without the pope. But on the other hand, he was afraid of loſing the fruit of that alliance, by uniting too cloſely with the king of England, with whom the pope could now conſider but as an open enemy. In this perplexity, he endeavoured to perſuade Henry to act only privately, by ſending large ſums to the German proteſtants to foment the diſſention between them and the emperor, and embroil him ſo, as to hinder him from thinking of Italy. Henry did not abſolutely reject the propoſal. He was very willing to aſſiſt the proteſtants with a good ſum of money; but pretended withal that Francis ſhould attack Navarre with a powerful army, whilſt on his part he carried war into Flanders. But Francis could not reſolve to join ſo openly with England, for fear of offending the pope. Beſides, he turned all his thoughts to the Milaneſe, where an accident about the end of the laſt year gave him an opportunity to carry his arms. As this accident was the occaſion or pretence of a new war between the emperor and the king of France, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention it.

The duke of Milan beheads Merveilles the king of France's envoy. Bellai. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

Franceſco Sforza was no ſooner reſtored to Milan upon very hard terms, but he wiſhed to be freed from the emperor's yoke, and the obligation to pay him the ſum he had promiſed. Francis having ſome knowledge of Sforza's diſpoſition, believed he ſhould cheriſh it, in hopes of reaping by it one day ſome advantage. But as Sforza greatly feared to give the emperor ſuſpicion, and conſequently the affair was to be managed very privately, Francis found means to keep at Milan an envoy, who could not be ſuſpected. He choſe for that purpoſe a Milaneſe gentleman, called Merveilles, who having been formerly baniſhed from Milan by Ludovico the Black, had lived in France ever ſince. The troubles of the Milaneſe being entirely ended by the peace of Cambray, Merveilles returned home with a letter of credence for the duke, to which the duke ſent an anſwer, receiving

ceiving the gentleman as envoy of France, though in public he treated him not as such. However ſecret Marveilles's negotiation might be, the emperor had ſome notice of it, and made great complaints to the duke, who, to remove all ſuſpicion, reſolved to ſacrifice to him this envoy. Accordingly, he ſuborned a perſon to quarrel with Merveilles, which ended in the murder of the party employed, who was killed by Merveilles's ſervants, without however their maſter's being preſent. Whereupon Merveilles was committed to priſon, and two days after beheaded, without any one being ſuffered to ſpeak with him. Francis hearing of it, wrote a menacing letter to the duke, and acquainted all his allies with what had happened. The duke would have excuſed himſelf, by denying that Merveilles was at Milan as envoy. What he ſaid was true in reſpect to the publick. But he could not diſown his own letter to the king in anſwer to the letter of credence. When the French ambaſſador informed the emperor of the outrage committed at Milan upon Merveilles, he coldly anſwered, He could not conceive, how the king of France could be affected with the death of a ſubject of the duke of Milan, whom his ſovereign had puniſhed according to his deſerts. This anſwer made the king believe, the emperor was concerned in Merveilles's death, which was a freſh cauſe of diſguſt, and inflamed his deſire of revenge. But on the other hand, he was not ſorry the ſatisfaction he demanded was refuſed, becauſe he intended to take occaſion from thence to enter the Milaneſe ſword in hand. To that purpoſe, he ordered a levy of lanſquenets in Germany, and demanded paſſage of the duke of Savoy to go and chaſtiſe the duke of Milan. But that prince fearing to diſpleaſe the emperor, would not grant it. For which reaſon Francis, who could not enter the Milaneſe but by paſſing through the duke of Savoy's dominions, reſolved to make war upon him, uſing for pretence certain claims he had in right of Louiſa his mother to the inheritance of the late duke of Savoy. Till every thing was ready to begin the war, he ſpent the whole year in divers negotiations, tending to create the emperor troubles, and diſable him to aſſiſt the duke of Savoy. 1534.

Francis takes occaſion to carry war into the Milaneſe.

He demands a paſſage of the duke of Savoy, and upon his refuſal declares war againſt him.

Whilſt Francis was thus employed, the ſituation of the affairs of Italy was changed by the death of Clement VII. who was carried off by a fit of ſickneſs the twenty ſixth of September. The twelfth of October following, cardinal Farneſe was choſen pope, and aſſumed the name of Paul III. Guicciard.

Clement VII's death.

Paul III. ſucceeds him.

1534. There were likewise this year in Germany some alterations, which put the affairs of the proteſtants in a tolerable ſituation. The landgrave of Heſſe defeated king Ferdinand's army, commanded by the count Palatine, and reſtored the duke of Wirtemberg to his dominions. Ferdinand not being able any longer to reſiſt the landgrave, was forced to agree to the duke's reſtoration: but withal obtained, that both the duke and the landgrave ſhould acknowledge him for king of the Romans. Shortly after, the elector of Saxony acknowledged him alſo, having firſt got a promiſe from him, that he would not ſuffer any perſon to be molested in the empire on the account of religion.

Affairs of Germany. Sleidan.

Clement VII's death cauſed no alteration in the meaſures taken by the court of England to ſhake off entirely the papal yoke. Matters had been carried too far ever to recede. Beſides, the king having not much to fear from abroad, by reaſon of the troubles the emperor was like to be involved in, and his ſubjects being inclined to ſupport him, it would have been imprudent to neglect ſo favourable a juncture, and leave his work unfiniſhed. So the parliament meeting the third of November, paſſed ſeveral material acts, of which it will ſuffice to relate the following, in order to ſhew they all tended to the ſame point, that is, to break all the bonds which had ſerved to hold the Engliſh in ſubjection to the popes.

Henry is bent to ſtand to the rupture with the pope. Herbert. Burnet. Hall. Hollingſh. Divers acts paſſed upon that occaſion.

I. Act confirms the king's title of head of the church.

The firſt act confirmed the king's title of ſupreme head of the church of England, already given him by the clergy [f]. Though Henry had very willingly accepted this title from the clergy, nay, had not left them the liberty to refuſe it, he ſeemed however to doubt, whether he ſhould receive it when offered by the parliament. He was pleaſed firſt to adviſe with his council, and conſult ſome of the biſhops, whether out of ſcruple, or to ſhow it was not extorted. They whom he conſulted having ſatisfied him, that the authority aſſumed by the biſhop of Rome over the whole church had no foundation in ſcripture, he baniſhed all his ſcruples, if it be true that he had any, and from thenceforward took all occaſions to improve the prerogatives which flowed from this new title.

[f] And declared, that the king, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, ſhall have full power and authority to viſit, reform, and reſtrain all ſuch errors, hereſies, abuſes, and offences, which by any manner of ſpiritual juriſdiction ought to be reformed. See Statut.

By

By a second act it was declared treason to speak, write, or imagine any thing against the king or queen [g]. 1534.

The third debarred persons accused of treason of the benefit of sanctuary. II. Treason to speak evil of the king. III. Concerning sanctuaries.

By a fourth, the parliament prescribed a form of oath concerning the succession, to be taken by all the king's subjects, and annulled all former oaths upon that head. IV. Form of oath.

The fifth was very grievous to the clergy, as it gave the king the annates and first fruits of the benefices; whereas by the act already passed, the ecclesiasticks were in hopes of being ever freed from that burden. Moreover, by the same act the yearly revenue of the tenth part of all livings was granted to the king [h]. V. Grants the first fruits and tenths to the king.

By a sixth statute, provision was made for twenty five suffragan bishops, each of whom was to depend on his diocesan, who was to present two to the king for him to choose one. Thus was revived in the church of England the use of Chorepiscopi, introduced into the primitive church, but afterwards discontinued for several centuries [i]. VI. Suffragan bishops.

Lastly, The parliament condemned Fisher bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More to perpetual imprisonment, and confiscated all their estates, for refusing to take the oath enjoined by the act of the former session. This sentence was considered by some as very unjust, whilst others admired Burnet. Fisher and More are condemned by the parliament.

[g] Or to call the king heretick, schismatick, tyrant, infidel, or usurper, which opprobrious names some insolent friars were very liberal of.

[h] To be paid between Christmas and the first of April. It was ordered in this act, that the chancellor of England should direct into every diocese in the realm, commissions in the king's name, under his great seal, as well to the archbishop and bishop of every diocese, as to such other persons as the king should appoint; to examine, search, and require, by all ways and means, the true, just, and whole yearly value of all the manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, rents, tithes, offerings, emoluments, and all other profits, as well spiritual as temporal, belonging to any archbishoprick, bishoprick, —archdeaconry, deanery, hospital, college, prebend, cathedral, or collegiate church, — parsonage, vicarage, — free chapel, or any other benefices or promotion spiritual. Accordingly, several commissioners were appointed for each county, with whom were joined the bishops of the respective dioceses, and a certain number of auditors. The valuations that were thus taken by these commissioners, were all returned to Cromwell, master of the rolls; and according to them have the first fruits been paid ever since. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 211.

[i] The towns appointed for suffragan sees were, Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Guilford, Southampton, Taunton, Shaftsbury, Molton, Marlborough, Bedford, Leicester, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Penreth, Bridgwater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Pereth, and Berwick, St. Germans, and the Isle of Wight. They were to exercise such jurisdiction as the bishop of the diocese should give to them; but their authority was to last no longer than the bishop continued his commission to them. In Burnet's collection, N. 51. vol. I. the reader may see a writ for making a suffragan bishop.

1534. in the ſame the effects of God's juſtice upon perſons that had been violent perſecutors of the Lutherans.

General pardon. Burnet.

Before the parliament broke up, the king granted a general pardon, from which however Fiſher and More were excluded [k].

Proclamation againſt the name of pope. Stow. Herbert.

Shortly after, the king iſſued out a proclamation, forbidding to give to the biſhop of Rome the name of pope, and commanding that name to be razed out of all books to deſtroy the remembrance of it if poſſible. Then the biſhops voluntarily ſwore to renounce entirely all obedience to the biſhop of Rome. Gardiner, now biſhop of Winchester, was not the laſt to take this oath, though in his ſoul he abhorred it as very unjuſt. But a little condeſcenſion for the king in this reſpect was then the only means to preſerve his favour. Beſides, Gardiner was thereby enabled to croſs upon other points the reformers, who daily gained ground [l].

The biſhops ſwear againſt the pope. Gardiner's diſſimulation. Herbert.

Progreſs of the reformation in England. Burnet.

It was not only in Germany that the reformation had made ſome progreſs, but alſo in many other places. In England it had been countenanced to ſome meaſure by cardinal Wolſey, as during his miniſtry, no perſon was proſecuted for hereſy, though the clergy wanted not occaſions to exerciſe their uſual ſeverities, had they been left to take their own courſe. After Wolſey's diſgrace, ſir Thomas More being made chancellor, perſuaded the king that what did him the moſt injury at the court of Rome, was the report of his being a favourer of the innovators, and to remove this falſe imputation, the moſt infallible way was to ſhow a zeal for religion. Henry following this advice, ordered the laws againſt hereticks to be rigorouſly executed, and very ſtrictly prohibited the importing any of their books into the kingdom. But this prohibition was not capable of hindering ſeveral of Luther's treatiſes from being brought into England with Tindal's tranſlation of the New Teſtament, who was retired into Flanders.

Perſecutions raiſed by More. Burnet. Fox.

Bible burnt at London. Hall. Burnet.

The biſhop of London having notice of it, cauſed ſome copies to be ſeized, and publickly burnt by the hangman [m].

But

[k] This parliament granted the king a tenth and a fifteenth, to be paid in three years. There had been no ſubſidy granted for twelve years before. Burnet, tom. I. p. 158.

[l] This year, on the 11th of Auguſt, the monaſteries of Obſervant friars at Canterbury, Greenwich and Richmond, Newark and Newcaſtle, were ſuppreſſed, and Auguſtin friars, (according to ſome) put in their room; though others mention not this exchange. See Stow, p. 571. Herbert, p. 178.

[m] Tunſtal, biſhop of London, being at Antwerp, (where Tindal was) in 1529, as he returned from his embaſſy at the treaty of Cambray, ſent for one Packington, an Engliſh merchant,

But this was ſo far from injuring the reformation, that it rather turned to its advantage. Many perſons, full of indignation at this impious act, inferred that the ſcriptures were contrary to the religion generally profeſſed; ſince the clergy took ſuch care to hinder the bible from being read, and that alone raiſed their curioſity to read. On the other hand, the diſlike the Engliſh had taken to the pope, greatly increaſed by the reading of the Lutheran writings. 1534.

As the reformation gained ground, the zeal of its enemies was inflamed againſt ſuch as embraced it. Whilſt More was chancellor, he ſpared no pains to deſtroy them utterly. Many ſuffered martyrdom [p] with a wonderful conſtancy, which very much contributed to ſtrengthen their brethren. At length, the king having to manage the German proteſtants, becauſe he might afterwards want them, ſuſpended More's perſecution. On the other hand, Anne Bullen very much mollified the king in that reſpect. Archbiſhop Cranmer contributed to it likewiſe to the utmoſt of his power, and Thomas Cromwell, now in great eſteem with the king, ſeconded their endeavours as far as in him lay [o]. But they had a ſtrong party againſt them, conſiſting of the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, Longland biſhop of Lincoln, almoſt all the churchmen who had any acceſs to the court, and thoſe who when they preached before the king filled their ſermons with invectives againſt the reformation. All theſe had gained Henry's confidence by their compliance in the affair of the divorce and the ſupremacy, though in the laſt they acted contrary to their ſentiments. By this condeſcenſion, they were enabled effectually

Perſecution in England. Burnet. Fox.

put a ſtop to.

Cranmer and Cromwell ſupport the reformation.

Strong party againſt them. Burnet.

chant, and deſired him to ſee how many of Tindal's New Teſtaments he might have for money. Packington acquainted Tindal with what the biſhop propoſed. Tindal was very glad of it, for he was then deſigning a new and more correct edition; but being poor, and the former impreſſion not being ſold off, he could not go about it. So, giving Packington all the copies that lay in his hands, the biſhop paid for them, and brought them over and burnt them in Cheapſide. Next year, when the ſecond edition was finiſhed, many more were brought over, and chancellor More enquiring of one Conſtantine, who it was that encouraged and ſupported them at Antwerp, was told, that the greateſt encouragement they had was from the biſhop of London, who bought up half the old impreſſion. This made all that heard it laugh heartily. William Tindal, born on the borders of Wales, and brought up at Oxford, was afterwards burnt in 1536, at Filford, eighteen miles from Antwerp, crying out at the ſtake, Lord open the king of England's eyes. Hall, fol. 186, 227. Fox. Burnet, T. I. p. 159.

[n] As T. Hitton, in 1530, beſides Bilney, and the reſt mentioned above, p. 793, as alſo John Tewkſbury, &c. See Burnet, tom. I. p. 162, &c. Fox, tom. II.

[o] He was, on April 22, appointed chancellor of the Exchequer. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 436; and, on the 21ſt of September, this ſame year, maſter of the rolls. Stow, p. 571.

to

1534. to oppoſe the reformers in all the articles which concerned not the pope, and eſpecially in that of the real preſence, which the king deemed unqueſtionable, and thought fit to his life. In ſpite of all this, the heads of the reformation deſpaired not of inclining him by degrees to a farther reformation, becauſe of the connection the articles of religion have one with another. Beſides, their party grew ſtronger every day, by the junction of ſuch as read the holy ſcriptures and the religious books which were handed about, notwithſtanding the king's prohibition. Nothing ſhows more the number and ſtrength of that party, than the readineſs wherewith the parliament paſſed the acts which tended to leſſen the clergy's power, and ſhake off the papal yoke.

Francis I. ſeems to favour the reformation.

The reformation made likewiſe ſome progreſs in France: the king himſelf expreſſed an inclination for the doctrine of the proteſtants, which was privately countenanced by his ſiſter Margaret queen of Navarre. But the cardinals of Tournon and Lorrain, who were in great credit with Francis, diſſuaded him from it ſo earneſtly, that they gained him at laſt, nay, made him a violent perſecutor.

Peace between England and Scotland. Act Pub. XIV. p. 480, 529—542. Herbert. Hall.

Before I cloſe what relates to the events of the year 1534, I muſt not forget to mention that a twelvemonth's truce concluded the laſt year [p] between England and Scotland, was turned into a peace the 11th of May this year. By the treaty, the peace was to laſt till the death of one of the two kings, and Henry might without breaking it keep the Douglaſſes in England.

1535.

Embaſſy of France to ſift Henry. Bellai. Herbert.

In the beginning of the year 1535, Francis I. ſent an embaſſy to Henry, under colour of diſcharging the duty of a good friend and ally, but in reality to try to deceive him, by feigning to acquaint him with his ſecrets, and aſk his advice. The occaſion of the embaſſy was this: the emperor having reſolved to carry his arms into Africa, had a mind to amuſe Francis, leſt in his abſence he ſhould attack the duke of Savoy, and ſo open a way to the duchy of Milan, as he ſeemed to intend. To that purpoſe, he had diſpatched an ambaſſador to him, with orders to propoſe a marriage between his third daughter and Philip prince of Spain, and another betwen the dauphin and Mary, daughter of Henry and Catherine of Arragon. Moreover, he had offered him a penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns for the duke of Orleans upon the duchy of Milan, and the duchy itſelf, after the death of Franceſco Sforza, who had no heirs. It was

[p] October 1. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 480.

evident, these overtures were designed only to amuse Francis, who considered them himself upon no other foot. Nevertheless, he imagined they would serve to procure him some advantage from Henry, if he let him know he was courted by the emperor. To that end, he sent into England admiral Chabot Seigneur de Brion, on pretence to advise with the king upon these offers. But his chief aim was to make him uneasy, and induce him to offer some advantageous proposals. It appeared in the sequel he would have persuaded him to things which were very far from his thoughts. The admiral having discharged his commission, Henry answered, he much wondered, the emperor should pretend to marry his daughter, over whom he neither had nor ever should have any right or power: that it was manifest, he only sought to break the union between France and England, and therefore he hoped the king of France would not be so much his own enemy, as to hearken to such overtures. Shortly after, he sent orders to his ambassador at Paris [q] to tell Francis, he would give Elizabeth his daughter and heir to the duke of Angoulême his third son, upon the following conditions: that Francis himself, his three sons, the princes of the blood, the principal nobility of France, the parliaments, and universities should solemnly promise to cause to be revoked the sentence given against him by the bishop of Rome: that the duke of Angoulême should be sent into England to be educated: that in case by his marriage he should come to the crown of England, the duchy of Angoulême should be independent of the crown of France. These conditions were afterwards mitigated, and Francis I. seemed to agree to them. But he required in his turn, that Henry should assist him in the war of Savoy, and forgive him the perpetual annuity of a hundred thousand crowns, which he was bound to pay by a treaty. Henry perceiving Francis's insincerity, told the admiral, that instead of forgiving the pension he expected, the king his master should pay the arrears, and clear by the time appointed all his other debts. This answer put an end to the negotiation, which probably was undertaken only to sound Henry concerning the pension.

1535.

Henry's answer to Francis's proposal. Herbert.

Henry's offer. Herbert. Hall. Hollingsh.

Francis's demand.

Henry demands what was due to him.

Francis's grand design was to recover the duchy of Milan, under pretence of revenging the affront done him by Sforza. But, to execute this project, it was necessary to raise the

Francis's projects.

[q] Sir John Wallop. There were moreover sent upon this occasion, Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, the bishop of Ely, sir William Fitzwilliam, and doctor Fox. Herbert, p. 179. Hall, fol. 226.

emperor

1535. emperor troubles, which would hinder him from aſſiſting that duchy. There were four ſeveral quarters from whence he hoped to embroil the emperor. Firſt, from the pope and the princes of Italy. Secondly, in Germany, by means of the league of Smalcald. Thirdly, by fomenting diſcord between the king of England and the emperor. Laſtly, by drawing the Turks into Germany. In order to all this, he had married his ſon the duke of Orleans to Catherine de Medici: lodged a hundred thouſand crowns in the hands of the duke of Bavaria to be ready upon occaſion; perſuaded Henry to end the affair of the divorce in the manner we have ſeen; and had ſecret agents at Conſtantinople to treat of an alliance with Soliman emperor of the Turks. But moſt of theſe expedients, which he thought infallible, had proved unſucceſsful. The firſt had miſcarried by the death of Clement VII. and by the election of a new pope, whom it was not eaſy to gain to his intereſt. The king of the Romans had fruſtrated the ſecond, by agreeing with the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Heſſe, and the duke of Wirtemberg. As for the third, he could not hope much from thence, becauſe the king of England's intention was not to make war upon the emperor, but only to ſtand upon the defenſive. Conſequently it was in the emperor's power to keep him quiet by not attacking him firſt. The Turks therefore alone could properly be ſubſervient to his deſigns. But, to rely upon them, it was neceſſary to commence the war in Italy, otherwiſe it was not likely, Soliman would be perſuaded to begin it in Hungary. Upon that account, he continued at Conſtantinople a negotiation, which was diſcovered by a letter intercepted by the duke of Urbino, who ſent it immediately to the emperor. Mean while, Francis ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution to attack the duke of Savoy, and open a paſſage to the Milaneſe. He reckoned, the peace of Germany could not hold long: that the emperor and Henry would never live in a good underſtanding: and that, when once the war was begun, the pope, the potentates of Italy, the king of England, would readily aſſiſt to reduce the power of the houſe of Auſtria within due bounds. Above all, he depended upon the princes of the league of Smalcald, fancying they would embrace this opportunity to free themſelves from their uneaſineſs, cauſed by the advancement of that houſe. To that end, he continued his intrigues with them, and pretended to be ſo far inclined to their religion, that he was going to invite Melancthon into France to conſer with him. But withal, he plainly ſhowed he acted only

upon

upon political views, ſince he cauſed to be burnt in France 1535.
thoſe that ſeparated from the church of Rome. In the mean while, as there was ſome difference between Luther and Calvin about religion, and as thoſe that were burnt in France were Calviniſts, the rigid Lutherans not conſidering them as their brethren, imagined Francis might treat them with the utmoſt ſeverity, without loſing his regard for the Lutheran religion. Francis reſolving to uſe his endeavours to re-conquer the duchy of Milan, attacked the duke of Savoy, and in the firſt campaign took from him Savoy and la Breſſe. P. Daniel.

Whilſt Francis was laboring to accompliſh his deſigns, Charles V. was [illegible] which tended to no leſs than eſtabliſhing his dominion over all Europe. Indeed, France and England being cloſely united together, could have oppoſed a ſtrong barrier to his ambition: But he did not deſpair to diſunite them in the end. That was his chief care, whilſt on one hand, he excited the Iriſh to a rebellion, and the king of Scotland to a rupture with England. But whilſt he was endeavouring to embroil his enemies, in hopes of finding his account in it, he was himſelf uneaſy with regard to Soliman, who threatened Germany under colour of ſupporting the intereſts of John de Zapol, whom he had cauſed to be crowned king of Hungary. On the other hand, he ſaw with extreme concern the great progreſs of Haradin Barbaroſſa, the famous corſair, who after expelling Muley Haſſem, had made himſelf king of Tunis. Such a neighbour could not but diſquiet him; becauſe, to hinder him from ravaging the coaſts of Spain, Naples and Sicily, it would have been neceſſary conſtantly to maintain a fleet in the Mediterranean, which could not be done without a great expence, and this would have diſconcerted his other projects. So conſidering the war, he had reſolved to wage with Haradin, as the moſt urgent affair, he made this ſummer an expedition into Africa, where he took the fort of la Goulette, after which, he became maſter of Tunis, and reſtored Muley Haſſem. Deſigns of Charles V. Herbert. Hall. The emperor's expedition to Africa. Hiſt. of Sp. Herbert.

Henry gladly ſaw the emperor engaging in wars, which probably would keep him long employed. Whereupon he reſolved to improve this interval, to compleat the regulation of his domeſtick affairs, which were yet in a very doubtful ſtate. He had aboliſhed the papal authority, and been declared ſupreme head of the church of England by acts of parliament. But though, by the conſtitution of the government, theſe acts ſeemed to be above all contradiction, it was however but too true, that this was not ſufficient. Henry's diſpoſition as to religion.

1535. As religion was concerned, and conſcience cannot be compelled, the ſtatutes themſelves wanted to be ſupported by force, that an outward obedience at leaſt might be paid them. It is certain, the uniformity which appeared to the determinations of the parliament and clergy, was in many the effect of fear rather than of inward perſuaſion. Many ſome, as Fiſher and Mo[illegible] were ſo hardy as openly to diſapprove theſe ordinances, and notwithſtanding the ſeverity exerciſed upon them, ſtill perſiſted in the ſame opinion. It is true, theſe inſtances of [illegible] tion, made people ſilent, [illegible] ing them of the reaſonable[illegible] the king found no public [illegible] to ſee, that an obedience [illegible] could laſt no longer than compulſion ſubſiſted. On the other hand, he beheld with concern the triumph of the proteſtants, who imagined that after aboliſhing the papal authority, he was going to renounce all the errors they combated, though nothing was farther from his thoughts. Mean while, it was every where publiſhed, that he was upon the point of forſaking the antient religion; ſome aſſerting it out of malice, to render him odious; and others, becauſe they wiſhed it. To clear himſelf therefore from theſe imputations, at the very time he refuſed to recognize the pope's authority, he ordered thoſe who were called ſacramentarians to be burnt. By this conduct, he made himſelf hateful to the catholicks and proteſtants. As for the proteſtants, he bore their ill-will without much concern: beſides that, he feared them not, he approved in their doctrine the articles only that oppoſed the papal authority, and their ſentiments of the friars, with whom he was extremely incenſed, becauſe they laboured with all their power to alienate from him the affections of his people. It is true, he valued and loved Cranmer and Cromwell, with ſome others, who countenanced the reformation; but he did not look upon them as proteſtants. He believed them men of ſolid virtue and piety, who, preſerving the eſſential doctrines of religion, were deſirous of reforming the abuſes crept into the church. But, as among theſe abuſes, he himſelf acknowledged only what concerned the pope and the friars, he imagined the reformers kept within the ſame bounds. They who perfectly knew him, took care not to diſcover all their thoughts. But by conforming themſelves to his ſentiments on theſe two articles, they hoped to induce him by degrees to advance the reformation, when by their pains he ſhould become more enlightened.

enlightened. For which reaſon the reformation began in England with theſe two points. As to the others, which had no relation to theſe, they were not meddled with during this reign, or at leaſt, but ſlightly. The reaſon is, becauſe Henry would never ſuffer his ſubjects to go greater lengths than himſelf. But to ſpeak the truth, his underſtanding was always directed by his intereſt. If all the changes made [illegible] reign be examined, they will all be found [illegible] to eſtabliſh an abſolute power over his [illegible] ever the principal, and perhaps the [illegible] motive of his proceedings, when he perceived the rupture with Rome to be an admirable means to that end. Hence the enemies of the reformation take occaſion to ſay, it was eſtabliſhed in England on political views. This may be true, if the perſon of Henry VIII. be only conſidered. But it does not follow, that they who promoted and embraced it acted upon the like motive. Beſides, what was the reformation in Henry VIII's days? Only a bare renouncing of the papal power, whilſt thoſe were burnt that would have carried it farther. So, let what will be ſaid of Henry's perſon, and his motives to throw off the papal yoke, I do not ſee that the proteſtants are much concerned to undertake his defence. 1535.

Henry finding that many of his ſubjects approved not his conduct, would have been very glad to take from them the pretence they uſed, of the ſentence publiſhed againſt him by the pope. To that purpoſe he would have engaged all France to join with him in procuring a revocation. But that method was impracticable, and a reconciliation with the court of Rome no leſs ſo. He could never have reſolved to part with the title of head of the church of England, and the pope would never have conſented to an agreement, unleſs things were reſtored to their antient ſtate. So Henry ſeeing himſelf obliged to purſue his point, reſolved to overcome by force, the obſtinacy of ſuch of his ſubjects as refuſed to ſubmit to the laws lately enacted. But on the other hand, deſiring to purge himſelf of the imputation of Hereſy, wherewith he was charged, he affected to puniſh ſeverely thoſe that embraced the new opinions. In this ſort of medium, which pleaſed neither party, he paſſed the reſidue of his days. But this is ſaying too little. It muſt be further added, that conſidering himſelf as a pattern for his ſubjects, he compelled them to keep within the ſame bounds, and would not ſuffer them to believe more or leſs than himſelf.

1535. It was impoſſible that after ſuch a reſolution Henry ſhould not live in a continual miſtruſt of his ſubjects, which obliged him to have always an eye upon what paſſed in the kingdom. Moreover, he had likewiſe to guard againſt the emperor's attacks, who had openly threatened him. He was ſenſible, if he were once engaged in a war, thoſe that durſt not look him in the face during his proſperity, would not ſcruple to declare againſt him, if he were unſucceſsful. The king of Scotland his nephew was to be feared. As for the king of France, he had himſelf his friend, and indeed was obliged to him; he had ſhown too plainly how ſelf-intereſted his friendſhip was to be relied on. They both intended to controul the emperor, but with different views. Each meant to make his ally ſubſervient to his deſigns, and to improve the advantages which flowed from their union. Thus Henry ſaw no reſource but in his own ſubjects, among whom however there were many male-contents. But as he had acted for ſome time with great haughtineſs, he found, if he relaxed on this occaſion, it would certainly be aſcribed either to his ſcruples, or to a ſenſe of his weakneſs, than which nothing could be more prejudicial to him. This conſideration joined to his ſtern and haughty temper, rendered him altogether untractable. From thenceforward he became fierce, cruel, inſenſible of his people's calamities, and executing without mercy, the laws dictated by himſelf to his parliament. In ſhort, he may, in ſome manner be ſaid, to be no longer the ſame king that had before reigned. All that can be alledged in his vindication, is, that he was often provoked by perſons, who, endeavouring to alienate the hearts of his ſubjects, attacked him in the moſt ſenſible part, becauſe his whole reliance was upon the aſſiſtance of his people.

Reaſon of the great ſubmiſſion of the Engliſh to Henry.

It will doutleſs, be ſurprizing to ſee in this reign the Engliſh ſo patient and ſubmiſſive to their ſovereign's pleaſure, that hardly do we find, from the beginning of the affair of the divorce, that the parliament refuſed him any thing, though his demands were very extraordinary. But it is eaſy to diſcover the reaſon. Religion was the ſole cauſe. The king, as it was obſerved, kept a ſort of medium with reſpect to religion. But as no man could believe it poſſible for him to remain long in that ſituation, thoſe who deſired the reformation, imagined they could not do better than comply with him in all things, to induce him to advance it by degrees. In like manner, the friends of the old religion, ſeeing ſuch beginnings, were afraid he would proceed, and

their

their oppoſition but make him finiſh his work the ſooner. 1535.
So, each party ſtriving to gain him to their intereſt, there reſulted for him an authority which none of his predeceſſors had ever enjoyed, and which he could not have uſurped in any other circumſtances, without hazarding his crown. But both parties were alike deceived. Henry kept in the ſame medium all the reſt of his life, and made them both feel the fatal effects of that abſolute power they had ſo eaſily ſuffered him to aſſume. It is true, he was always ſo prudent, as not to act contrary to law. But he made uſe of his power to procure ſuch laws as he pleaſed, and then executed them without mercy. This will frequently be ſeen in the ſequel. But after ſhowing Henry's character and motives, his actions muſt be related, which will confirm what has been obſerved.

Though the acts concerning the king's marriage and the papal power, bore the ſeal of the publick authority, they were very far from being univerſally approved. As they were not aſcribed ſo much to the two houſes as to the king, on him it was that the whole blame was caſt. Among all the male-contents, the monks were the moſt open, by their attempts to blacken him in the minds of the people. They could not bear his ſetting himſelf up in the pope's place, whom they had always conſidered, and ſtill did conſider as their true head, notwithſtanding the ſtatutes made againſt him. Theſe were the men that cauſed the pretended Kentiſh prophetes to ſay, if the king put away queen Catherine, and married another, he ſhould die in a month, and come to a tragical end. A Franciſcan, named Peto, preaching before the king †, was ſo hardy as to tell him to his face, "That "God's judgments were ready to fall upon his head: that "he was always ſurrounded with a croud of lying pro- "phets, who foretold him good ſucceſs. But for himſelf, "like another Micaiah, he warned him that the dogs ſhould "lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's." The friar's inſolence and the daily reports of the invectives which were every where ſpread againſt him, provoked him extremely againſt them, as well as againſt thoſe that had the boldneſs

The monks become odious to the king.

Inſolence of a Franciſcan. Stow. Burnet.

† At Greenwich, where Henry reſided moſt in ſummer. The king bore Peto's inſolence patiently; but, to undeceive the People, procured Dr. Curwin to preach the next Sunday, who juſtified the king's proceedings, and condemned Peto, as a rebel, a ſlanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Peto was gone to Canterbury, but Elton, another friar of the ſame houſe, interrupted him, and ſaid, he was one of the lying prophets, that ſought by adultery, to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion to the crown. And yet, nothing more was done to theſe two friars, than that they were convened before the council, and rebuked for their inſolence. Stow, p. 562. Burnet, tom. 1. p. 151.

1535. to ſpeak opprobriouſly of the acts of parliament. He was however very patient for ſome time, imagining that the people would at length be calmed. But when he ſaw they did not ceaſe to aſperſe him with all ſorts of calumnies, he called a council to conſider how he ſhould behave towards thoſe who affected to contradict the laws and ſpeak evil of him. Some of the council were for taking no notice of theſe offences, for fear too great a ſeverity ſhould have a quite contrary effect to what he deſired [s]. But others repreſented to him the ill conſequences of ſuch a conduct. They ſhowed him, that theſe people's aim was to ſtir up the people againſt him, to give the biſhop of Rome opportunity to aſſert his pretended authority, and therefore they were for putting the laws in execution with the utmoſt rigor. The king himſelf was of this opinion, as moſt agreeable to his fierce and ſtern temper, which could not bear contradiction. Beſides, he ſaw to what he ſhould be reduced in the end, if his enemies ſucceeded in their deſign to render him odious to the people. It is not therefore very ſtrange, that ſeeing himſelf thus provoked, he reſolved to treat with rigor thoſe who laboured with all their power to ruin him.

Debate of the council how the king was to behave. Herbert.

It is reſolved to put the laws in execution.

Priors and monks executed with ſome proteſtants. Hall. Stow. Burnet. Strype. Hollingſh. Fox.

The reſolution being taken of executing the laws without mercy, certain priors, monks and others, who had been too free with the new ſtatutes, were apprehended, tried, and executed, according to the utmoſt rigor of the ſame laws [t]. But at the ſame time, the king fearing leſt this ſeverity ſhould be aſcribed to the inclination, he was charged with, for the new religion, affected to uſe the ſame rigor to thoſe who had openly embraced the reformation, and put them to death with the others. At laſt to keep every one in awe by an example which ſhould make the boldeſt tremble, he reſolved to deliver up to the rigor of the law, Fiſher and More, then priſoners in the Tower [u]. To that end,

[s] They thought that impriſonment, baniſhment, or the like, was puniſhment enough for thoſe, who, confeſſing the king's ſupreme authority in all temporal matters, did, out of ſcrupuloſity rather than malice, oppoſe the reſt. Herbert, p. 182.

[t] Namely, the prior of the Charter-Houſe in London, the priors of Exham, and Benall, a monk of Sion, and John Haile vicar of Thiſtleworth, on May 4; and three monks of the Charter-Houſe, on July 28, 1535. They were all drawn and quartered at Tyburn. The Proteſtants put to death, were, John Frith, a man of great learning, and Andrew Hewet, on July 22, 1534. As alſo nineteen men and ſix women, born in Holland. Theſe were burnt, Hall, fol. 225, 226. Stow, p. 571. Burnet, tom. I. 166, &c. 352. Fox, tom. XI.

[u] Fiſher was hardly uſed; his goods being ſeized, he had only ſome old rags left him to cover him, and he was neither well ſupplied with diet nor other neceſſaries. Burnet, tom. I. p. 156.

Fiſher

Fiſher was required to take the oath of ſupremacy, it being ſuppoſed he would refuſe it, as he did indeed. About the ſame time Paul III. created him cardinal, though he had declared that if the cardinal's hat was laid at his feet, he would not ſtoop to take it up. But the pope, whoſe aim was to encourage ſuch as oppoſed the king, conferred however that dignity upon him, with the pompous elogy, that he conſidered him as the cardinal of cardinals. This unſeaſonable honour haſtened in all likelihood Fiſher's death, who being condemned, was executed the 22d of June, a month after his being made cardinal, and ſome days before the hat, ſent him by the pope, came to London [w]. After that, Sir Thomas More being required to take the ſame oath, refuſed to anſwer, ſaying, "The act of parliament is "like a ſword with two edges, for if a man anſwer one "way, it will deſtroy the ſoul, and if he anſwer another, "it will deſtroy the body." Upon his refuſal, he was condemned and executed. He was a man of great learning, and excellent parts, but ſo addicted to jeſting, that even the preſence of death could not make him lay aſide his uſual facetiouſneſs [x]. When upon the point of being executed, he had laid his head on the block to receive the mortal blow, he perceived his beard was got under his chin; whereupon haſtily riſing up, he bid the executioner ſtay a little till he had put his beard aſide, ſince having committed no treaſon it was not juſt it ſhould be cut off [y].

1535.

Fiſher is executed. Burnet. T. I. p. 155, 353. Stow. Herbert.

The pope makes him a cardinal.

Sir Thomas More executed. Hall. Burnet. Herbert. Strype.

Hall.

Whilſt

[w] Burnet ſays, the hat came no nearer him than Picardy. He was brought to his trial on the 17th of June. The lord chancellor, the duke of Suffolk, and ſome other lords, together with the judges, ſat upon him by a commiſſion of oyer and terminer. He was beheaded in the eightieth year of his age, on Tower-hill, and his head was ſet up on London-bridge. His body was firſt buried in Barking church-yard, and afterwards taken up and interred with More's in the Tower. He was many years confeſſor to the king's grandmother, the counteſs of Richmond. It was believed, that he perſuaded her to found her two colleges in Cambridge, and upon that account was choſen chancellor of that univerſity. Henry VII. gave him the biſhoprick of Rocheſter, which he, following the rule of the primitive church, would never change for a better; he uſed to ſay his church was his wife, and he would never part with her becauſe ſhe was poor. Burnet, tom. I. p. 354.

[x] When he was going up the ſtairs of the ſcaffold, obſerving they were weak, he deſired one of the ſheriff's officers to give him his hand to help him up; and ſaid, when I come down again, let me ſhift for myſelf, as well as I can. Alſo, when he was firſt committed to the Tower, one of the officers, demanding his upper garment (that is his gown) for his fee, Sir Thomas taking off his cap, gave it him, ſaying, that was the uppermoſt garment he had. Hall, fol. 226.

[y] On the firſt of July, Sir Thomas More was brought to his trial, and beheaded on the 6th, in the fifty third year of his age. Though he was afterwards

1535. Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, pope Paul III. ſtill kept ſome correſpondence with ſir Gregory Caſſali, who was at Rome though without character. The pope inwardly wiſhed, that ſome expedient might be found to get reach made by Clement VII's too great precipitancy, and deferred from time to time with Caſſali. When news came of the execution of the monks and of Fisher and More, denying the king's ſupremacy, he departed of [illegible] he perceived there was no more ceremony to be [illegible] regard for him was thrown aside in England, and [illegible] deſign ſhown of ſupporting what had been done, [illegible] maintain the honour of his ſee, he drew up a thundering bull, excommunicating Henry and abſolving his ſubjects from their oath. Moreover, he ordered all the eccleſiaſticks to depart his dominions and the nobility to take up arms againſt him. He put the kingdom under an interdict, and forbid all chriſtians to have any commerce with the Engliſh. He annulled all the treaties made by foreign princes with Henry before his marriage with Anne Bullen, declaring their iſſue already born, or to be born, illegitimate. Mean while, as he was ſenſible, theſe ſpiritual thunders would produce no great effect, unleſs ſupported with temporal arms, which were not yet ready, he deferred the publiſhing of this bull to a more convenient ſeaſon.

Paul III. excommunicates Henry without publiſhing the bull. Herbert. Burnet.

But though the bull was not publiſhed, as no great care was taken to conceal it, it quickly came to Henry's knowledge. Whereupon he reſolved to join with the proteſtants of Germany [z], and keep the emperor employed in that coun-

Embaſſy to the proteſtants of Germany.

terwards ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to the intereſt and paſſions of the popiſh clergy, and even aſſiſted them in all their cruelties, yet in his youth he had freer thoughts of things, as appears by his Utopia, where he ſeems to borrow the diſguiſe of a romance, only to declare his mind with greater freedom: he tells us, the Utopians allow liberty of conſcience, and force their religion upon no body: that they hinder none from a ſober enquiry into truth, nor uſe any violence upon the account of a different belief. He was, ſays Burnet, no divine at all, neither did he know any thing of antiquity, beyond the quotations in the canon law, and in the maſter of ſentences. Nor was he converſant at all in the critical learning upon the ſcripture; but his peculiar excellency in writing was, that he had a natural eaſy expreſſion, and preſented all the opinions of popery, with their fair ſide to the reader, diſguiſing the black ſide of them with neat art; and had upon all occaſions great ſtore of pleaſant tales, which he applied wittily enough. But for juſtice, contempt of money, humility, and a true generoſity of mind, he was an example to the age in which he lived. He is ſaid to have but one hundred pounds a year when he reſigned the chancellorſhip. Burnet, tom. I. p. 355. and tom. III. p. 29. Herbert, p. 184.

z And the rather, becauſe the pope declared, he would give away England to ſome of the German catholick princes, being unwilling to increaſe there with the power of France or Spain. Herbert, p. 184.

try.

try. He dispatched therefore Edward Fox to the league of Smalcald [a] whilst Francis I. made use for the same purpose of William du Bellai lord of Langeais. But it was very difficult for a good and hearty union to be formed between these two monarchs and the protestants of Germany. The protestants meant only to preserve the liberty of professing their religion unmolested, whereas the sole aim of Francis and Henry was to excite them against the emperor, without any regard to the protestant religion, which they were persecuting in their kingdoms. It is true, to gain the protestants, they feigned an inclination for their religion, and a desire to establish it in their dominions. Nay, Henry very much improved the conformity of his sentiments with theirs concerning the papal authority. But the rigour wherewith these two monarchs treated such of their subjects as had embraced the new religion, destroyed whatever their ambassadors could say. For this reason the protestants always insisted upon settling the points which concerned religion, and continued to require that Henry should openly declare for the Augsburg confession, that their union might be built on a solid foundation. Henry feigned to approve of what they proposed, and to make them believe it the more, wished them to send some of their divines to confer with those of England. But he never really intended to conform himself to their notions. He rather wanted the Germans as well as the English to learn of him what they were to believe. And for this cause the project of the proposed union was never executed. However, this negotiation made the pope and the emperor very uneasy, who plainly saw that in attacking Henry there was danger of really engaging him to unite with the league of Smalcald. 1535. Herbert. Burnet. T. III. 111. Strype.

But Henry did not depend so much upon foreign assistance as upon his own strength. Mean while, as his subjects were daily corrupted by the monks, who insinuated to them that he was going to overturn all religion, he resolved to take all possible precautions to prevent the pernicious designs of these dangerous adversaries. To this end it was moved in the council, whether it would not be proper to suppress at once all the monasteries. This question was debated with great warmth, by reason of the two contrary parties in the council. Cranmer and Cromwell looked upon the suppression of the monasteries as a great step to the reformation. But on

Henry lays before the council the suppression of the monasteries. Herbert. Burnet.

Divers opinions upon that account.

[a] With doctor Hethe. Earns had been sent thither before. See Burnet, I. p. 225. tom. III. p. 110. Strype's Mem. tom.

1535. the other hand, the duke of Norfolk, the biſhops of Winchester, Lincoln and others, who had with reluctance ſubſcribed to what had been done against the popes power, could not reſolve to conſent to the ſuppreſſion. They ſaw that the kingdom would be in [illegible] without reckoning that the diſſolution of the monaſteries might produce yet greater effects with regard to religion. The king having heard the arguments on both ſides, found he could not be able to ſuppreſs the monaſteries all at once, without giving offence to the greateſt part of his ſubjects. He reſolved therefore with himſelf to accompliſh it by degrees, and therefore to begin with a thing abſolutely neceſſary, namely, to remove the people's prejudice in favour of the monks. To that end, he ordered a general viſitation of the monaſteries, to know perfectly the titles of their eſtates, the behaviour of the friars and nuns, how the rules of each order were obſerved, and other things of the like nature. He did not queſtion, this viſitation would diſcover ſeveral conſiderable abuſes, which being made publick would ſenſibly diminiſh the people's veneration for the religious, and pave the way to his deſign. He was extremely incenſed with the monks, whom he looked upon as diſturbers of his repoſe. On the other hand, the hopes of profiting by their eſtates did not a little contribute without doubt towards his puſhing the affair with great earneſtneſs [b]. Thomas Cromwell was choſen to manage the inquiry by the name of viſitor general. This choice was a plain indication of the king's intent, ſince he employed a perſon who was utterly averſe to the monks. Cromwell having appointed ſubſtitutes or commiſſioners [c] gave them very particular inſtructions under eighty ſix articles, and the viſitation began in October. It may be eaſily judged that among ſo great a number of monaſteries as were in the kingdom, moſt of which had never been viſited but very negligently, many were found abounding with irregularities, as well in reſpect of the lives of the friars and nuns, as in regard to the obſervance of the rule, and the management of the temporalities. The viſitors, who were not their friends, and doubtleſs had orders to terrify them, told them, they

He orders the monaſteries to be viſited, Burnet. T. I. p. 182. Herbert. Stryp.

and leaves the management to Cromwell. Burnet. Herbert. Hall. Hollingſh.

[b] He wanted money upon ſeveral accounts; chiefly, as he apprehended a war from the emperor, the moſt powerful prince then in the world, and who had large fleets of his own; therefore, to ſecure himſelf againſt his attacks, he judged it neceſſary to fortify his ports, and to build new harbours. Burnet, tom. I. p. 189.

[c] Particularly Richard Leighton, Thomas Lee, and William Petre, doctors of law, doctor John London dean of Wallingford, &c. Herbert, p. 186. Burnet, tom. I. p. 183.

were

were goin[g] to [b]e expoſed to the king's utmoſt ſeverity, and the rigour of the law. Then, they ſuggeſted to them, that to ſave themſelves harmleſs and withal to hide their diſorders, the beſt way was to reſign their houſes to the king[d], who upon that conſideration would take care to provide for each in particular. A good number of priors being terrified by the viſitors, choſe to follow their advice, their monks agreeing to it, ſome to avoid puniſhment, others to enjoy their liberty, and ſome for want of reſolution to reſiſt[e]. The reports of the commiſſioners were publiſhed, that all might be ſatisfied, the king had not without reaſon and neceſſity ordered this general viſitation. The truth is, in ſome monaſteries were diſcovered monſtrous diſorders and horrible crimes, not only with reſpect to the debaucheries of the friars and nuns, but chiefly on the account of the images and relicks, for which a ſhameful trade was driven to enrich the monaſteries by cheriſhing the people's ſuperſtition[f]. This occaſioned an ordinance of the king, who, as ſupreme head of the church of England, diſcharged from their vows ſuch as were profeſſed under four and twenty years of age, and allowed all the reſt to quit their houſes, and live like ſeculars if they pleaſed[g]. But as moſt were accuſtomed to an idle life,

1535.

Several abbots and priors ſurrender their houſes to the king. Burnet.

The acoount of the viſitation is publiſhed.

The king gives the monks leave to quit their monaſteries. Stow. Hollingſh.

[d] Before this, namely, on February 24, 1533; the priory of the Trinity, or Chriſt church, near Aldgate, in London, was ſuppreſſed, and the lands and church plate thereto belonging, given to Sir Thomas Audley the high chancellor. Stow, p. 560.

[e] The firſt ſurrender was by the abbot of Langden in Kent, on November 13. (Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 555.) who, upon doctor Leighton's breaking open his door on a ſudden, was found in bed with a whore, who went in the habit of a lay brother. This ſurrender was followed by that of the priory of Folkſton, November 15; on the 16th, of that of Dover; and on February 21, 1536, of that of Bilſingtoun, all three in Kent. As alſo of Merton in Yorkſhire, February 9, of Tilty in Eſſex, and of Hornby in Yorkſhire, March 23. The original of theſe and the other ſurrenders are in the augmentation office. Burnet, tom. I. p. 191.

[f] They found great factions in the houſes, and barbarous cruelties exerciſed by one faction againſt another, as either of them prevailed. They were all extremely addicted to idolatry and ſuperſtition. In ſome they found inſtruments and other tools for multiplying and coining. But for the lewdneſs of the confeſſors of nunneries, and the great corruption of that ſtate, whole houſes being found almoſt all with child; for the diſſoluteneſs of abbots and the other monks and friars, not only with harlots but married women; and for their unnatural luſts and other brutiſh practices: theſe, ſays Burnet, are not fit to be ſpoken of, much leſs enlarged on in a work of this nature. The full report of this viſitation is loſt; yet Burnet ſaw an extract of a part of it concerning one hundred forty four houſes, that contains abominations in it equal to any that were in Sodom. Burnet, tom. I. p. 191.

[g] The men, if in orders, were to have a prieſt's habit given them, and forty ſhillings in money; the nuns were to have only a gown, ſuch as ſecular women wore. Some however for ſurrendering their houſes got ſmall penſions. Herbert. Stow, p. 572.

1535. and perceived when they forſook their monaſteries they ſhould be forced to work for their livelihood, the liberty given them by the king produced no great effect. Beſides, there were doubtleſs many, who out of conſcience thought not proper to uſe it. So, Henry was obliged to take other meaſures.

Change of ſome biſhops. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 550, 552, 553. Burnet. T. I. p. 171. Stow.

It was but this year that cardinal Campegio loſt the biſhoprick of Saliſbury, which was given to Nicholas Shaxton a friend to the reformers. Shortly after, the ſee of Worceſter was taken from Ghinucci an Italian, and conferred on Hugh Latimer, great friend of Cranmer. John Hilſey was promoted to the ſee of Rocheſter, vacant by the death of Fiſher, and Edward Fox to that of Hereford.

Henry tries to perſuade the king of Scotland to renounce the pope. Buchanan, Herbert.

Among all the king's enemies, or enviers, none gave him more uneaſineſs than his nephew the king of Scotland, and not without reaſon. During the whole time of that prince's minority, Henry had fomented the troubles of Scotland, and even ſhown that his deſigns tended to become maſter of that kingdom. James was fully informed, and though he ſhowed great regard for the king his uncle, he let him ſee however he did not conſider him as a friend. Henry therefore was in danger, that if the innovations in religion cauſed diſturbances in the kingdom, the king of Scotland would take occaſion to be revenged by aſſiſting the male-contents. This fear was the more juſt, as the emperor knowing the king of Scotland's diſpoſition, had already laboured to inſpire him with ſuſpicions and jealouſies of France and England. Nay, he would have concluded a league with him, as I obſerved, had not Francis broken his meaſures by procuring a peace between England and Scotland. But notwithſtanding the peace, Henry was always in diſtruſt of that quarter. So, to make himſelf eaſy, he formed the project to inſtill into the king of Scotland the reſolution to follow his example, and renounce the pope's obedience. He conſidered this as a ſure means to preſerve between the two kingdoms a ſtrict union, which would be very advantageous in his preſent circumſtances. He ſent him therefore in the firſt place a long letter [h], declaring the reaſons of his conduct with regard to the pope. Then he diſpatched an ambaſſador [i] to propoſe an interview, fancying that a conference with him would produce a greater effect

He demands an interview.

[h] By William Barlow, biſhop elect of St. Aſaph, and Thomas Holcroft. Herbert, p. 184.

[i] William Howard brother of the duke of Norfolk. Herbert, p. 184.

than

than whatever he ſhould ſay to him by letter or embaſſy. But though the reformation had already crept into Scotland, James had no inclination to embrace it. So, the eccleſiaſticks about his perſon eaſily diſſwaded him from accepting the interview, where they were afraid ſome things might paſs very prejudicial to their religion. Mean while, James, not being willing openly to refuſe the conference deſired by the king his uncle, gave him hopes of his conſent, after certain difficulties, purpoſely raiſed, were removed. But at the ſame time he demanded of the pope a brief, to forbid his having any interview with the king of England. When the brief came, he gave the king his uncle notice of it, who having prepared for his journey, was extremely offended at this refuſal. Hence ſprung a quarrel between them, which I ſhall have occaſion to mention hereafter. 1535.

James excuſes himſelf on account of the pope's prohibition.

Before I conclude the year 1535, I muſt not forget to relate an event which very much changed the face of the affairs of Europe. I mean the death of Franceſco Sforza duke of Milan, which happened in the month of October. As that prince left no iſſue by Catherine of Denmark the emperor's neice, whom he had lately married, the duchy of Milan as fief of the empire, was fallen to the emperor to be diſpoſed of as he pleaſed. So, the fears and jealouſies of the pope, the king of France and the Venetians, were revived on this occaſion; each of theſe powers having cauſe to fear the emperor would keep Milan for himſelf, or give it to his brother the king of the Romans. In that caſe, Italy would of courſe fall again into ſlavery, and the king of France loſe his hopes of recovering that duchy. To make them eaſy, the emperor declared he had no deſign to keep Milan, but intended to preſent ſome prince with it, who ſhould cauſe no ſuſpicion to thoſe that were concerned to preſerve the peace of Italy. Afterwards, he wiſely made uſe of it for a lure to amuſe the king of France. But in reality he never deſired to diſpoſſeſs himſelf of it [k].

Death of the duke of Milan. Herbert.

Theemperor feigns not to intend to keep that duchy.

[k] This year, Wales, which had hitherto been only a province to the Engliſh nation, was incorporated, united, and annexed for ever to the realm of England. Statut. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26.——John Owen began this year to make braſs cannons, being the firſt that made this kind of artillery in England.——The 8th of May, king Henry commanded all perſons about his court to cut their hair ſhort, and to ſet them an example, he cauſed his own to be cut; and likewiſe began to wear his beard knotted, and was no more ſhaved.——Auguſt 16, the king's ſtables at the Meuſe (ſo called becauſe the king's hawks were there mewed and kept) were burnt down. Hall, fol. 225. Stow, p. 571.

Queen

1536. Queen Catherine ended her days the beginning of the year 1536 [l]. Though her virtue had gained her an univerſal eſteem, ſhe died however little lamented by the publick, becauſe ſhe equally embaraſſed her friends and enemies. Before ſhe expired, ſhe dictated a very tender letter to the king, who ſeemed to be extremely moved with it [m]. But in all appearance his grief was of no long continuance. He was very fond of her when firſt married, her mildneſs and modeſty having a greater influence upon him than ſhe could expect from her beauty, which was not extraordinary. In time, his affection abating, he treated her with indifference, though always with much civility. At laſt, after he had reſolved to put her away, her obſtinate refuſal to comply with his will made him conſider her as an enemy. Accordingly he uſed her rigorouſly when the ſentence of divorce was pronounced, even to the not ſuffering her to keep ſervants who treated her as a queen. At laſt he publickly forbid to give her that title, though he was forced to connive at her diſobedience.

Death of queen Catherine. Herbert. Stow. Burnet.

Parliament meets.

The parliament meeting the 4th of February finiſhed the work begun, by aboliſhing every thing relating to the pope's power, not to leave the leaſt pretence to acknowledge his authority. But the king had a farther view, namely, to ſuppreſs the monaſteries, as well to be revenged of the monks and prevent their ill deſigns, as to procure their eſtates. In all appearance, the late viſitation of the monaſteries had convinced him that the monks were as unſerviceable to religion, as prejudicial to his affairs in his preſent circumſtances.

l On the 8th of January at Kimbolton, in the fiftieth year of her age, thirty three years after ſhe came into England. In her will, ſhe appointed her body to be buried in a convent of Obſervants, who had done and ſuffered moſt for her, but the king ordered it to be laid in the abby-church of Peterborough, which he afterwards converted to a cathedral. Stow, p. 572. Queen Anne Bullen wore yellow for the morning. Hall, fol. 227.

m In the title ſhe called him, "My "moſt dear lord, king, and huſband," and concluded with ſaying, "I make "this vow; that mine eyes deſire you "above all things. She adviſed him "to look to the health of his ſoul. "She forgave him all the troubles he "had caſt her into. She recommend-"ed their daughter Mary to him, de-"ſiring he would be a loving father "to her. She alſo deſired he would "provide matches for her maids, who "were but three; and that he would "give her ſervants one year's wages "more than was due to them." She was a devout and pious princeſs, and led a ſevere life. In her greatneſs ſhe wrought much with her own hand, and kept her women well employed about her, as appeared when the two legates came once to ſpeak with her. She came out to them with a ſkein of ſilk about her neck, and told them ſhe had been within at work with her maids. Few ſuch queens now-a-days! Burnet, tom. I. p. 192.

As

As among the conſtitutions obſerved in the church of England, there were not a few that had a manifeſt relation to the papal authority, it was abſolutely neceſſary to annull them and make others, which ſhould have for foundation the king's ſupremacy. The parliament had already paſſed an act, empowering the king to nominate thirty two commiſſioners to examine ſuch as were to be aboliſhed. But the king had not haſtened the nomination, becauſe by this confuſion his authority was much more extenſive. Indeed, the papal power was aboliſhed by act of parliament, and yet it ſtill ſubſiſted in the conſtitutions, which not being abrogated threw the clergy into great perplexities becauſe they knew not what to do. But this was what the king deſired, that the clergy might be more at his devotion, ſince he could equally proſecute them as guilty, whether they did or did not obſerve them. The parliament taking this contrariety into conſideration would have cured it, by confirming the power formerly given the king, to appoint commiſſioners to alter theſe conſtitutions. This was a ſort of reproach for his negligence in that reſpect. But he feigned not to mind it, and left the affair in the ſame ſtate it was [n]. 1536. Reaſons of altering the eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions.

He had another thing in his thoughts which affected him much more, namely, to execute his deſign upon the monks. In this ſeſſion, he repreſented to the parliament, that the great number of monaſteries in the kingdom were a burden to the ſtate, and earneſtly deſired them to remedy the evil by ſuch means as they ſhould judge proper. Whereupon it was enacted, That all houſes of two hundred pounds a year and under ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and their effects given to the king [o]. Of this ſort there were three hundred ſeventy ſix, and a revenue of thirty two thouſand pounds a year fell to the crown, with above a hundred thouſand pounds worth of plate, goods, ornaments of the churches, and the like. A new court was erected, called the court of the augmentation of the king's revenue, which was to take cognizance of all matters concerning this new acquiſition [p]. The erecting of a court Act for ſuppreſſing the leſſer monaſteries. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 575. Herbert, Stow. Hollingſh. Court of augmentations erected. Burnet.

[n] About this time, king Henry appointed an office for all eccleſiaſtical matters, and ordered a ſeal to be cut. The archbiſhop of Canterbury's title was alſo in convocation ordered to be altered: inſtead of legate of the apoſtolick ſee, he was to be called, metropolitan and primate. Burnet, tom. III. p. 104.

[o] A commiſſion was alſo directed, on June 16, 1535, to the biſhops of Meath and Kildare, to John Allen maſter of the rolls, Gerard Ailmer chief baron of the Exchequer, and ſome others, impowering them to ſuppreſs the monaſteries in Ireland. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 551.

[p] The court was to conſiſt of a chancellor, a treaſurer, an attorney and ſolicitor, ten auditors, ſeventeen receivers,

1536. a court for ſo ſmall an income was a clear evidence, the king had no deſign to ſtop there, but intended to ſeize the revenues of all the monaſteries in the kingdom [q].

Reſolution to let the people have the bible in Engliſh. Burnet.

The convocation ſitting, as uſual, at the ſame time with the parliament, a motion was made there that there ſhould be a tranſlation of the bible in Engliſh, to be ſet up in all churches, and the ſame was approved of. It muſt be obſerved, the king's intent was only to ſhow the people, there was nothing contrary to the holy ſcriptures in what was done againſt the pope. But Cranmer, Cromwell, and the reſt of the reformers had much farther views. They hoped, when the bible was in the hands of the people, they would ſee their error in many other things which hitherto had been deemed eſſential to religion. But they took care to hide their deſigns from the king, knowing how contrary they were to his. Henry was abſolutely againſt all reformation of doctrine, and conſequently they were to bring him inſenſibly and by degrees to what they deſired. They partly ſucceeded, but they fell extremely ſhort of what they had expected at firſt. However, they thought it very conſiderable to obtain his conſent that it ſhould be moved in the convocation, to give the people the bible in Engliſh, and to have cauſed the motion to be approved. As there was then no other Engliſh verſion of the bible but Tindal's, made at Antwerp without the publick authority, the convocation petitioned the king for a good tranſlation, which he was pleaſed to take upon himſelf [r].

The king takes it upon himſelf.

ers, a clerk, an uſher, and a meſſenger. Beſides the preſent ones, the king was to have the lands of all thoſe houſes that had been diſſolved within a year before this act. Burnet, tom. I. p. 194.

q What remarkable ſtatutes were enacted during this ſeſſion, are as follows, 1. Whereas pirates uſed to be tried after the courſe of the civil laws, it was ordered, that they ſhould be tried in ſuch places as ſhould be directed by the king's commiſſion, and by juries, as offenders at land. 2. That every perſon who hath a park, ſhall keep two mares thirteen hands high, for breeding foals. 3. That clerks preſented to benefices, ſhall not pay tenths the firſt year in which they pay their firſt fruits. 4. That tithes, offerings, and other duties, ſhall be paid according to the eccleſiaſtical laws and ordinances of the church of England, and after the laudable uſes and cuſtoms of each pariſh. 5. That all bargains and ſales of lands ſhall be made by writing indented, ſealed, and inrolled, in one of the king's courts of record at Weſtminſter, or before the cuſtos rotulorum, two juſtices, and a clerk of the peace, of the county where the lands lie. See Statut. 27 Hen.

r It is not known to whom that work was committed, or how they proceeded in it. For the account of theſe things has not been preſerved, nor conveyed to us with that care that the importance of the thing required. Yet it appears that the work was carried on at a good rate: for three years after this it was printed at Paris, which ſhows they made all convenient haſte, in a thing that required ſo much deliberation. Burnet, tom. I. p. 196.

Henry

Henry having obtained of the parliament all he desired, thought it time to dissolve it, which he did the 14th of April, after having continued it six years. Never had parliament lasted so long since the beginning of the monarchy. 1536. The parliament is dissolved. Burnet.

The care Henry took to secure himself from the cabals of the monks and his other domestick enemies, did not prevent him from thinking of his foreign affairs, and of means to avoid the emperor's attacks. Francis was invading Savoy, and it was but too manifest that his intent was to open a passage into the Milanese. But as this was a great undertaking, considering the situation of France, the emperor could not believe, he had engaged in it without being first sure of Henry's assistance. Wherefore he resolved to use his utmost endeavours to break their union. From the death of Sforza, he had continued a private negotiation with Francis to resign the duchy of Milan to one of his sons, and acted so artfully that the treaty seemed to be very near a conclusion. This could not but inspire Henry with jealousy. He plainly saw if the negotiation ended to the king of France's satisfaction, he would be regardless of his interests. On the other hand, the emperor no sooner heard of the death of his aunt queen Catherine, but he sent and offered Henry to renew their alliance, with a mutual oblivion of all that was passed. But least he should be taken at his word, he required three conditions, which left him the liberty to prolong the affair as much as he pleased, his aim being only to sow division between Francis and Henry by making them suspicious of each other. The first of these conditions was, that Henry should be reconciled to the pope, to which end he offered his mediation. By the second, he demanded a powerful assistance against the Turks. By the third, that pursuant to their treaty in 1518, he should join with him in the defence of Milan against the attacks of the French king. Henry replied, that what had been done against the pope could not be revoked: that as soon as christendom should be in peace, he would act against the infidels as became a christian prince: that he was ready to renew his alliance with the emperor, provided it was done without prejudice to the king of France his ally, that being friend of both, he might be the better enabled to labour their reconciliation, or if he could not succeed, to assist him that should be unjustly attacked: that as to the rest, he refused not to agree with the emperor, provided he would own, the rupture came from him. The emperor perceiving Henry was upon his guard, thought not fit to push the affair any

P. Daniel. He promises Milan to a son of Francis, and offers an alliance with Henry. Herbert. Henry's answer. Herbert.

1536. any farther. Indeed Henry could eaſily ſee, his aim was to ſet him at variance with France, ſince at the very time theſe things paſſed, Francis imparted to him the private negotiation concerning the duchy of Milan. Moreover, he warned him, that the emperor intended to force him to return to the pope's obedience, and it was only upon that condition he offered to reſign the Milaneſe.

Henry tries to ſide with the league of Smalcald. Sleidan. Herbert. Burnet.

All theſe proceedings of the emperor convincing Henry that he ſought occaſion to attack him, he reſolved to purſue his negotiation with the proteſtants of Germany, to make him a diverſion in that country which ſhould break his meaſures with regard to England. To the ſame end, he had ſent Edward Fox to them laſt year. But they would not be his dupes, not imagining, as he would fain have made them believe, that he was inclined to their faith, whilſt he ordered their brethren to be burnt in England. So, not to be engaged by faint hopes to be ſubſervient to his deſigns at their expence, they delivered to his ambaſſador the terms on which they were willing to be ſtrictly united with him. The terms were, that he ſhould embrace the Augſburg confeſſion; and defend it with all his power in a free council: that he ſhould approve of no place for holding the council without their conſent: that if the pope called a council at his own pleaſure, Henry ſhould join with them in proteſting againſt it: that he ſhould accept the title of protector of the league: that he ſhould never return to the pope's obedience: that he ſhould not aſſiſt their enemies: that he ſhould find a hundred thouſand crowns for the occaſions of the league, and two hundred thouſand if the war laſted any time. Adding, that when he ſhould have declared himſelf upon theſe articles, they would ſend ambaſſadors and agree with him upon the reſt.

The league propoſing terms; Sleidan. Herbert.

He is at a loſs about them.

Theſe propoſals threw Henry into ſome perplexity. He ſaw, the ſole aim of the proteſtants was to ſupport their religion, and that however was the thing which diſturbed him the leaſt. He was by no means ſatisfied with the Augſburg confeſſion, and yet he perceived, in caſe he openly rejected it, there was no likelihood of his being able to join with the league of Smalcald. On the other hand, it was his intereſt to continue the negotiation, as well becauſe the proteſtants might be ſerviceable to him, as to keep the emperor in awe by that conſideration. So his intereſt required that he ſhould favourably hear theſe propoſitions. But withal he reſolved to inſert in his anſwer ſomething which ſhould afford him occaſion

occaſion to break, if he thought proper. He replied, there- 1536.
fore, that he was willing to furniſh the ſums required, in caſe a league, of which he would treat with their ambaſſadors, ſhould be concluded between him and the proteſtants; that though he was ſenſible to what the title of protector of the league would expoſe him, he was content to accept it, provided there were between him and them a conformity of doctrine, otherwiſe he could not engage to defend a faith, of whoſe truth he was not convinced: that therefore he deſired them to ſend commiſſioners with powers to mitigate ſome articles of the Auguſburg confeſſion, which he could not approve. Moreover as to the ſupplies, he required that the engagement ſhould be mutual, whether he or they were attacked. In fine, he demanded an authentic approbation of his divorce, and their promiſe to juſtify it in a council. Theſe propoſals on both ſides were of a nature to keep a treaty long on foot. But though the members of the league of Smalcald ſaw no great likelihood of a ſtrict union, they appointed however Sturmius, Draco, Bucer, and Melancthon to go and confer with Henry and his divines. It was eſpecially provided in their inſtructions, that nothing ſhould be concluded to the prejudice of the emperor or empire. This negotiation was interrupted by the death of Anne Bullen, which happened ſhortly after, and which very much altered the face of affairs as well as the king's mind, in reſpect to the reformation which ſhe openly countenanced.

His anſwer. March 12. Sleidan. Herbert.

The proteſtants ſend doctors to him.

The king was poſſeſſed at once with two paſſions; a violent love for Jane Seymour maid of honour to the queen [s], and an extreme jealouſy of his wife [t]. Very likely, his jealouſy was a conſequence of his love. When Anne Bullen's enemies found, ſhe no longer held in the king's heart the place ſhe had formerly enjoyed, inſtead of fearing to accuſe her of unfaithfulneſs to the king, they believed it would be grateful to him, who began to be himſelf unfaithful. It is certain the king had loſt that affection for the queen, which made him ſurmount ſo many obſtacles to poſſeſs her; whether enjoyment had quenched this firſt flame, or the queen's indiſcretions given the king cauſe to ſuſpect her, he ſo gave himſelf over to jealouſy, that it was not in his power to o-

The king falls in love with Jane Seymour, and grows jealous of the queen. Burnet. Herbert.

[s] Daughter of Sir John Seymour of Wolf hall in Wiltſhire, and of Elizabeth daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth of Nettleſted in Suffolk. Dugdale's baron. vol. II. p. 361.

[t] She miſcarried of a ſon, January 29, this year. Stow, p. 572. This was thought to have made ill impreſſions on the king, who from thence concluded, that this marriage was diſagreeable to God. Burnet, tom. I. p. 196.

1536. vercome it, or perhaps did not much endeavour it. However, the occaſion was this. The queen had a great friendſhip for her brother the lord Rochford, but could not endure his wife, who lived very ill with her huſband and had an infamous character, as will evidently appear hereafter. It was this lady that whiſpered in the king's ear the firſt report that the queen was unfaithful, and had a criminal commerce with her brother the lord Rochford. Theſe ſeeds fell upon a ſoil already prepared to receive them. The king, now prejudiced by his paſſion for Jane Seymour, was overjoyed to find in the pretended unfaithfulneſs of the queen, a means to procure the poſſeſſion of the perſon he loved. As ſoon as queen Anne's enemies ſaw how the king ſtood affected towards her, they took care to ruin her quite in his favour, by accuſing her of ſundry intrigues with her own domeſticks. Theſe enemies were the ſame with thoſe of the reformation. They imagined, ſhe had put the king upon all his proceedings againſt the pope, on purpoſe to favour the new religion. But though ſhe had not done this, it was ſufficient to hate her that ſhe had been the cauſe by inſpiring the king with love, ſince that had occaſioned Catherine's divorce, and conſequently all the innovations in religion. Policy might likewiſe enter into their project. They were ſenſible, ſo long as Anne lived ſhe would be an invincible obſtacle to a reconciliation with Rome, whereas if ſhe were dead, they hoped, all difficulties would be eaſily removed. The duke of Norfolk inwardly burned with a deſire to ſee religion again eſtabliſhed upon the ſame foot it was before theſe alterations, though, like a good courtier, he took care not to diſcover it to his maſter. His quality, zeal, and credit, had made him head of the party of the old religion, and, as he had the king's ear, he could eaſily do ill offices to the contrary party. The king's jealouſy of the queen was too favourable an occaſion to be neglected, ſince he could at once ſerve his party, and make his court to his maſter. So; it is commonly believed, this lord contributed the moſt to the queen's ruin, becauſe among all her enemies, he had moſt acceſs to the king. But however, whether it was he or another, the king was inſpired with a jealouſy which threw him into a ſort of fury. This is not very ſtrange, conſidering his temper, the moſt impetuous and moſt impatient that ever was. The queen was accuſed of a criminal commerce, not only with the lord Rochford her brother, but alſo with Henry Norris groom of the ſtole, Francis Weſtern and William Brereton of the king's privy chamber, and Mark Smeton a muſician.

Burnet.

Motives of the queen's enemies to ſacrifice her. Burnet.

Burnet.

She is accuſed of adultery and inceſt. Burnet.

It

It muſt be confeſſed, the queen had ſome indiſcreet ways, which the king never minded, whilſt he was not prejudiced againſt her, but which afterwards were too capable of confirming his ſuſpicions [u]. Beſides, as ſoon as he hearkened to what was ſaid againſt her, probably, her enemies were very diligent to give an ill turn to her moſt *innocent* words or actions. Without doubt, Henry was ſome time tormented with jealouſy before he diſcovered it, but at laſt it broke out at a ſolemn juſts held at Greenwich [w], from whence he ſuddenly withdrew with ſigns of great anger, the cauſe whereof could not be gueſſed. It is likely, he had obſerved ſomething that confirmed his ſuſpicions, of which none but himſelf took notice. Sanders ſays, the queen dropping her handkerchief, one of her gallants took it up and wiped his face with it. But this author is the only perſon that relates that circumſtance [x]. However, the king was no ſooner gone from the juſts, but he ordered the lord Rochford, Norris, Weſton, Brereton and Smeton to be arreſted. At the ſame time the queen was confined to her chamber, and the next day conveyed to the Tower [y]. But what plainly ſhowed the deſign of her enemies to deſtroy her was their procuring an order for the archbiſhop of Canterbury to

1536.

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert.

Burnet. Herbert.

She is apprehended. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Burnet. Herbert.

[u] She was, ſays Burnet, of a very chearful temper, which was not always limited with the bounds of exact decency and diſcretion. She had rallied ſome of the king's ſervants more than became her. tom. I. p. 197.

[w] May the firſt. Hall, fol. 227. At theſe juſts, George Boleyn, viſcount Rochford, was chief challenger, and Henry Norris, principal defendant. Stow, p. 572.

[x] Burnet, who was at more than ordinary pains to learn all he could concerning this affair, obſerves, that this circumſtance is not in Spelman, a judge at that time, who writ an account of the matter with his own hand, in his common place book, of which Burnet had a ſight. Spelman ſays, the buſineſs was diſcovered in a very different manner. As for the evidence (ſays he) of this matter, it was diſcovered by the lady Wingfield, who had been a ſervant to the queen, and becoming on a ſudden infirm ſome time before her death, did ſwear this matter to one of her ———. And here unluckily the reſt of the page is torn off. By this it ſeems there was no legal evidence againſt the queen, and that it was a witneſs at ſecond hand who depoſed what they heard the lady Wingfield ſwear. Who this perſon was we know not, nor in what temper of mind the lady Wingfield might be when ſhe ſwore. And this it ſeems was that which was brought to the king at Greenwich during the juſts, who did thereupon immediately return to Whitehall. Burnet, tom. I. p. 191.

[y] Sir Thomas Audley lord chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, Thomas Cromwell the ſecretary, and Sir William Kingſton conſtable of the Tower, who were ſent to apprehend her, letting her know, what crime ſhe was charged with, ſhe cried out, that ſhe was wronged, and deſired to ſee the king before ſhe was conveyed to the Tower, but in vain. When ſhe was brought to the Tower, ſhe fell on her knees before the ſame lords, beſeeching God to help her, as ſhe was not guilty of that whereof ſhe was accuſed, and deſired thoſe lords to beſeech the king's grace to be good unto her. Stow, p. 572. Herbert, p. 194.

1536. retire to his palace at Lambeth, for fear if he could ſpeak with the king, he would find occaſion to vindicate the queen.

Snares are laid for her. Burnet.

It is not ſurprizing, this princeſs in her ſad condition ſhould be diſordered, and having none to adviſe with ſhould be inſnared by her enemies. Her uncle's lady, the lady Bullen was appointed to lie in her chamber, with whom ſhe was at great variance, and from this lady, who was placed there to watch her, it came to be known, that during her confinement, ſhe ſaid ſome things which helped to confirm the king's ſuſpicions. However, upon her examination, ſhe poſitively denied, ſhe had ever been falſe to the king. Only when ſhe was told that Norris, Weſton, Brereton and Smeton had accuſed her, though ſhe might have eaſily ſeen it was purely to draw from her ſome confeſſion, ſhe believed ſhe ought not to conceal certain things which had paſſed between her and them. She ſaid concerning Norris, that aſking him one day why he did not go on with his marriage, he replied, there was no haſte. Whereupon ſhe ſaid, ſhe plainly ſaw he was in hopes of having her, in caſe the king died. This ſeems to argue there was ſome familiarity between her and Norris. Otherwiſe, ſuppoſing the truth of the fact, it is hard to conceive that a queen ſhould think of talking thus to one of her domeſticks.

She confeſſes ſome paſſages. Burnet. Strype's Mem. T. I. 280, &c.

Id. As for Smeton the muſician, ſhe ſaid, he was never in her chamber but twice. That the laſt time ſhe ſaw him there, ſhe aſked him why he was ſo ſad; and that in her converſation with him he had the boldneſs to tell her, No, no, madam, a look ſuffices me [z].

Id. As for Weſton, ſhe owned he had taken the liberty to tell her, he loved her, and that ſhe thereupon defied him [a].

[z] She ſaid, "Smeton was never in "her chamber but when the king "was laſt at Wincheſter; and then "he came to play on the virginals: "ſhe ſaid, ſhe never ſpoke to him af- "ter that, but on Saturday before "May day, when ſhe ſaw him ſtand- "ing in the window; and then ſhe aſk- "ed him, why he was ſo ſad? he ſaid, "it was no matter. She anſwered, "you muſt not expect I ſhould ſpeak "to you as if you were a nobleman, "ſince you are an inferior perſon. No, "no, madam, ſaid he, a look ſuffices "me. Burnet, tom. I. p. 199.

[a] She ſeemed more apprehenſive of Weſton than of any body. For on Whitſon-monday laſt he ſaid to her, "That Norris came more to her "chamber upon her account, than for "any body elſe that was there. She "had obſerved that he loved a kinſ- "woman of hers, and challenged him "for it, and for not loving his wife. "But he anſwered her, that there "were women in the houſe whom he "loved better than them both: ſhe "aſked, who is that? your ſelf, ſaid "he; upon which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe de- "fied him." Ibid.

But after all, the queſtion is to know, whether the regiſters from whence this examination is taken are true, or whether the examination was impartially written. Indeed, this doubt alone is not ſufficient to clear the queen. But then, when it is conſidered, ſhe had for adverſary a huſband, who was king, and jealous even to madneſs, very likely, they who were employed to examine her, gave her words ſuch a turn and ſenſe, as favoured the king's deſigns, by pretending to ſet down the ſubſtance of her anſwers inſtead of her very words. 1536.

As for the lord Rochford, all the evidence for his pretended familiarity with the queen his ſiſter, amounted to no more than that he was once ſeen leaning on her bed. Burnet.

When theſe men were examined, Norris ſwore he believed the queen innocent, and perſiſted in his aſſeveration to his laſt breath. Smeton confeſſed, he had known the queen carnally three times; but he was never confronted with her; nay, he was condemned before ſhe was brought to her trial, that he might not be a witneſs. This makes very much for the queen, ſince it is not likely ſuch an evidence would have been voluntarily neglected, had it been deemed as good as it appears to be. But probably it was feared that Smeton would retract or the queen confound him, if brought face to face with her. The reſt pleaded not guilty; but however were condemned and executed [b]. Depoſition of the accomplices. Idem. and T. III. 118.

Three days after, the queen and the lord Rochford her brother were tried by their peers [c], the duke of Norfolk being lord high ſteward for that occaſion [d]. The queen was accuſed She is condemned with the lord Rochford.

[b] Their trial came on the 12th of May, on which day they were tried by a commiſſion of oyer and terminer in Weſtminſter-hall. They were twice indicted, and the indictments were found by two grand juries in the counties of Kent and Middleſex; the crimes they were charged with being ſaid to be done in both counties. All proteſted their innocence, only Smeton confeſſed, he had well deſerved to die, which gave occaſion to many reflections. They were all beheaded but Smeton, who was hanged. It was generally ſaid, he was bribed into that confeſſion, and had his life promiſed; but it was not fit to let him live to tell tales. Norris had been much in the king's favour, who ſent for him, and offered him his life if he would confeſs his guilt. He generouſly rejected the offer, affirming, that in his conſcience he thought the queen innocent, and that he would die a thouſand times rather than ruin an innocent perſon. Burnet, vol. I. p. 201. vol. III. p. 120.

[c] In the Tower of London on a ſcaffold erected for that purpoſe in the king's hall. Stow, p. 572.

[d] With him ſat the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, and the earls of Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Derby, Worceſter, Rutland, Suſſex, and Huntington; the lords Audley, Delaware, Montague, Morley, Dacres, Cobham, Maltravers, Powis, Monteagle, Clenton, Sands, Windſor, Wentworth, Burgh, and Mordant. The charge ran, That ſhe had

1536. accuſed of proſtituting herſelf to her brother and four other men, and conſpiring the king's death. But this laſt charge being without any foundation, it was not thought proper to inſiſt upon it. The queen and the lord Rochford pleaded not guilty, and yet were condemned without its being ever known upon what evidence the ſentence was grounded. Judgment was given, that the lord Rochford ſhould be beheaded and quartered. As for the queen, ſhe was condemned to be burnt or beheaded at the king's pleaſure.

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Burnet. Herbert.

Remarks on the ſentence.

Very probably, the king believed the queen guilty, and under his preſent prejudice, ſigns and tokens were to him as good proofs. But can the ſame thing be ſaid of the peers who condemned her? Did their conſcience ſuffer them to condemn a queen to death upon bare ſurmiſes? I ſay ſurmiſes, ſince had there been ſolid proofs, they would very likely have been publiſhed, in order to juſtify a ſentence of this nature, which was unprecedented in England. Such reſerve was not afterwards uſed with reſpect to another of Henry's queens, who was really guilty of the like crime. All that can be ſaid in favour of thoſe who paſſed ſentence on Anne Bullen is, that their dread of turning againſt themſelves the king's fury, if they complied not with his humour, made them conſider ſigns as real proofs. It is obſervable, there were but twenty ſix peers preſent at the trial, though there were then fifty three in England, as appears by the ſummons to parliament directed to them ſhortly after. This gives occaſion to conjecture, that according to the method introduced by cardinal Wolſey, in the condemnation of the duke of Buckingham, care was taken to remove thoſe, who were ſuſpected not to have ſo much complaiſance as to gratify the king's paſſion at the expence of their conſcience. As for Dr. Burnet's ſaying in his hiſtory, that Anne Bullen's father was among her judges, it is known he retracted it afterwards.

Stow. Burnet. T. I. p. 363. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 564.

T. I. p. 202, 363.

The queen is beheaded.

The ſentence was excuted the 19th of May. Anne ſuffered death with great conſtancy, after a ſhort ſpeech to thoſe that were preſent, wherein ſhe neither confeſſed nor denied

had procured her brother and the other four to lye with her, which they had often done; that ſhe had ſaid to them, that the king never had her heart; and had ſaid to every one of them by themſelves, that ſhe loved them better than any perſon whatever, which was to the ſlander of the iſſue that was between the king and her. And this was treaſon according to the ſtatute made in the 26th year of this reign (ſo that the law made for her and her iſſue, is now made uſe of to deſtroy her.) It was added in the indictment, that ſhe and her accomplices had conſpired the king's death; but this it ſeems was only put in to ſwell the charge. Burnet, vol. I. p. 202, 363.

the crime for which ſhe was condemned. She contented herſelf with acknowledging her obligations to the king, with praying for him, and deſiring the prayers of the people for herſelf [e]. It is generally believed, her fear of drawing the king's anger on her daughter Elizabeth, prevented her from inſiſting upon her own innocence [f]. As ſhe knew the king's temper perfectly, and could not vindicate herſelf without charging him with injuſtice, ſhe was afraid Elizabeth would become the ſacrifice of the king her father's reſentment. However, this was the tragical end of Anne Bullen, whom ſome have vehemently defamed, and whoſe conduct others have ſtudiouſly juſtified, without any poſſibility yet of knowing for certain whether ſhe was guilty or innocent. The enemies to her daughter Elizabeth and the reformation have

1536. Hall. Stow. Burnet. Herbert. Hollingſh.

Different opinions about the queen. Burnet.

e Her carriage the day ſhe died will beſt appear from the following original letter of Sir William Kingſton conſtable of the Tower to Cromwell.

SIR,

"This ſhall be to advertiſe you, that "I have received your letter, wherein "you would have ſtrangers conveyed "out of the Tower; and ſo they be, "by the means of Richard Greſham, "and William Loke, and Whitepole. "But the number of ſtrangers paſt not "thirty, and not many hothe [other.] "And the ambaſſador of the emperor "had a ſervant there, and honeſtly "put out; ſir, if we have not an "hour certain, as it may be known in "London, I think here will be but "few, and I think a reaſonable num-"ber were beſt, for I ſuppoſe ſhe will "declare herſelf to be a good woman "for all men but for the king, at the "hour of her death. For this morn-"ing ſhe ſent for me, that I might be "with her at ſuch time as ſhe receiv-"ed the good Lord, to the intent I "ſhould hear her ſpeak as touching "her innocency alway to be clear. "And in the writing of this ſhe ſent "for me, and at my coming ſhe ſaid: "mr. Kingſton, I hear I ſhall not die "afore noon, and I am very ſorry "therefore, for I thought to be dead "by this time, and paſt my pain. I "told her it ſhould be no pain, it was "ſo little. And then ſhe ſaid, I heard "ſay the executioner was very good, "and I have a little neck, and put her "hands about it, laughing heartily. I "I have ſeen many men and alſo wo-"men executed, and that they have "been in great ſorrow, and to my "knowledge this lady has much joy "and pleaſure in death. Sir, her al-"moner is continually with her, and "had been ſince two a clock after "midnight. This is the effect of any "thing that is here at this time, and "thus fare you well."

She was beheaded a little before noon, on the green within the Tower. There were preſent the dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, the lord chancellor Audley, and ſecretary Cromwell, with the lord mayor, the ſheriffs and aldermen of London. Her head was cut off by the hangman of Calais, as being more expert at his buſineſs than any in England: her eyes and lips were obſerved to move, after her head was cut off, as Spelman writes; her body was thrown into a common cheſt of elm that was made to put arrows in, and was buried in the chapel within the Tower before twelve o'clock. Burnet, vol. I. p. 203. Hall, fol. 227. Stow.

f On the 6th of May ſhe writ a very moving letter to the king, wherein ſhe inſiſted upon her innocence in the ſtrongeſt terms: and at another time, affirmed, ſhe could confeſs no more than ſhe had already done. See Herbert, p. 194. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 283. Burnet, tom. I. p. 206.

1536. blackened her reputation as much as poſſible, imagining thereby to give a mortal wound to the proteſtant religion. For a contrary reaſon, the proteſtants have forgot nothing that could help to give of her a quite different idea. But both have reaſoned upon a falſe principle, ſince the goodneſs of a religion depends not upon the life and converſation of the profeſſors. For my part, if I may ſpeak my opinion, I can never believe, the peers, her judges, had ſufficient evidence to condemn her as guilty of defiling the king's bed. However, it cannot be denied that by ſome familiarities unbecoming a queen, ſhe gave too great an advantage over her. As ſhe was young and handſome, without doubt ſhe was not diſpleaſed to ſee the effect of her beauty upon all ſorts of people, imagining that the love ſhe inſpired greatly heightened her merit. We ſee too many ladies liable to this infirmity. Be this as it will, it is certain, the ſpirit of party has not a little contributed to the diverſity of opinions concerning the queen. Had ſhe not countenanced the reformation, ſhe would have undoubtedly fewer accuſers among the catholicks, and had ſhe led the king to perſecute the reformed, not many of theſe would undertake her vindication. This is the way of the world. People are innocent or guilty according to the party they are of. But beſides this general cauſe, a particular reaſon may alſo be found in the carriage of Anne Bullen. She was of a very gay temper, which had charmed the king, but which, after ſome years of enjoyment, ſerved only to raiſe his jealouſy. On the other hand, it cannot be denied ſhe had very good qualities, and particularly great charity to the poor, to whom a few days before her diſgrace ſhe had given two thouſand pounds [g]. A circumſtance in the ſtory of her death ſhows likewiſe, ſhe had a very tender conſcience. After ſhe was condemned, ſhe fell upon her knees to the lady Bullen her ſiſter-in-law [h], and conjured her for God's ſake to tell the princeſs Mary, ſhe begged her pardon for her ill uſage of her. This charity, and this tenderneſs of conſcience would little become a woman, who had held a ſhameful and criminal commerce with four men and her own brother. But they would be very conſiſtent with great indiſcretion and a little coquetry.

g She had diſtributed in the laſt nine months of her life, between fourteen and fifteen thouſand pounds to the poor. And, in all appearance, if ſhe had lived, the money that was raiſed by the ſuppreſſion of religious houſes, had been better employed than it was. Burnet, tom. I. p. 196.

h Burnet ſays, it was to the lady Kingſton, the conſtable of the Tower's lady, tom. I. p. 204.

Though

Though the king had procured the queen's condemnation, he was not ſatisfied. He was pleaſed to give her, before ſhe died, a freſh cauſe of mortification, by annulling their marriage. To this end, he cauſed her to be ſo wrought on, that at laſt ſhe confeſſed a contract between her and the lord Percy, now earl of Northumberland, though that lord proteſted upon his ſalvation, there never was any formal promiſe of marriage between them. It was believed this confeſſion was drawn from her, by an intimation that the king would on no other condition be prevailed with to mitigate that cruel part of her ſentence of being burnt, into the milder part of being beheaded. However, upon this confeſſion, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was forced to paſs a ſentence of divorce between the king and her [i], and declare their daughter Elizabeth illegitimate. What is moſt ſtrange in the king's proceedings is, the artifice he uſed, in cauſing the queen to be condemned before her marriage was nulled. Had the ſentence of divorce been paſſed before the trial, ſhe could not have been condemned for adultery, ſince her marriage with the king muſt have been conſidered only as a concubinage. But Henry had acquired ſuch an abſolute ſway over his ſubjects, that his will was the ſole meaſure of juſtice and law. Nay, he ſo little regarded the publick and his own reputation, that he married Jane Seymour the next day after Anne Bullen's death, wherein he expreſſed a paſſion which ſerved greatly to juſtify the deceaſed queen.

1536.

Henry nulls his marriage with Anne Bullen. Hall. Herbert. p. 195. Burnet. Strype.

The king marries Jane Seymour. Hall. Stow. Burnet.

The death of Anne Bullen revived the hopes of Mary the king's daughter by his firſt wife Catherine. Her attachment to the queen her mother, and her obſtinate refuſal to ſubmit to the late acts of parliament, had quite thrown her out of the king's favour, who could not bear contradiction. But the late event cauſing the friends of Rome to imagine the king might be reconciled to the pope, they adviſed Mary to accommodate herſelf to the times, for fear of loſing the fruit, this change might produce. As there was nothing now that obſtructed the union of the king with the emperor, it was hoped the act which declared her illegitimate might be repealed, provided ſhe made her ſubmiſſion to the king her father. To this end, ſhe reſolved to write a very humble and reſpectful letter to the king, proteſting, for the future ſhe would have no other ſentiments but his. But Henry not ſatisfied with a ſubmiſſion expreſſed in ſuch general terms, inſiſted, before he reſtored her to favour, upon

The princeſs Mary reconciled to the king. Herbert. Burnet.

Burnet. Herbert. Strype.

[i] At Lambeth, May 17. Burnet, T. I. p. 203.

1536. her ſigning certain articles which ſhe had hitherto rejected: namely, the ſupremacy, the renunciation of the biſhop of Rome, and the unlawfulneſs of her mother's marriage. Mary tried all poſſible ways to be excuſed. But at length, finding the king remained inflexible, ſhe ſigned them, though contrary to her opinion, in hopes that the ill ſhe committed in acting againſt her conſcience, might be productive of much good [k]. As for the princeſs Elizabeth, then about three years old, ſhe was diveſted of the title of princeſs of Wales, which ſhe had enjoyed from her birth. However, the king ſtill continued to educate her at court with all the care and tenderneſs of a father.

Parliament. A new act of ſucceſſion. Hall. Herbert. Stow. Burnet.

A new parliament meeting the 8th of June [l], an act was paſſed to ſettle the ſucceſſion, that made, after their marriage being void by the ſentence of divorce between the king and Anne Bullen. By the new act the other was repealed, and the iſſue of the king's two firſt marriages declared illegitimate, and diſabled from ever inheriting the crown. Moreover the act confirmed Anne Bullen's ſentence as being grounded upon very juſt cauſes [m], and ſettled the crown after the king's death upon the iſſue of queen Jane, or of any other queen whom he might afterwards marry. Finally, they gave the king full power to declare the ſucceſſion to the crown, either by his letters patents under the great ſeal, or by his laſt will ſigned with his hand; and if any ſo deſigned to ſucceed in default of others, ſhould endeavour to uſurp upon thoſe before them, or to exclude them, they were declared traitors, as were alſo thoſe who ſhould maintain the lawfulneſs of the former marriages. Hence it may be eaſily gueſſed, with what an abſolute ſway Henry then ruled, ſince, without any examination, the parliament approved of all his actions, and granted him even more than he deſired, by giving him

[k] There is one circumſtance that ſhews the frugality of that time, or rather how far money went then, on account of its ſcarcity. In the eſtabliſhment that was made for her family, there was only forty pounds a quarter aſſigned for her privy purſe. Burnet, tom. I. p. 208.

[l] Burnet obſerves, that if full forty days be neceſſary for a ſummons, then the writs muſt have been iſſued out the day before the late queen's diſgrace; ſo that it was deſigned before the juſt at Greenwich, and conſequently did not flow from any thing that then appeared. tom. I. p. 209. and III. p. 118. The writs of ſummons bear date, April 7. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 563.

[m] Queen Anne is ſaid in the act, to have been inflamed with pride and carnal deſires of her body; and having confederated herſelf with her accomplices, to have committed divers treaſons to the danger of the king's royal perſon, (with other aggravating words) for which ſhe had juſtly ſuffered death, and is now attainted by act of parliament, Burnet, T. I. p. 210.

power

power to ſettle the order of his ſucceſſors. By that it was in the king's power to replace Mary and Elizabeth in ſuch order as he pleaſed, or exclude them entirely. This is a clear evidence, that the parliament had not juſtice and equity ſo much in view as pleaſing the king. 1536.

When pope Paul III. heard of Anne Bullen's death, he entertained hopes of a revocation of what had been done in England. And therefore declared his thoughts to ſir Gregory Caſſali, formerly the king's ambaſſador, and after ſome excuſes concerning the ſentence of excommunication which he had given, but was not yet publiſhed, told him he would willingly cloſe with any expedients that ſhould be deemed proper to procure a good agreement between the king and him. But Henry, who ſome few years before would have done much to obtain the pope's favour, was now of another mind. Nothing was capable of inducing him to diſpoſſeſs himſelf of the authority acquired over the clergy, as well as over the reſt of his ſubjects, and which rendered his power more extenſive than he expected at firſt. On the contrary, entirely to deſtroy the pope's expectations, he cauſed the parliament to confirm by two new acts whatever had been done againſt him. By the firſt, all perſons were to incur the pains of a præmunire, who endeavoured to reſtore in England the authority of the biſhop of Rome; and all officers both civil and eccleſiaſtical were commanded, under ſevere penalties, to puniſh thoſe who ſhould dare to violate this ſtatute. The ſecond nulled and aboliſhed all diſpenſations, immunities and privileges flowing from the court of Rome, ſaving to the archbiſhop of Canterbury the power of confirming what ſhould not be contrary to the law of God, or common decency, which confirmation was to paſs under the great ſeal.

The pope tries to make up matters with Henry, Burnet. Herbert.

who rejects his propoſals.

Statute againſt the pope. Burnet. Statut. c. 10.

c. 26.

In this ſeſſion two conſiderable acts were alſo paſſed, but which related not to religion. By the firſt, it was forbid, under ſevere penalties, to marry in the next degrees of the blood royal, without the king's licence firſt had. This ſtatute was made on account of Thomas Howard the duke of Norfolk's brother, to whom Margaret Douglaſs the king's niece, and daughter to the queen of Scotland, then living in the Engliſh court, had plighted her faith, without acquainting the king her uncle. Henry offended at their boldneſs ſent them both to the Tower, and to prevent the like for the future, procured the forementioned act. By the ſecond it was provided, that all uſurpations of the parliament upon the royal authority, before the king was twenty four years of age

Another about the marriage of the king's relations. Occaſion of it. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Another ſtatute in favour of the king.

1536. age, might be repealed by letters patents under the great seal. Thus both houſes of parliament employed their whole authority to give the ſovereign a power which his predeceſſors had never enjoyed, as if they had been aſſembled for that purpoſe.

Statut. c. 18.

The clergy approves of the king's late divorce. Burnet.

But it was not only with reſpect to the civil goverment, that the bounds of the royal authority were enlarged. The clergy, unwilling to yield to the parliament in that point, uſed the ſame endeavours to become agreeable to the king, by approving all his proceedings.

The convocation being met at the ſame time, confirmed the ſentence of the invalidity of the king's marriage with Anne Bullen, upon the ſame ground which had ſerved to procure it, namely, a precontract[a] with the lord Percy, though that lord denied it upon oath.

Complaints againſt the reformers. Burnet.

A few days after, the lower houſe of convocation ſent to the upper houſe ſixty ſeven opinions, which they thought worthy to be condemned. At the ſame time the deputies made great complaints againſt thoſe who were for making innovations in religion. Theſe complaints were levelled at Cranmer, Cromwell, Shaxton, Latimer, and ſome others who were noted as heads or promoters of the reformation, though they were not named [n]. Care was taken to mix with theſe ſixty ſeven opinions, moſtly drawn from the doctrine of the Lutherans, ſeveral tenets of the old lollards and the anabaptiſts, to inſinuate that thoſe who were complained of embraced them all alike. The enemies of the reformers hoped to make them forfeit the king's favour, who affected a great rigour againſt ſuch as were termed hereticks. After the death of Anne Bullen, they ſcarce doubted that all whom ſhe had loved or protected would ſhare in her ruin. But they were diſappointed in their expectations. Cranmer and Cromwell were never more in the king's favour, who even gave preſently after to Cromwell a freſh mark of his eſteem, by conſtituting him his vicegerent in all eccleſiaſtical matters [o]. So, the convocation's complaints, inſtead of

Cromwell is made vicegerent. Herbert. Stow. Hollingſh.

[a] Burnet obſerves, that Cranmer promoted the reformation prudently and ſolidly. Latimer, zealouſly and ſimply; Shaxton, with much indiſcreet pride and vanity. tom. I. p. 214.

[o] In a publick inſtrument dated October 22, 1535. he is ſtiled vicegerent: and in the writ of ſummons, 1539, (in Dugdale) he is ſtiled vicarius generalis. So that theſe two titles ſeem to have been promiſcuouſly uſed. In right of his office of vicar general, he ſat in convocation above the archbiſhop of Canterbury. See Burnet, tom. III. p. 402, 123. About this time he was made lord privy ſeal, upon the reſignation of Thomas Boleyn earl of Wiltſhire; and on the 9th of July was created a baron. Stow, p. 573. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 571.

being

being prejudicial to the reformation or reformers, ſeem rather to have increaſed the credit of the two heads. This was quickly perceived, when it was ſeen that they had perſuaded the king to advance the reformation, by retrenching in the publick worſhip ſuch ceremonies as were not founded upon the word of God. This reſolution being taken, the king acquainted the convocation that he wiſhed them to examine the ceremonies, to the end ſuch as were uſeleſs and inſignicant might be retrenched. 1536.

But thoſe who were againſt the reformation had a much greater cauſe to be alarmed, when ſome days after, Cromwell brought into the upper houſe of convocation, articles by the king himſelf, containing ſundry alterations in the doctrines, with orders to examine them, and report to the king the reſult of their debates. Then it was that the two parties openly divided, the one to promote, and the other to oppoſe, the reformation. Cranmer was at the head of the firſt, being ſupported by Godrick biſhop of Ely, Shaxton of Sarum, Latimer of Worceſter, Fox of Hereford, Hilſey of Rocheſter, Barlow of St. David's. Lee archbiſhop of York, was chief of the ſecond, and with him were Stokeſly biſhop of London, Tunſtal of Durham, Gardiner of Wincheſter, Longland of Lincoln, Sherburn [p] of Chicheſter, Nix of Norwich [q], Kite of Carliſle. Theſe, who were private favourers of the pope, ſtill hoping a reconciliation with Rome, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed all innovations for fear the breach ſhould become wider. But this party lay under a great diſadvantage, as Cromwell and Cranmer, who had the king's ear, ſuggeſted to him that moſt of the abuſes which they deſired to be aboliſhed, directly tended to ſupport the pope's uſurpations. In ſhort, after many debates, the convocation agreed upon certain articles which were digeſted in form of conſtitutions, the ſubſtance whereof was as follows:

Articles propoſed by the king to the clergy. Hall. Hollingſh.

Grand debates between the two parties. Burnet.

Conſtitutions made by the clergy. Fuller.

I. The holy ſcriptures are laid down as the foundation of faith, jointly with the three Creeds, the Apoſtles, the Ni- Burnet. T. I. p. 215. Herbert.

[p] Sherburn, upon what inducement is not known, reſigned his biſhoprick, which was given to Richard Sampſon dean of the chapel; a penſion of four hundred pounds being reſerved to Sherburn, and confirmed by parliament. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 570.

[q] Nix had alſo offended the king ſignally, by ſome correſpondence with Rome, and was long kept in the Marſhalſea, and was convicted and found in a præmunire: but the king conſidering his old age, upon his ſubmiſſion pardoned him. He died the laſt year, though Fuller in his ſlight way makes him ſit in this convocation. Burnet, tom. I. p. 214. See Rymer, ibid. p. 573.

cene,

1536. cene, and the Athanaſian, and the four firſt general councils.

II. The neceſſity of baptiſm is eſtabliſhed in the ſecond, which forbids alſo to repeat it.

III. In the third, penance is reckoned neceſſary to ſalvation, conſiſting of contrition, auricular confeſſion, and amendment of life.

IV. The fourth eſtabliſhes as a fundamental doctrine the real preſence of chriſt's body in the euchariſt [r].

V. In the fifth it is ſaid, that juſtification is attained by regeneration, which conſiſts of contrition, faith, and charity.

VI. It is appointed in the ſixth, that images ſhould ſtand in the churches, but that in incenſing, kneeling, and offering to them, people ſhould not do it to the image, but to God and his honour.

VII. In the ſeventh, ſaints are to be honoured, but without believing, ſuch things are to be obtained at their hands, as belongs only to God to beſtow.

VIII. In the eighth, ſaints are to be prayed to, provided it be done without ſuperſtition. The days ſet apart for their memories are to be obſerved, unleſs the king ſhould leſſen the number of them, which if he did, it was to be obeyed.

IX. The ceremonies uſed in the church are to be retained, as the veſtments of the prieſts, holy-water, holy-bread, bearing candles on Candlemas-day, giving aſhes on Aſh-wedneſday, bearing palms on Palm-ſunday, creeping to the croſs on Good-friday, and kiſſing it, hallowing the font, and other exorciſms and benedictions.

X. The tenth declares it good to pray for the dead, but that it is neceſſary to correct the abuſes advanced under the pretence of purgatory, the pope's pardons, maſſes ſaid in certain places, or before certain images. In fine, that ſince the ſtate and place of ſouls after death are unknown, they ought to be recommended to God's mercy in general terms only.

The king approves them.

Theſe conſtitutions being preſented to the king, who corrected them in ſeveral places [s], were ſigned by Cromwell, Cranmer,

r It is obſervable, that there are only three ſacraments mentioned in theſe articles. Hall, fol. 228.

s The king did not correct the engroſſed and ſigned articles, as Rapin, and others have been led to imagine, by miſunderſtanding Burnet's words in his vol. I. p. 217. For his meaning was

Cranmer, ſeventeen biſhops, forty abbots and priors, and fifty archdeacons and proctors of the lower houſe of convocation, among whom was Polydore Virgil archdeacon of Wells, author of a hiſtory of England, publiſhed afterwards by the king's order [t]. Their publication occaſioned great variety of cenſures. Thoſe that deſired a reformation had gained ſome ground, with reſpect to images and purgatory, but chiefly in that the ſcriptures were made the ſtandard of faith, becauſe they hoped from that principle to draw one day very great conſequences. But the determinations concerning auricular confeſſion, and the real preſence of chriſt's body in the euchariſt, troubled them extremely. Not only were theſe articles directly contrary to their ſentiments, but they ſaw how difficult it would be to meddle with them again, by reaſon of the king's prejudice, who believed them unqueſtionable. The other party were under an unſpeakable conſternation, to ſee articles ſo long ſince determined, brought under examination, the papal authority aboliſhed, and the exiſtence of purgatory called in queſtion. Thus theſe conſtitutions pleaſed neither party. The one thought the reformers had acted too faintly, in not advancing the reformation, and could not forbear blaming their compliance, in ſuffering doctrines ſo repugnant to truth, to be eſtabliſhed. But it was replied, that every thing could not be done at once, and that it would have been imprudent obſtinately to require that the errors, the people were not yet ſenſible of, ſhould be ſuddenly retrenched. The other party were very angry alſo with the biſhops, for ſo baſely abandoning truths, embraced for ſo many ages by the catholick church. But indeed, it was not in the power of either to act otherwiſe. The king himſelf managed the whole, having ſettled in his cabinet council what he thought fit to alter or keep. But there was not a counſellor that dared to oppoſe his opinion, or believed it prudent to combat his ſentiments, for fear a too great oppoſition ſhould produce a quite contrary effect. All that could be done, was to try to enlighten the king gently and by degrees, without ſtriving to bring him, by a ſort of compulſion, to what was thought reaſonable.

1536.

Opinions of the two parties upon theſe articles. Burnet.

was, (as he explains it himſelf it in vol. III. p. 123.) That there are ſeveral draughts of theſe articles that are in many places corrected by the king's own hand, ſome of which corrections are very long and very material. Of theſe he ſpoke, and not of the engroſſed articles ſigned by the convocation.

[t] And Peter Vannes archdeacon of Worceſter. Herbert, p. 202.

Before

1536. Before the convocation broke up, the king communicated to both houſes a ſummons he had received to a council, which was to meet at Mantua. The pope, without conſulting him, had called this council in concert with the emperor, and was to preſide by his legates. So Henry might well expect to loſe his cauſe before ſuch a council, had he been ſo unwiſe as to ſubmit to its deciſions. Indeed he had appealed from the pope to a general council, but there were many queries to be reſolved, in order to know whether this called at Mantua was lawful, and furniſhed with a ſufficient authority. Mean while, before he anſwered the ſummons, he was pleaſed to adviſe with the clergy, who, after mature deliberation, preſented to him a writing to this effect: that a true and lawful general council was a very good means to preſerve the peace and union of the church: but before a council was called, it was neceſſary to conſider, firſt, who had authority to call it: ſecondly, whether the reaſons for calling it were weighty. Thirdly, who ſhould aſſiſt as judges. Fourthly, what ſhould be the order of proceeding. Fifthly, what doctrines were to be diſcuſſed. Then, it was declared that neither the pope nor any prince in the world had power to call a general council, without the conſent of all the ſovereigns in chriſtendom. Purſuant to this declaration, Henry publiſhed a proteſtation againſt the council which was to meet at Mantua, ſpeaking very plainly and freely of the deſigns and conduct of the pope. He concluded with ſaying, that he could not conſider as free and general, a council where the biſhop of Rome ſhould preſide, which ſhould meet in a ſuſpected place, and which muſt be compoſed only of a ſmall number of prelates, till the war between the emperor and France was ended.

The king being cited to a council, adviſes with the convocation. Burnet. Herbert.

The clergy's anſwer. Burnet. T. I. p. 219. Herbert. p. 203.

The king proteſts againſt the council of Mantua. Burnet.

The parliament is prorogued. The eighteenth of July, the parliament was prorogued, after a ſeſſion but of forty days, wherein however ſeveral acts of moment were paſſed [a].

Reginald Pole, falls out with the king. Herbert. Burnet. Strype. At this time cardinal Pole was in high repute for his learning and eloquence. His name was de la Pole, but every where, except in England, he is ſo well known by that of Polus, that he cannot be called by any other, with-

[a] Namely, thoſe mentioned above; againſt reſtoring the authority of the biſhop of Rome; againſt immunities, &c.——By an act now made, it was alſo injoined, that tithes, and other profits, ariſing or becoming due during the vacancy of any ſpiritual promotion, ſhall belong to the perſon that is next preſented thereto, toward the payment of the firſt fruits. And by another, that French wine ſhould be ſold by retail only eight pence a gallon; and ſack or malmſey for twelve pence. See ſtatut. 28 Henry VIII.

out

out danger of confounding the reader. He was deſcended of Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and favourite of Richard II. From that time this family had been continually advanced, ſo that in the reign of Henry VI. the earl of Suffolk was honoured with the title of duke. After that, a lord of this family married a daughter of the duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. Of this marriage was born among other children, Reginald de la Pole, or Polus, the cardinal I am ſpeaking of, who conſequently was couſin to the king [w]. Being a younger brother, he was deſigned for the church, for which alſo his natural qualities rendered him very proper. In his younger years, he made ſo great progreſs in all the ſciences, that the king intending to raiſe him to the higheſt dignities of the church, conferred on him the deanery of Exeter, with ſeveral other benefices that he might go and finiſh his ſtudies abroad. He went firſt to Paris, where he ſtayed ſome years, and forfeited in ſome meaſure the king's favour, for refuſing to concur with his agents, in procuring the determinations of the French univerſities in the affair of the divorce. Notwithſtanding this, he returned into England, where he aſſiſted as dean of Exeter, at the convocation, which acknowledged the king ſupreme head of the church of England [x]. There is even reaſon to preſume he was not of the number of thoſe who oppoſed the new title, becauſe he kept his deanery ſeveral years after. At length he travelled into Italy, and lived ſome time at Padua, where he contracted a friendſhip with Bembo, Sadoletti, and other celebrated wits. The reputation he acquired in that country, made the king deſirous to recall him, intending to reward his merit, which was univerſally known. But Pole ſtill declined, on ſome pretence or other to comply with the king's deſire. At laſt, finding delays could prevail no longer, he was forced to write to the king the true reaſon of his refuſal, which was, he could not approve either of his divorce, or his ſeparation from the apoſtolick ſee. Henry, who was extremely deſirous to gain him, ſent him a writing, containing his apology, and the 1536.

w This is one of the greateſt miſtakes concerning families Rapin has been guilty of. Cardinal Pole was no ways related to de la Pole duke of Suffolk. The cardinal's father Sir Richard Pole, knight of the garter, was a Welſhman, and married Margaret daughter of the duke of Clarence. See note e p. 96.

x He ſays himſelf he was not preſent, which ſhews, that at that time he was contented to be ſilent in his opinion, and that he did not think fit to oppoſe what was doing. Burnet, tom. III. p. 124.

reaſons

1536. reaſons of his proceedings againſt the pope [y]. Upon which Pole wrote his book de Unitate Eccleſiaſtica, wherein he takes the liberty to ſpeak of the king in very offenſive terms, comparing him to Nebuchadnezzar, and exhorting the emperor and the reſt of the princes to turn their arms againſt him. He was not ſatisfied with ſending him his book in manuſcript, but cauſed it to be printed and publiſhed [z]. Henry provoked, as may be eaſily judged, at ſuch a violent and diſreſpectful behaviour, tried to allure him into England, by writing to him how much he eſteemed his book, deſiring him withal to come and explain ſome difficult paſſages by word of mouth. Pole took took care not to be thus inſnared. So the king perceiving this artifice took not effect, diveſted him of all his dignities, the loſs whereof was amply repaired by the pope and the emperor. Some time after, he was rewarded with a cardinal's hat. He thereby became ſtill more attached to the pope's intereſt, and a greater enemy to the king, who not being able to reach his perſon, made his family and kindred feel the effects of his indignation.

Burnet. T. III. 403. Herbert.

Suppreſſions of the leſſer monaſteries. Burnet, T. I. coll. p. 143.

The ſuppreſſion of the leſſer monaſteries, enacted in the laſt ſeſſion of the late parliament, was not executed till Auguſt, though the commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe had received their inſtructions in April. Probably, the king had a mind to ſee the event of the new parliament before they proceeded. As their report was ſuppreſſed in the reign of queen Mary, it cannot poſitively be ſaid what it contained. Thus much is certain, the adherents of the pope and the old religion accuſed them of committing numberleſs extortions and robberies, and of making falſe reports of what they diſcovered in this viſitation, to leſſen the horror of their oppreſſions. This may be partly true. Nay, it is not unlikely that theſe men, either from a deſire to make their court to the king, or from a greedineſs to enrich themſelves, exceeded their inſtructions. On the other hand, it is alſo probable, their accuſers highly aggravated the crimes laid to their charge. However this be, immenſe numbers were extremely diſpleaſed at the ſuppreſſion of ſo many religious houſes, which were had in great veneration. All the friars of theſe ſuppreſſed houſes who

[y] In a book writ by Mr. Sampſon. Idem. T. I. p. 221.

[z] Pole's book was anſwered by biſhop Stokeſly, and biſhop Tunſtal, in a long and learned letter, directed to Pole. Gardiner publiſhed alſo againſt it, his book of true obedience; to which was added a preface by Bonner. Idem. tom. III. p. 126, &c. Herbert, p. 182.

wiſhed

wiſhed to become ſeculars, had a diſpenſation from the king, and the reſt were removed to the larger monaſteries, which were untouched. The churches and cloiſters were pulled down, and the materials ſold to the king's uſe. 1536.

It may be eaſily judged, the monks ſpared no pains to excite the people to rebel. They found it the more eaſy, as great diſcontents reigned every where. The nobility and gentry took it very ill, that the king ſhould have the lands of the ſuppreſſed monaſteries, moſt part whereof were founded by their anceſtors. Beſides, they were deprived of the conveniency of providing for their younger children, when they had too many, and of lodging, as they travelled, in theſe houſes, where they were always well entertained. The poor murmured ſtill louder, becauſe multitudes lived by the alms which were daily diſtributed in theſe houſes. In ſhort the devout bigots thought the ſouls of their anceſtors muſt now lie in purgatory, ſince ſo many maſſes which were ſaid for their deliverance, were aboliſhed by the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries. Abundance of people diſcontented. Burnet.

The court hearing of theſe murmurs, endeavoured to compoſe them, by publiſhing the diſorders, diſcovered in theſe houſes. But this ſignified nothing. Beſides that theſe reports were deemed very much aggravated, it was ſaid, why were not theſe abuſes ſeverely puniſhed and reformed, without deſtroying whole houſes for ever? At laſt Cromwell found an expedient to allay the diſcontents in great meaſure, by adviſing the king to ſell the lands of the ſuppreſſed monaſteries at very eaſy rates, and oblige the purchaſers, under ſevere penalties, to keep up the wanted hoſpitality [a]. But this expedient was not capable of entirely appeaſing the murmurs of the people, though the king ſtrove to give them ſome ſatisfaction by re-endowing one and thirty of theſe houſes [b]. The diſorders of the ſuppreſſed houſes publiſhed. Burnet. The king ſells their lands at eaſy rates.

a The purchaſers being obliged to keep up the old hoſpitality, (which they were to do upon the penalty of paying every month ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence, to be levied by the juſtices of the peace, who were impowered to enquire of the matter) the common ſort, who, like thoſe of old, that followed Chriſt for the loaves, were moſt concerned for the loſs of a dinner on Sundays and holidays, were in a great meaſure ſatisfied; and the gentry, by having good bargains, were drawn in to like what was done, and to aſſiſt the crown for ever in the defence of theſe laws, their own intereſts being interwoven with the rights of the crown. The commiſſioners, as was but juſt, paid all the debts of the ſuppreſſed monaſteries: but when relicks happened to be pawned, it ſeems they refuſed to redeem them. Thus one man loſt forty pounds which he had lent upon St. Andrew's finger, except one ounce of ſilver with which it was covered. The writers that live near the time ſay, about ten thouſand friars and nuns were ſent to ſeek for their livings. The abbots and priors had ſmall penſions. Burnet. Herbert.

b Fifteen abbies, and ſixteen nunneries. The king's letters patent for that purpoſe are dated Auguſt 17. Burnet, tom. I. p. 224. and Collect. p. 142.

1536. Whilſt people were in this fermentation, the king publiſhed, in the name of the vice-gerent, ſome injunctions to regulate the behaviour of perſons in holy orders, many of whom led very irregular lives. Theſe injunctions contained nothing but what had been ordained by ſeveral ſynods [c], and yet the clergy were extremly offended, becauſe they could not endure to ſee themſelves ſubject to the orders of the vice-gerent, by whom they ſaid, they were going to be enſlaved much more than by the pope. Thus the inferior clergy, the monks and the bigots being equally affected by what had been done, and by what, very probably, was intended to be done, inſpired thoſe on whom they had any influence, with a ſpirit of rebellion, which quickly broke out into a flame.

Injunctions to the clergy. Hall. Burnet. Herbert. p. 204. Stow. The inferior clergy murmer at them. Hollingſh.

The firſt riſing was in Lincolnſhire [d], where Dr. Mackerel, prior of Barlings, drew after him great body of men, whom he headed under the name of captain Cobler. The rebels ſent their grievances to the king in a very humble manner, telling him, they acknowledged his ſupremacy, and were content he ſhould enjoy the tenths and firſt fruits of the livings, but withal prayed him to adviſe with his nobility concerning the redreſs of their grievances. This was taxing the king indirectly with following the counſels of Thomas Cromwell, who was of a mean extraction. Theſe

Inſurrection in Lincolnſhire. Herbert. Burnet. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

[c] The preamble of theſe injunctions ran thus: "In the name of God, amen. By the authority and commiſſion of the excellent prince Henry, by the grace of God king of England and France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth ſupreme head under Chriſt of the church of England. I Thomas lord Cromwell, privy ſeal, and vicegerent to the king's ſaid highneſs, for all his juriſdiction eccleſiaſtical within this realm, do for the advancement of the glory of Almighty God, increaſe of virtue, and honour of the king's majeſty, give and exhibit unto you——theſe injunctions following, &c." This was the firſt act of pure ſupremacy done by the king. For in all that went before, he had the concurrence of the two convocations. They were penned, it is like, by Cranmer. They were not reliſhed by the majority of the clergy. The great profits they made by their images and relicks, and the pilgrimages to them, were now taken away; and yet ſevere impoſitions were laid upon them: a fifth for repairs; a tenth at leaſt for an exhibitioner, in either of the univerſities, of ſome grammar ſchool; and a fortieth for charity; which were cried out upon as intolerable burdens. Their labour was alſo increaſed, and they were bound up to a ſtrict life. In ſhort, the very ſame opinions about pilgrimages, ſaints, &c. and about inſtructing the people in the chriſtian religion, in the vulgar tongue, for which the Lollards were not long ago burnt, were now ſet up by the king's authority. See Burnet's Collection, tom. I. p. 160, &c.

[d] In the beginning of October, occaſioned by the levying of the fifteenth lately granted by parliament. Hall, fol. 229. Stow, p. 573. The duke of Suffolk was commiſſioned to go againſt them October 7. Herbert, p. 295.

grievances were, that he had ſuppreſſed a great number of monaſteries; that large ſubſides had been granted by parliament without any occaſion: that he admitted into his council perſons of mean birth, whoſe ſole view was to enrich themſelves, inſtead of conſulting the good of the ſtate: that ſeveral biſhops had ſubverted the antient faith [e], and embraced new doctrines, at all times condemned by the church: that having ſeen ſo many religious houſes plundered, they were afraid the churches would undergo the ſame fate. 1536. The grievance of the rebels. Herbert. Burnet. Speed. p. 772.

The king returned an anſwer to theſe grievances in a large manifeſto [f]. But as his reaſons were grounded upon principles not admitted by the malecontents, the manifeſto had no great effect. Mean while the king was greatly embarraſſed; his troops were few, and he had certain advice that a like inſurrection was preparing in Yorkſhire and other neighbouring counties. He ordered however the duke of Suffolk to march, though with very few troops, and try to ſtop the progreſs of the rebels. But the duke finding himſelf too weak, thought it more proper to endeavour to appeaſe the commotion by way of negotiation than by arms. So when he ſent to the malecontents the king's anſwer to their grievances, he took occaſion to let them know, they ſhould not deſpair of pardon. Upon which, ſome of their heads privately ſent him word, they had joined with the rebels only to reclaim them, wherein they hoped to ſucceed, provided the king would be pleaſed to grant them a general pardon. The duke diſliked not the overture, which afforded him an opportunity to write to the king, and ſollicit him in their behalf, offering however to march againſt the rebels if he was ordered. At the ſame time, the king received news that the Yorkſhiremen had taken up arms, and as he feared the others would join them, iſſued out a proclamation, granting an abſolute pardon to all that ſhould return to their homes. The proclamation ſucceeded according to expectation. The rebels immediately diſperſed, and ſo freed the king from great perplexity. Some however choſe rather to join the Yorkſhire rebels than accept of the pardon [g]. The king's manifeſto. Hall. fol. 229. Burnet. Speed. The rebels accept of a pardon.

[e] Particularly they complained, that four of their pretended ſeven ſacraments were taken away, and that they ſhould ſoon loſe the other three. Hall, fol. 228.

[f] As to the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, he declared, that it was granted him by all the nobles ſpiritual and temporal of his realm, and by all the commons in the ſame, by act of parliament, and not ſet forth by any counſellors of his upon their mere will and fancy. Hall, fol. 229.

[g] Captain Cobler, with ſeveral others, were taken and executed. Hall, fol. 230. The reſt made their ſubmiſſion, October 19. Hollingſh. p. 942.

1536. The inſurrection of Yorkſhire was much more dangerous than that of Lincolnſhire. This ſeemed to have been accidental and ſudden. The other was in purſuance of a ſettled deſign, wherein were concerned ſeveral perſons of note; who only waited, before they declared, to ſee how the people in general were diſpoſed. Robert Aſke, a man of good judgment, headed the malecontents of thoſe parts, where the diſtance of the court, and the neighbourhood of Scotland, rendered the people more bold than elſewhere; beſides that the monks had always been in more credit in the northern counties than in all the reſt of the kingdom. Since July, Aſke had tried to gain the lord Dacres, who had amuſed him ſome time with hopes that his negotiation would ſucceed. Probably, this lord ſent the king the firſt notice of the plot. At laſt, the malecontents took up arms, and aſſembled in very great numbers about the end of Auguſt, juſt after the Lincolnſhire rebellion broke out. When they ſaw themſelves ſtrong enough, they would not ſuffer the lords and gentlemen to remain neuter at home, but forced them either to fly or join with them, and ſwear they would be true to the cauſe, for which they intended to fight. This cauſe was properly religion, as they plainly intimated, by putting a crucifix in their banners [b]. Beſides, they reeſtabliſhed the monks in ſome of the ſuppreſſed monaſteries. As they met with no oppoſition, becauſe the king's forces were employed againſt the rebels in Lincolnſhire, they made great progreſs at firſt, and ſtill much greater, after Richmondſhire, Lancaſhire, the biſhoprick of Durham, and the county of Weſtmoreland engaged on their ſide. George Talbot earl of Shrewſbury was the only perſon that ventured to take up arms for the king without receiving his commiſſion, though he was not ignorant that at ſuch a juncture his proceedings might be miſinterpreted. But as he meant

A more dangerous rebellion in Yorkſhire. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

Aſke head of the rebels. Speed.

The earl of Shrewſbury riſes for the king. Herbert. Hollingſh.

[b] Their march was called the pilgrimage of grace, and to inveigle the people, ſome prieſts marched before them with croſſes in their hands. In their banners they had a crucifix with the five wounds and a chalice, and every one wore on his ſleeve as a badge, an emblem of the five wounds of chriſt, with the name of Jeſus wrought in the midſt. All that joined them took an oath, "That they entered into this "pilgrimage of grace, for the love of "God, the preſervation of the king's "perſon and iſſue, the purifying the "nobility, and driving away all baſe-"born and evil counſellors; and for "no particular profit of their own, nor "to do diſpleaſure to any, nor to kill "any for envy, but to take before "them the croſs of Chriſt, his faith, "the reſtitution of the church, and "the ſuppreſſion of hereticks, and "their opinions." Theſe were ſpecious pretences. So people flocked about their croſſes and ſtandards in ſuch numbers, that they grew forty thouſand ſtrong. Burnet, tom. I. p. 229. Hall, fol. 230. Stow, p. 574.

Well,

well, he hoped the king would forgive a fault committed purely for his ſervice. And indeed the king ſent him a commiſſion, conſtituting him his lieutenant againſt the rebels. At the ſame time, he ordered the duke of Suffolk not to ſtir from Lincolnſhire, leſt the malecontents there ſhould think of joining thoſe of the north. Moreover, he gave commiſſions to ſeveral lords [l] to levy troops; whilſt on his part he aſſembled as many as poſſible, in order to form an army, the command whereof he deſigned for the duke of Norfolk. But, either from the backwardneſs of the people, or for ſome other reaſon, the army was not ſufficiently numerous to reſiſt the rebels. 1536.

The duke of Norfolk commands the king's forces.

Whilſt the king was making his preparations, Aſke was not idle. He approached Pontfract caſtle, where the archbiſhop of York and Thomas lord d'Arcy were, and forced them to ſurrender the place. As theſe two lords were reckoned well affected to the pope, many believed they were not ſorry that the want of proviſions furniſhed them with a pretence to deliver Pontfract to the rebels, and march with them in their other expeditions [k]. Shortly after, Aſke took alſo York and Hull, and by fair or foul means obliged all the nobility of the country to join his army [l]. Thus the affair grew daily more important, and the court became apprehenſive that the reſt of the kingdom would follow the example of the northern counties. This apprehenſion was the more juſt, as at the ſame time there were in all parts men who made it their buſineſs, to ſpread reports capable of inciting the whole nation to rebel, by putting them in fear of the utter ſubverſion of the religion they had hitherto profeſſed.

The archbiſhop of York and the lord d'Arcy ſurrender Pontfract, and are ſuſpected. Hall. Herbert.

The rebels take York and Hull.

Mean while, the king choſe to amuſe the rebels, till his army was ready. The 20th of October he ſent a herald with a proclamation to be read to the troops. Aſke gave the herald audience, ſitting in ſtate with the archbiſhop on the one hand, and the lord d'Arcy on the other. But when he heard the contents of the proclamation, he ſent him away without ſuffering him to publiſh it. Henry finding mattters

The king tries to amuſe the rebels

[i] Particularly to George Stanley, earl of Derby, October 17. At the ſame time, George Haſtings, earl of Huntingdon, and Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland, ſent the king offers of their ſervices. Herbert, p. 206.

[k] They were both made to take the oath in the note above.

[l] Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland (27 Hen. VIII.) grandſon of the lord Clifford, ſlain in the firſt of Edw. IV. held out his caſtle of Skipton againſt all that force, though five hundred gentlemen (retained at his coſt) had deſerted him. Sir Ralph Evers alſo defended Scarborough caſtle till he was relieved, though himſelf and men had nothing but bread and water for twenty days. Herbert, p. 206.

1536. were in an ill way, diſpatched the duke of Norfolk with what troops he had ready, which were to be joined by thoſe under the command of the earl of Shrewſbury, and ſome others levied in haſte by the marquis of Exeter [m]. But theſe three ſmall bodies bore no proportion to the forces of the rebels. So the king found himſelf obliged to publiſh a proclamation, commanding all the nobility to meet him at Northampton the 7th of November. Mean time, Aſke, at the head of thirty thouſand men, advanced towards Doncaſter, where the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Exeter, and the earl of Shrewſbury, were encamped with five thouſand men only, and having no other refuge but to defend the paſs of the river between the two armies. But as it was fordable in ſeveral places, they would doubtleſs have been extremely embarraſſed, if a great rain, which fell very ſeaſonably, had not made the river unpaſſable. This was certainly a very fortunate accident for the king. If his troops had been defeated on this occaſion, as it was very likely, conſidering their ſmall number, it would have done him an unſpeakable damage.

The duke of Norfolk marches againſt the rebels. Hall. Hollingſh. Herbert.

Accident which hinders the royal army from being defeated. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

I have before obſerved, that the duke of Norfolk approved not of the alterations made in religion. And therefore, it could not but be very diſagreeable to him to command the king's army, againſt people who had taken up arms in a cauſe which he could not diſlike. Mean while, he ſaw himſelf in a very dangerous ſituation, ſince he was as much afraid of conquering as of being conquered. In the firſt caſe, a victory over the rebels would infallibly ruin the party he ſecretly favoured. In the ſecond caſe, he ran the riſque of being ſuſpected by the king, and forfeiting his favour. Happily for him, his inability to hurt the rebels, freed him from this embarraſſment, by affording him a pretence to proceed by way of negotiation. As he held intelligence with ſome of their leaders, he ſo ordered it by their means, that they came to a reſolution to preſent a very humble petition to the king. That done, they acquainted the duke with it, intreating him to ſecond it with his intereſt. The duke readily granted their requeſt, but told them, that to obtain a favourable anſwer from the king, there muſt be a ceſſation of arms, during which he took upon him to go himſelf and preſent their petition. The propoſal being accepted, the ceſſation was concluded, and the duke departed for Lon-

Sentiments and conduct of the duke of Norfolk.

A truce very advantageous to the king. Herbert.

[m] Henry Courtney,

don,

don [n]. At ſuch a juncture, the ceſſation was very advantageous to the king, becauſe his army being very weak, he wanted time to raiſe more forces. For this very cauſe, many of the rebels ſeeing that contrary to all reaſon the king had leiſure given him to aſſemble his troops, and imagining they were betrayed by their leaders, withdrew to their homes [o]. 1536.

The diſcord which began to ſpread among the rebels, gave the king ſome hopes of coming off upon eaſy terms. And therefore he delayed ſending an anſwer to their petition, expecting their army would diſperſe by degrees [p]. But the leaders perceiving at length that the court purpoſely prolonged the negotiation, and that thoſe delays muſt utterly ruin their affairs, renewed their hoſtilities, and reſolved once more to attack the royal army. Had this reſolution been executed, it would have probably changed the face of affairs very much; but another great rain ſo ſwelled the river which parted the two armies, that it was not poſſible for them to paſs it [q]. The king hearing of this, thought it neceſſary to give them ſome ſort of ſatisfaction, for fear they ſhould execute their reſolution before he was ready. To that end, he ſent them an anſwer to their petition [r]; but it was expreſſed in ſuch general terms, that they could not depend upon what was promiſed therein. At the ſame time, he propoſed, that if they would ſend three hundred deputies to Doncaſter, commiſſioners ſhould meet them there, and treat of a peace. His aim was to gain time, in hopes, the three hundred deputies would diſagree, and their diſſention by prolonging the negotiation give him time to prepare his army. A few days after, the duke of Norfolk returning to Doncaſter, ſent word to the rebels that he had brought them a general pardon, ten only excepted, ſix of whom were named, and four not. But the pardon was unanimouſly rejected, becauſe the ſix perſons named were ſome of the heads, and each was in fear of being one of the four whom the king had reſerved. And indeed, the king had no other view but to ſow diſcord among them, and make way for the treaty at Don-

Henry tries to gain time. Herbert.

Artifices of the court. Herbert.

Herbert.

[n] Together with ſir Ralph Elecker, and Robert Bowes, whom the rebels ſent with him. Herbert, p. 206.

[o] Rumours were induſtriouſly ſpread among them, that ſome of their chiefs would compound for themſelves, and leave the reſt to the gallows. Herbert, ibid.

[p] He alſo detained Elecker and Bowes, under pretence, that the rebels had broken the ceſſation. Ibid.

[q] The ſecond ſwelling of the river, was not, according to Herbert, &c. till after the conference at Doncaſter, when the rebels, upon the king's rejecting their demands, reſolved to attack Doncaſter, p. 207.

[r] By the duke of Norfolk. Herbert, ibid.

1536. caſter, which they accepted at laſt, and ſent their three hundred deputies thither. The court had expected, theſe deputies would never agree about their demands, and ſo would afford the time that was wanted. But as it was eaſy for the leaders to diſcover the court's intention, they gave the deputies their inſtructions in writing, from which they were not to depart. Theſe inſtructions contained ten demands, which the deputies made at the congreſs held at Doncaſter the 6th of December.

Conference at Doncaſter.

The rebels demands. Herbert. Burnet.

I. They demanded a general pardon, without any exception.

II. That a parliament ſhould be held at York.

III. That a court of juſtice ſhould be erected there, that the inhabitants of the northern counties might not be brought to London upon any law ſuit.

IV. That ſome acts of the late parliaments which were too grievous to the people, ſhould be repealed.

V. That the princeſs Mary ſhould be declared legitimate.

VI. That the papal authority ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed upon the old foot.

VII. That the ſuppreſſed monaſteries ſhould be reſtored to their former ſtate.

VIII. That the Lutherans and all innovators in religion ſhould be puniſhed ſeverely.

IX. That Thomas Cromwell and Audley lord chancellor ſhould be removed from the council, and excluded from the next parliament.

X. That Lee and Leighton, viſitors of the monaſteries, ſhould be impriſoned and brought to account for their briberies and extortions.

The conference breaks up.

As the deputies had not power to qualify theſe demands, ſo the king's commiſſioners were not authoriſed to grant them. The king took care not to deſtroy in a moment the work of many years. Thus the congreſs ended without any fruit. The duke of Norfolk was very ſorry to ſee that the affair was like to be decided by arms. He heartily wiſhed, the

s Among whom, were John lord Scroop, lord Latimer, John lord Lumley, Thomas lord d'Arcy, ſir Thomas Percy, Robert Aſke, &c. who were to treat with the duke of Norfolk, ſir William Fitzwilliam, admiral of England, &c. Herbert, ibid.

t Namely, thoſe for the laſt ſubſidy, being a fifteenth, for uſes, for making of words miſpriſion of treaſon, for the clergy's paying their tenths and firſt fruits to the king. Herbert, p. 207.

king

king would grant the rebels all their demands; but knew too well his humour and character to venture to make him ſuch a propoſal. Mean while, he was extremely embarraſſed. He muſt either betray the king's intereſts, or reſolve to fight the rebels, contrary to his own inclination, and with great danger of a defeat. At leaſt, he could not avoid, purſuant to the intent of the court, to prolong the affair till the king was ready to march, and then he ſaw, the ruin of the rebels was inevitable. In this perplexity, he choſe to write to the king that the number of the rebels daily increaſing, there was danger of their making ſome attempt which it would be difficult to reſiſt; and therefore, to prevent the threatened miſchief, it was his opinion, if his highneſs pleaſed, that ſome of their demands ſhould be granted. Upon this letter, the king empowered him to offer them a general pardon without exception [u], and promiſe them in his name, that the next parliament ſhould be held in the north. But withal, he ordered him not to uſe theſe remedies except in extremity, and when there was no other reſource. The duke receiving theſe powers, thought proper to uſe them without delay, ſince it was the only way to free him from his embarraſſment. He was unwilling openly to betray the king's intereſts, and on the other hand, did not care to be inſtrumental in the rebels deſtruction, whoſe ſentiments he approved, though he durſt not ſhow it. So, after having by his correſpondents prevailed with the leaders to comply with the king's offers, the agreement was concluded, and every man returned to his home, to the great ſorrow of the monks and bigots, who had expected quite another thing from their efforts to excite the people to rebel [w]. But the agreement hindered not the friars and eccleſiaſticks of thoſe parts, from continuing to foment among the people a ſpirit of rebellion, which broke out again, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Something muſt now be ſaid of the emperor's affairs with the king of France, wherein all Europe was concerned.

1536.

The duke of Norfolk labours to make up matters without a battle. Hollingſh. Burnet. Herbert. Hall.

The rebels accept of the pardon.

When Francis I. began the war in Savoy about the end of the laſt year, the emperor was in Sicily upon his return from his Tunis expedition, but unable to aſſiſt the duke of Savoy. This made him chooſe to try to cool the king of France's ardour by a negotiation, till he could aid his ally.

Affairs between the emperor and Francis. Bellai. P. Daniel.

[u] Their pardon was ſigned by king Henry at Richmond, December 7. Herbert, p. 207.

[w] The king ſent alſo a long anſwer to their demands, which the reader may ſee in Burnet, tom. I. p. 232. and Herbert, p. 207.

The

1536. The death of Franceſco Sforza, which happened in the mean time, furniſhed him with an opportunity. He intimated to the French ambaſſador reſiding at his court, that he would not diſpoſe of the duchy of Milan, till he knew the king of France's ſentiments. Francis being informed of it, demanded the duchy for his ſecond ſon the duke of Orleans, and the emperor put him in hopes, he would give it to his third ſon the duke of Angoulême upon certain terms, which left it in his power to prolong the negotiation as much as he pleaſed. And indeed, he amuſed him in this manner till April 1536, one while inſiſting upon the perſon of the duke of Angoulême, another while ſeeming inclined to confer the duchy on the duke of Orleans. Francis willing to end this affair, and knowing, the emperor intended to go to Rome, ſent the cardinal of Lorrain for a poſitive anſwer, but leſt the events of the war ſhould bring ſome obſtacle to the negotiation, he ordered admiral Brion, who commanded in Piedmont, to ceaſe hoſtilities.

Negotiation about the duchy of Milan.

Whilſt the cardinal of Lorrain was on his journey, the emperor arriving at Rome, went a few days after to a publick conſiſtory, which was aſſembled at his requeſt. There before the pope and the cardinals he inveighed againſt the king of France, intimating, he was the ſole author of the wars that had afflicted Europe ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne. He thence took occaſion to ſay, that inſtead of ſheding ſo much innocent blood, it would be better to decide their quarrel by ſingle combat with ſword and poignard, in their ſhirts in ſome iſland or in a boat. But the next day, the French ambaſſador demanding whether he deſigned to challenge the king his maſter, he replied, he had no ſuch intention, but meant only, that the expedient he propoſed ſeemed to him more reaſonable than a war.

The emperor arrives at Rome. He offers before the pope and cardinals to decide his quarrel with the French king in ſingle combat.

Some time after, the emperor being at Sienna, the cardinal of Lorrain waited on him, and in his audiences diſcovered he had never intended to give the duchy of Milan to a prince of the royal family of France. He writ therefore to the king, that he was to expect war. And indeed, the emperor was now aſſembling all his forces, propoſing to bring three armies into the field, one in Piedmont, which he intended to command in perſon, another in Picardy, and a third in Champagne. This deſign was already ſo publick, that Francis could not be ignorant of it. So, believing the emperor meant to make his moſt powerful effort in Picardy, he recalled the greateſt part of his army in Piedmont, having ordered

He prepares his forces.

Francis draws his troops out of Italy.

ordered Turin and his other conqueſts in that country to be well ſtored with ammunition. 1536.

The French troops quitting Piedmont, the emperor cauſed Turin to be inveſted, and during the ſiege headed his army and marched towards Provence. Francis, who was then at Lyons, ſpeedily provided Marſeilles with neceſſaries, and ordered two camps to be fortified, one at Cavaillon, under the command of the marſhal de Montmorency, the other at Valence, where he came himſelf. There he received the ſad news of the death of his ſon the dauphin, poiſoned by Montecuculli. The emperor marches into Provence. Francis forms two armies.

The emperor having entered Provence took Aix, and then laid ſiege to Marſeilles, which was begun the 25th of Auguſt and raiſed the 9th of September. He had ſo ill taken his meaſures, that not knowing how to ſubſiſt his army in Provence, he was forced to retire in the utmoſt diſorder, not without danger of being defeated in his retreat, if Francis had thought proper to attack him. He came to Genoa the 2d of October and embarked for Spain. This was the ſucceſs of the Provence expedition, which he had been long meditating, and by means of which he hoped to give a mortal wound to France. The emperor beſieges Marſeilles, and raiſes the ſiege, and returns into Spain.

Whilſt the emperor was waging war in Provence, the count of Naſſau entered Picardy with an army of thirty thouſand men and took Guiſe by ſtorm. After that, he beſieged Peronne, which was relieved by the duke of Guiſe. Campaign in Picardy.

Francis returning to Paris with unſpeakable ſatisfaction, at having diſappointed the emperor's deſigns, met upon the way James V. king of Scotland, who was come to demand his daughter Magdalen in marriage. He was not without great difficulty prevailed with to grant his requeſt, becauſe the princeſs being ſickly, it was thought marriage would but ſhorten her days. However, the king of Scotland expreſſing a very earneſt deſire for the marriage, it was concluded in December, and the nuptials were celebrated the 1ſt of January 1537. Let us return now to the affairs of England. Marriage of the king of Scotland with Magdalen of France. Buchanan. Mezerai.

The northern rebellion was appeaſed, but in ſuch a manner that the cauſe ſtill ſubſiſted, the malecontents having received no redreſs of their grievances, except only that the king had promiſed to call a parliament in the north, which he never intended to do. The pretence he uſed was, that they left in the monaſteries the monks they had reſtored. But this was a precarious excuſe, if ever there was one, 1537. Henry breaks his word with the rebels. Herbert. Burnet.

ſince

1537. ſince it was not their buſineſs to turn them out, but the king's, who had the power in his own hands, whereas they had nothing more to ſay after quitting their arms. The king knowing how the people of the north ſtood affected, ordered the duke of Norfolk [x] to remain there with his army to keep them in awe. So the duke was employed for ſome time with cauſing perſons of all conditions to ſwear to be true to the king [y], a very improper remedy for ſuch ſort of evils, ſince the ſame compulſion which extorts oaths from a diſcontented people, ſerves alſo for pretence to break them upon occaſion. In the mean time, Aſke, who had commanded the rebels, was ordered to court, where he was well received; but the lord d' Arcy, who had not ſo readily obeyed the like order, was ſent to the Tower upon his arrival at London.

Hall. Stow. Burnet.

New inſurrection puniſhed. Hall. fol. 231. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert.

Shortly after, two gentlemen of the north, Nicolas Muſgrave and Thomas Tilby, put themſelves at the head of eight thouſand malecontents, and appeared before Carliſle in order to take the city. But being repulſed, and thereupon ſuddenly attacked by the duke of Norfolk, they were entirely routed. Muſgrave had the good fortune to eſcape, but Tilby and ſeventy four others taken with him were hanged on the walls of Carliſle. Sir Francis Bigod and one Halam with another body of rebels, attempted at the ſame time to ſurprize Hull, but were made priſoners themſelves, and executed.

Aſke and the lord d'Arcy executed. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingſh.

Theſe attempts rendered the king ſo fierce, that he put to death Aſke and the lord d' Arcy, notwithſtanding the general pardon to appeaſe the firſt inſurrection. The lord d' Arcy accuſed the duke of Norfolk of favouring the rebels, which perhaps was too true. But the duke cleared himſelf, or rather the king thought not fit ſtrictly to examine the accuſation [z]. Mean while, as he knew, the emperor was contriving

[x] And the earl of Shrewſbury. Herbert, p. 211.

[y] The contents of the oath they took, were, 1. To revoke all oaths and promiſes made in the former inſurrection, aſking the king's forgiveneſs on their knees. 2. To be true to the king, his heirs, and ſucceſſors. 3. To obſerve and maintain all acts of parliament, ſince the firſt year of the king's reign. 4. Not to take arms again, but by the king's authority. 5. To apprehend all ſeditious perſons. 6. To remove all the monks and nuns they had reinplaced in the late diſſolved monaſteries. Herbert, p. 211.

[z] Aſke had left the court without leave, and being taken again, was hanged in chains on a tower in York. The lord d'Arcy and the lord Huſſy were arraigned at Weſtminſter, before the marquis of Exeter, then high ſteward, and found guilty of treaſon. The lord Huſſy was beheaded at Lincoln, the lord d'Arcy on Tower-hill, the 20th of June, and buried in St. Botolph's

contriving ſome plot in Ireland, he gave order that Thomas Fitzgerald, ſon of the late earl of Kildare, and five of his uncles, after a long impriſonment at London, ſhould ſuffer death for a terror to the Iriſh. But the earl of Kildares youngeſt ſon had the good fortune to eſcape and fled for refuge to cardinal Pole [a]. 1537. Six of the families of Kildare put to death. Hall, fol. 226, 231. Herbert.

The king could not be perſuaded but that it was the monks who moſt contributed to preſerve and foment the people's diſcontents. He conſidered them as the chief authors of the late inſurrections, and conſequently as his perſonal enemies. He believed to ſee in their behaviour, that if they had power, they would not ſpare him, and therefore he projected their ruin to prevent their deſigns. Herein he found two conſiderable advantages, the one to free himſelf from his enemies, and the other to enjoy their ſpoils. It is not to be doubted, this laſt conſideration had alſo a ſhare in his project of vengeance upon them. The ſuppreſſion of the leſſer monaſteries having only whetted his appetite, he reſolved to ſuppreſs all the reſt and ſeize their immenſe poſſeſſions [b]. The more eaſily to accompliſh his deſign, he uſed the ſame means, he had practiſed to ſuppreſs the leſſer monaſteries. The king ſtrives to ſuppreſs all the monaſteries. Burnet. Herbert. He appoints a ſtrict viſitation. Burnet.

tolph's church. He endeavoured to purge himſelf, that he was forced to a compliance with them; and pleaded, that the long ſervices he had done the crown for fifty years, he being fourſcore, together with his great age and infirmity, might mitigate the king's diſpleaſure. He died much lamented, every body thinking he had hard meaſure. Sir Robert Conſtable was hanged at Hull; ſir John Bulmer, ſir Thomas Percy, ſir Stephen Hamilton, Nicolas Tempeſt, and William Lumley, ſuffered at Tyburn; and Margaret Cheney, alias, lady Bulmer, was burned in Smithfield. Hall, fol. 232. Stow, p. 574. Burnet, tom. I. p. 234.

a Gerald Fitzgerald, the eighth earl of Kildare, was made deputy of Ireland, in 1515, and again in 1524. But a quarrel ariſing between him and James Butler, earl of Oſſory, the earl of Kildare was charged with male adminiſtration, and ordered by king Henry to repair to London. At his departure, he left his ſon Thomas, deputy in his room; who, upon a falſe report, that his father, (then a priſoner in the Tower) was beheaded, defied king Henry and his authority, proclaimed open war, and applied to the emperor for aſſiſtance; whereupon, he and five of his uncles were attainted, and upon the king's ſending an army into Ireland, were taken, and brought over to London, and now beheaded on February 3. Gerald Fitzgerald, the earl of Kildare's youngeſt ſon was packed up in a bundle of clothes, and conveyed to Ireland, and ſo to France, and from thence to the Low Countries; in both which places being required of our *king*, he at length fled to cardinal Pole, who finding him a fit inſtrument for his purpoſe, kept him till he might be reſtored to his country and place. Herbert, p. 212, 181.

b In the records of this year there are extant, the ſurrenders of three monaſteries only; namely, of the abby of Furneſe in Lincolnſhire, on April 9, valued at nine hundred and ſixty pounds a year. Of Bermondſey in Surrey, June 1, valued at five hundred and forty eight pounds, and of Buſhliſham, or Biſhtam, in Berkſhire, July 5, valued at two hundred and thirty ſeven pounds. Burnet, tom. I. p. 235. Collect. p. 143.

1537. teries, that is, he appointed a very ſtrict viſitation of thoſe that remained, not queſtioning but the diſcoveries which ſhould be made would promote his deſign.

Birth of prince Edward. Hall. Herbert.

The 12th of October the queen was delivered of a prince, who was called Edward. But his birth coſt his mother her life, who died two days after her delivery [c]. As the king had cauſed his two daughters by his former marriages to be declared illegitimate, nothing could be more acceptable than the birth of a ſon, who put the ſucceſſion of the crown out of all diſpute. And therefore in a few days he conferred on him, as his heir apparent, the title of prince of Wales, duke of Cornwal, and earl of Cheſter. At the ſame time, he created Edward Seymour the queen's brother and the new born prince's uncle, earl of Hertford [d].

Death of queen Jane.

Edward Seymour made earl of Hertford. Hall.

The war continues between the emperor and Francis. Bellai.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, the war ſtill continued between the emperor and the king of France, but was interrupted in Picardy by a ſix months truce concluded in July, which was followed by another in November, for Italy. As by the laſt truce, it was agreed that each ſhould keep what he poſſeſſed, the duke of Savoy remained equally deſpoiled by his enemies, and by thoſe he had called to his aſſiſtance; the common fate of petty princes!

Truce for Picardy and Italy.

Death of the queen of Scotland. Buchanan.

The queen of Scotland died in July, to the great joy of thoſe who dreaded the progreſs of the reformation, becauſe that princeſs had been educated by her aunt the queen of Navarre. Buchanan ſays, the cuſtom of wearing mourning was firſt introduced into Scotland on occaſion of her death, which cuſtom, though of forty years ſtanding, was however not yet eſtabliſhed in his time. James V. removed the uneaſineſs of thoſe, who were afraid of his being biaſſed by the deceaſed queen in favour of the new religion, by demanding

James V. demands Mary of Guiſe in marriage.

[c] The queen was delivered at Hampton Court, and died the 24th of October, as appears in a journal written by Cecil, that was in twelve days after Edward's birth: ſo it is in the Herald's office. Strype Correct. to Burnet, tom. III. p. 406, 419. She died not by the cruelty of the ſurgeons ripping up her belly to make way for the prince's birth, as ſome writers gave out, but as the original letters yet extant ſhow, ſhe died, after being well delivered, of a diſtemper incident to women in that condition. Burnet, tom. III. ibid. Queen Jane was buried in the choir at Windſor, whoſe loſs ſo much affected the king, he having always found her diſcreet, humble, and loyal, that notwithſtanding ſome good offers, he continued a widower above two years. Herbert, p. 212.

[d] Sir William Fitzwilliams was made earl of Southampton, and in March following Sir William Paulet, treaſurer of the king's houſe, was created lord St. John, and Sir John Ruſſel, controler, lord Ruſſel. Herbert, p. 212.

in

in marriage Mary of Guiſe ſiſter of the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorrain. 1537.

The affairs of religion daily grew more important in a great part of Europe, by reaſon of the progreſs of the reformation. Thoſe who had embraced it wiſhed only to live in quiet with liberty of conſcience. But this was what the old religion would never allow them. The glory of God and zeal for the intereſts of the church ſerved for pretence to this refuſal. But the real cauſes were, firſt, the pride of moſt men, who cannot bear to be told that their opinions are wrong. Secondly, the temporal intereſt of the clergy, who, wherever the reformation was eſtabliſhed, ſaw themſelves deprived of their rich benefices, the revenues of the church being applied by the reformed to uſes very different from thoſe in which they had hitherto been employed. Thirdly, the pope's intereſts, who daily loſt his ſubjects, his revenues, his credit, his authority. There was another particular cauſe in Germany, which inflamed the troubles occaſioned by religion, and that was, the emperor and his brother the king of the Romans had formed a deſign to uſe the pretence of obliging the proteſtants to re-enter the pale of the church. For that reaſon, inſtead of healing, they fomented the diviſions to the utmoſt of their power. The proteſtants complained, among other things, that a council was called at Mantua, contrary to an expreſs promiſe that it ſhould be in Germany. Beſides, they meant not to ſubmit to the deciſions of a council, where the pope preſided, and which, as they perceived, would be far from being free. The emperor amuſed them with evaſive anſwers, till all ſhould be ready to attack them. Mean while, the pope, having deferred the opening of the council from May to November, charged in that interval the cardinals Contarini, Sadoletti, Pole, Bombo, all perſons of great reputation, to examine wherein the church wanted reformation. Theſe able divines found nothing amiſs as to the doctrines. They only drew up, as to diſcipline, a liſt of ſundry trifles, which, in their opinion, deſerved to be rectified. To theſe alone they thought the reformation ought to be confined.

Diviſions in Germany about religion. Sleidan.

They are fomented by the emperor.

Grievances of the proteſtants.

The emperor's evaſive anſwers.

The pope orders commiſſioners to examine the ſtate of the church and religion.

Mean while, the emperor was very ſeriouſly thinking of the affairs of Germany, though he took great care to conceal his deſigns from the proteſtants. In order to free himſelf from all other incumbrances, and attack them with advantage, he had concluded the truce with Francis, in hopes it would ſoon be followed by a peace. He perceived, the Smalcaldick league would be an everlaſting obſtacle to the execution

The emperor's deſigns.

1537. execution of his vaſt projects, by Francis's and Henry's endeavours to gain it to their intereſts. So, his chief aim was to diſſolve that league, that he might afterwards proceed againſt England with all the forces of Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries [e].

1538. Henry eaſily judged, Charles V. and Francis I. had agreed to a truce, only in order to conclude a peace very ſoon, which would rob him of the aſſiſtance of France. So, finding he had no refuge but in his own forces in caſe of attack, he conſidered early of means to prevent inſurrections at home, which muſt have greatly embarraſſed him, if he ſhould be engaged in a foreign war. He knew, the monks hated him mortally. They were the perſons that inſpired the Engliſh with a ſpirit of rebellion, the more dangerous as religion was the principal cauſe. So, to deprive the pope and the emperor of ſuch a ſupport in his own realm, he reſolved to ſuppreſs all the religious houſes ſtill remaining in England. He had a farther motive, which was not inconſiderable, namely, to have a fund ſufficient to maintain the war, without being forced to over burden his ſubjects. But as the ſuppreſſion of part of the monaſteries had already occaſioned troubles in the kingdom, it was likely, the ſuppreſſion of all would raiſe ſtill greater. Wherefore he believed he ſhould prevent all commotions by removing the people's veneration for the monks. To that end, the report of the laſt viſitation being brought to him, he ordered it to be immediately publiſhed. Very probably, the facts inſerted concerning the diſorderly lives of the friars and nuns, were ſet forth ſo as to be ſubſervient to the king's deſigns [f]. But what conduced moſt to recover people out of their ſuperſtitious fondneſs for the religious houſes, was the diſcovery of the frauds committed there with reſpect to relicts and images. Had the buſineſs been only the debaucheries of the monks and nuns, it might have been objected, that it ſufficed to make ſtrict inquiry of thoſe who were guilty, and to puniſh them ſeverely. But

Final reſolution to ſuppreſs all the monaſteries. Herbert. Burnet.

Henry publiſhes the report of the laſt viſitation. Burnet.

Several pious frauds are diſco- Herbert. p. 213. Burnet.

[e] This year, the manner of caſting pipes of lead for conveyance of water under ground, was firſt invented by Robert Brock, one of the king's chaplains; Robert Cooper, goldſmith, making the inſtruments, and putting the invention firſt in practice. Hollingſh. p. 944.

[f] Of the confeſſions then made to the viſitors, there is only now one extant, which, probably, eſcaped the deſtruction of all papers of that kind in queen Mary's time. It is from the Benedictines of St. Andrews, in Northampton, wherein they acknowledge their paſt ill life, for which the pit of hell was ready to ſwallow them up. They confeſs, they had neglected the worſhip of God, lived in idleneſs, gluttony, ſenſuality, &c. Burnet, tom. I. p. 237.

for

for the pious frauds (as they are called,) it could hardly be thought but that the whole ſociety was concerned. For this reaſon therefore, the king, to make them as viſible as the ſun, took care publickly to expoſe the counterfeit relicks found in the monaſteries, and the ſprings by which the images of our Saviour, the virgin Mary, or any of the ſaints, were made to move, which was looked upon by the ignorant multitude as the effect of a divine power. If the reader deſires to ſee a particular account of theſe pious impoſtures, he will find it, though withal very ſhort, in the hiſtory of the reformation of England. Theſe frauds being thus detected, whatever had ſerved to engage the people in ſuperſtition, was by the king's order burnt in publick §. But what grieved the votaries moſt was, to ſee the bones of Thomas Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury, publickly burnt. They accuſed the king of acting from a motive of a ſacrilegious avarice, in order to have a pretence to ſeize the rich ſhrine of that ſaint, whereon, beſides other precious ſtones, was a very fine diamond offered in 1179

1538.

Hall. Stow. Burnet.

Becket's bones burnt, and his ſhrine ſeized.

Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert.

§ And here, ſays lord Herbert, out of our records I ſhall mention ſome of the images and relicks to which the pilgrimages of theſe times brought devotion and offerings; as our lady's girdle ſhowed in eleven places, and her milk in eight. The ſelt of St. Thomas of Lancaſter, a remedy for the headach; the penknife and boots of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and a piece of his ſhirt, much reverenced by great bellied women; the coals that roaſted St. Laurence; two or three heads of St. Urſula; Malchus's ear; and the paring of St. Edmund's nails; the image of an angel with one wing, which brought hither the ſpear's head that pierced Chriſt's ſide; an image of our lady, with a taper in her hand, which burnt nine years together without waſting, till one forſwearing himſelf thereon, it went out, and was now found to be but a piece of wood. The crucifix of Boxley in Kent, commonly called the rood of grace, was a famous impoſture, to which many pilgrimages were made, being contrived ſo as to be able, by the help of ſprings, to roll the eyes, and move the lips, to bow, to ſhake the head, hands and feet. It was ſhewed publickly at Paul's croſs, by John, biſhop of Rocheſter, and after a ſermon upon it, there broken in pieces, Feb. 24. Another great impoſture was at Hales, in Glouceſterſhire, where the blood of Chriſt, brought from Jeruſalem, was ſhowed in a chriſtal vial, and was ſaid to have this property, that if a man was in a mortal ſin, and not abſolved, he could not ſee it. Therefore every man that came to behold this miracle, was forced to continue to make preſents, till he bribed heaven to give him the ſight of ſo bleſſed a relict. This was now diſcovered to be the blood of a duck, renewed every week, and the one ſide of the vial was ſo thick, that there was no ſeeing through it, but the other was tranſparent. It was ſo placed near the altar, that one in a ſecret place behind could turn which ſide he pleaſed outward. There was brought out of Wales a huge image of wood, called Darvel Gatheren, which ſerved for fuel to burn one friar Forreſt, who adviſed people in confeſſion not to believe the king's ſupremacy. Beſides which, the images of our lady of Walſingham, of Ipſwich, of Penriſe, of Iſlington, and St. John of Oſulſton, called otherwiſe mr. John Shorne, who was ſaid to ſhut up the devil in a boot, and many others, were publickly burnt. Herbert, p. 213. Compl. Hiſt. Stow, p. 575.

1538. by Henry I. king of France, when he came in pilgrimage to Canterbury [h]. This proceeding ſo exaſperated the adherents of the old religion, that they writ in a moſt virulent manner to Rome againſt the king, comparing him to the greateſt tyrants that ever lived. Whereupon, at Rome and other places, numberleſs ſatyrs were penned, which painted Henry as the moſt execrable of men to thoſe who were not uſed to the hyperbolical expreſſions of the Italians. The king had his ſpies at Rome, who acquainting him with what was publiſhed againſt him, told him withal that to cardinal Pole the informations ſent from England were generally addreſſed, and that his ſtile was viſible in ſome of the ſatyrs. This ſo highly incenſed the king againſt the cardinal, that he made all his family and friends feel the effects, inſomuch that he would ſooner have pardoned any crime than a correſpondence with him. It is ſtrange that the cardinal, who ſeemed otherwiſe very prudent and moderate, ſhould ſo give way to his zeal or his paſſion againſt the king, that he feared not, by ſo unadviſed a behaviour, to expoſe his friends to Henry's utmoſt reſentment. His obſtinacy in this reſpect was ſo great, that at length he was the occaſion of his mother's loſing her head on the ſcaffold, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Bitter invectives againſt the king ſent to Rome. Burnet.

He is very angry with cardinal Pole.

All the king's proceedings convincing the pope that he was to expect no change in him, he publiſhed at length the bull of excommunication [i], drawn and ſigned in 1535. Moreover, he tried to excite all the princes of Chriſtendom againſt Henry, and offered the kingdom of England to the king of Scotland. Nay, Pole maintained in a book, publiſhed ſhortly after, that it was more meritorious to fight againſt Henry, than againſt the Turk. But the pope's thunders had ſo loſt their force in England, that the bull cauſed

Paul III. publiſhes a bull againſt the king. Herbert. Burnet. A violent book of Pole's.

h For three hundred years he was accounted one of the greateſt ſaints in heaven, as appears from the accounts of the leger books of the offerings to three of the greateſt altars in Chriſt's church in Canterbury. In one year there was offered at Chriſt's altar, 3 l. 2 s. 6 d. At the virgin's altar, 63 l. 5 s. 6 d. But at St. Thomas's, 832 l. 12 s. 3 d. The next year the odds grew greater: at Chriſt's altar not a penny; at the virgin's only 4 l. 1 s. 8 d; but at St. Thomas's, 954 l. 6 s. 3 d. The rich ſtone was offered by Lewis VII. of France, which our king ſet in a ring and wore on his thumb. The ſpoil of the ſhrine in gold and precious ſtones filled two cheſts, which were ſo heavy, that they were a load to eight ſtrong men to carry them out of the church. His name was ſtruck out of the Kalendar: the day of raiſing his body, or as they called it, his tranſlation, being the 7th of July, which was not only a holiday, but every 50th year there was a jubilee for fifteen days together, and indulgence granted to all that viſited his ſhrine. Burnet, tom. I. p. 244. Stow, p. 576.

i On Decemb. 17. Herbert, p. 216. Burnet, tom. I. p. 245, 248.

no

no commotion, or if it produced any effect, it was quite contrary to what the pope expected. Henry being more provoked with him, took ſo good precautions to hinder him from executing his deſigns, that he thereby advanced the reformation much more than he intended. As ſoon as he had heard of the bulls being publiſhed, he required the biſhops and abbots to ſwear again to renounce the papal authority. At the ſame time, the new tranſlation of the bible being preſented to him, he ordered fifteen hundred copies to be printed, and ſet up in the principal churches, being ſatisfied that nothing would be found there to ſupport the exorbitant power aſſumed by the pope over all Chriſtendom [k]. 1538.

Henry orders the new verſion of the bible to be printed. Burnet. Stow. Strype.

Shortly after, an injunction was publiſhed by the vicegerent, to teach the people the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in Engliſh. Moreover, all incumbents were ordered to inſtruct the people by declaring, they muſt not truſt in other men's works, but in their own; and that relicks, beads, and the like, were unneceſſary to ſalvation. They were alſo to take down all images, to which offerings were wont to be made, and to ſuffer no candles to be ſet up before any image, except our ſaviour's. In fine, they were to ſuppreſs all the Ora pro Nobis's which were added to the prayers addreſſed to the ſaints [l].

The vicegerent's injunctions about images. Burnet. T. I. p. 249. Strype.

This injunction was deemed a mortal wound to the old religion, whoſe adherents were in the utmoſt conſternation. But no man dared to ſtir, ſo abſolute a ſway had the king acquired over his ſubjects. Nay, the moſt diſcontented affected a blind ſubmiſſion to his will, knowing the leaſt ſuſpicion would ruin them.

Submiſſion of the Engliſh to the king's will. Burnet.

[k] Grafton the printer, printed fifteen hundred at his own charge, which amounted to five hundred pounds. This bible was preſented to the king by Cromwell, who procured the king's warrant, allowing all to read it without controul. For which Cranmer wrote Cromwell a letter of thanks, dated the 13th of Auguſt. The tranſlation had been ſent over to be printed at Paris, the workmen in England not being judged able to do it as it ought to be. It was recommended to Bonner's care, then ambaſſador at Paris, and much in Cromwell's favour. It was printed in a large volume; but upon complaint of the French clergy, the preſs was ſtoped, and moſt of the copies ſeized and burnt: but ſome were conveyed out of the way, and the workmen and forms brought over to England, where it was now finiſhed. And one of theſe bibles were to be ſet up in every church, at the joint charge of the incumbent, and the pariſhioners. Burnet, tom. I. p. 249. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 308.

[l] Every incumbent was likewiſe enjoined to keep a regiſter of weddings, chriſtenings, and burials. And to preach one ſermon every quarter of a year at leaſt. See Burnet, tom. I. Collect. p. 180. Stow, p. 576.

1538. Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter was now returned from his embaſſy to France. He was one of the zealous adherents of the old religion. Nay, he was ſuſpected of being privately reconciled to the pope, and of holding correſpondence with the emperor. But he ſo artfully diſſembled his ſentiments, that he perſuaded the king, it was only the devices of his enemies, on purpoſe to ruin him. It is however certain, though the king ſeemed ſatisfied, he had no great eſteem for him, and yet ſuffered him to be near him on account of his extreme ſubmiſſion. His blind condeſcenſion to the king's will afforded him many opportunities to ſerve the party he privately favoured. The king conſidering him not as a ſuſpected perſon, ſince he ſo readily complied with his orders, freely liſtened to him when he ſpoke againſt the Sacramentarians, being ſtill extremely prepoſſeſſed in favour of the doctrine of the real preſence of Chriſt's body in the ſacrament. Then Gardiner could explain his ſentiments without fear, becauſe they agreed with the king's. He inſinuated to him, that ſo long as he left that doctrine untouched, he would never be accuſed of changing his religion, but would rather be extolled for having purged it in preſerving the eſſentials. Thus Gardiner engaged him to perſecute the Sacramentarians, not ſo much from a religious as from a political motive. He knew the king's temper to be impatient of contradiction. And therefore, by engaging him to maintain a doctrine which thoſe of the new religion could not admit, he hoped their reſiſtance would provoke him againſt them, and thereby he would be more eaſily led to be reconciled to the pope. That is to ſay properly, he employed, to alienate the king from the proteſtants, the ſame means they uſed to prejudice him againſt their adverſaries. But neither could ſucceed. Henry reformed himſelf but by halves, and was never reconciled to the court of Rome. As he was grown abſolute, he would never ſuffer his ſubjects to go farther than himſelf, but compelled them to ſtop where he was pleaſed to ſtop, equally ſevere, or rather unmerciful, to thoſe who refuſed to follow him, and to thoſe who would go beyond him. He ſhowed this year an inſtance of rigour capable of making the reformers deſpair of any farther progreſs.

Gardiner puts the king upon proſecuting the reformed. Burnet.

One John Nicolſon, alias Lambert, being informed againſt as a Sacramentarian [m], the king convened a great aſſembly in

[m] Lambert had been miniſter to the Engliſh merchants at Antwerp, where being acquainted with Tindal, and Frith, he became of their opinion. He afterwards

in Weſtminſter-hall, where he was pleaſed himſelf to diſpute publickly with the party accuſed. The match was by no means equal. Lambert ſtood alone without a ſecond; but the king was ſurrounded with a crowd of perſons, who applauded his arguments, and deemed them invincible; whereas none dared to approve of what Lambert aſſerted. The diſpute ended with the king's putting it to the choice of the unfortunate Lambert, either to abjure his opinion, or be burnt. But whatever advantage the king ſeemed to have, he may be ſaid to be vanquiſhed, ſince he was forced to fly to ſo rigorous a method to convince his adverſary, after flattering himſelf to perſuade him by dint of reaſon; otherwiſe, probably, he would not have engaged in the diſpute. However, he ſucceeded not by this extraordinary way, ſince Lambert choſe rather to die than abjure the opinion he ſtill believed [n]. Henry had no occaſion to be flattered. He had but too good a conceit of himſelf. Nevertheleſs, Gardiner and the reſt of his party took occaſion from the diſpute to extol him above the moſt learned divines of the age. They inſpired him with ſuch an opinion of his learning, that he thought his notions ought to be a ſtandard to all. But contrary to the expectations of his flatterers, this conceit of himſelf was no leſs fatal to them than to the other party, ſince he reſolved to puniſh ſeverely and indifferently all who dared to ſwerve from what he himſelf deemed reaſonable.

1538. Henry diſputes publickly with Lambert. Hall. Burnet. Fox. Stow. He is highly flattered. Burnet.

About this time the emperor concluded with France a ten years truce, of which I ſhall ſpeak preſently. Henry, not Negotiations with the German proteſtants. Herbert.

afterwards kept ſchool at London, and hearing doctor Taylor preach of the real preſence, he came to him upon it, and gave him his reaſons in writing, why he could not believe the doctrine he preached. Taylor carried theſe arguments to Cranmer, who was at that time of Luther's opinion, which he had imbibed from his friend Oſiander. Latimer was of the ſame belief. Lambert being brought before them, they ſtudied to make him retract his argument, but all was in vain, for Lambert fatally appealed to the king. Whereupon Gardiner perſuaded the king, to proceed ſolemnly and ſeverely in it. The king was ſoon prevailed with. So letters were written to many of the nobility and biſhops to come and hear this trial. In November, on the day prefixed, there was a great appearance in the hall. The king's guards were all in white, and ſo was the cloth of ſtate. Burnet, tom. I. p. 252.

[n] Lambert diſputed with ten one after another, particularly the king, Cranmer, Tunſtal, and Stokeſly. Cromwell read his ſentence, declaring him an incorrigible heretick, and condemning him to be burnt. Which was ſoon after executed in Smithfield, in a barbarous manner; for when his legs and thighs were burnt to the ſtumps, there not being fire enough to conſume the reſt, two of the officers, raiſing his body up with their halberds, let him fall into the fire, where he was quickly conſumed to aſhes. Burnet, tom. I. p. 254.

1538. doubting, it was in order to invade him, considered of means to raise the emperor troubles, which should divert him from his purpose. The Smalcaldick league furnished him with a good opportunity. But the preservation of the Augsburg confession being the sole foundation of that league, he did not see that he could possibly join in it, to support a religion, all whose articles were not approved by him. So his design was, either to bring the protestants to conclude with him a general league, which should not be limited to the defence of their religion, or prevail with them to be satisfied with the reformation he had himself introduced into England. To that end he sent ambassadors [o] with instructions to see who were the confederates, and in case the league was confined to religion only, to desire them to send some of their ablest divines to try, whether a common religion might not be agreed upon. The protestants replied, their league consisted of twenty six imperial cities, and twenty four princes, among whom the king of Denmark was lately admitted: that at present they could not be without their divines, but desired him to declare himself positively upon he proposition made him, of embracing the Augsburg confession. Some time after, they sent ambassadors capable of disputing upon the points of religion. But this embassy was fruitless. Henry found in the Germans men of a very different stamp from his own subjects, and little inclined to compliance. They would not allow him communion in one kind, private masses, auricular confession, celibacy of priests, and gave him their reasons in writing; to which he replied, though to very little purpose. As he could not put the same choice to them as he had done to Lambert, he was forced to dismiss them without any conclusion, being as little satisfied with them as they were with him.

Herbert. p. 212, 217. Strype's Mem. T. I. p. 328.

The interest of the reformers declines at court. Burnet.

Mean while, the interest of the reformers began visibly to decline at court since the queen's death. There were only Cromwell and Cranmer that supported it by their credit and merit. Cromwell however was accused of being too self-interested, and of thinking much more of his own than of the concerns of religion. As to the rest of the lower rank, there were few of eminent note. Shaxton bishop of Sarum was proud and litigious: Latimer bishop of Worcester was despised for his weakness and simplicity; Barlow, who had been prior of Bisham, and afterwards bishop of St. Asaph,

Characters of the heads of the party.

o Christopher Mount, and Thomas Paynel, in March. Herbert, p. 212, 217. Strype, p. 328.

had

had no great judgment. In general, the preachers of the new religion ſuffered themſelves to be carried away with an indiſcreet zeal, and without conſidering the king's temper, followed the motions of their conſcience, let what would be the conſequence. So, never troubling themſelves about the effects of their zeal, they publickly preached doctrines, not yet approved by the king, which very much conduced to prejudice him againſt them, and all others who deſired to advance the reformation. 1538.

In the mean time, Edward Fox biſhop of Hereford departing this life, the reformers thought to do a good act in procuring Edmund Bonner that ſee, who had been ambaſſador in Spain, and afterwards in France, from whence he was lately recalled at the inſtance of Francis I. who was not pleaſed with him. Shortly after, they cauſed him to be promoted to the ſee of London, vacant by the death of Stokeſly [p]. But they were greatly miſtaken in their choice, ſince this prelate, who was ſo much obliged to them, became afterwards one of their moſt mortal enemies. Bonner made biſhop of Hereford, and then of London. Burnet.

At length, Cromwell and Cranmer ſeeing their party decay, and that the king began to liſten to the enemies of the reformation, in ſuch a manner as made them dread the conſequences, deemed it neceſſary to ſupport their party by means of a queen, who ſhould afford them protection [q]. They had happily experienced, how much Anne Bullen and Jane Seymour had helped to ſoften the king's temper towards the reformed, and they did not queſtion, that in caſe they could give him a wife of the like diſpoſition, ſhe would produce the ſame effect. For this reaſon, they turned their eyes towards Germany, and Cromwell undertook to negotiate a marriage between the king and Anne of Cleve, ſiſter to the duke of Cleve and the ducheſs of Saxony. We ſhall ſee the next year the ſucceſs of the negotiation, after a brief mention of the foreign affairs. Cranmer and Cromwell project to marry the king with a proteſtant. Herbert. They caſt their eyes upon Anne of Cleve.

The emperor's and the king of France's forces were too equal, for either to expect any great advantages from a war they were left to wage all alone. Francis had ill taken his meaſures, in imagining that Henry would declare for him, that the potentates of Italy would endeavour to ſhake off the emperor's yoke, and that the proteſtants of Germany The truce between the emperor and Francis is prolonged. Bellai. Mezerai.

[p] He was elected biſhop, October 20. Stow, p. 576.

[q] The emperor had ſome time before propoſed a marriage between king Henry, and Chriſtiana, ducheſs of Milan, ſecond daughter of Chriſtiern, king of Denmark; but the propoſal did not take effect. See Herbert, p. 214. Hall, fol. 233.

1538. would embrace the opportunity of the war, to eſtabliſh the liberty of conſcience to which they aſpired, and of which they were threatened to be deprived. But nothing of all this happening, he ſaw himſelf charged alone with almoſt an inſupportable burden. On the other hand, the emperor was afraid Francis would at length unite all theſe powers againſt him, and the emperor of the Turks improve ſo favourable a juncture to invade Germany. The pope alſo feared the ſame thing, and that the coaſts of Italy would be infeſted by the infidels. This, added to the deſire of being revenged of the king of England, put him upon ſeeking means to procure a peace between the emperor and the king of France, that Henry being left alone, might be more eaſily invaded. To this end he propoſed to the two hoſtile monarchs a meeting at Nice, where he offered to come and act as mediator. The propoſal being accepted, they all three met at that place about the middle of June, the pope conferring ſometimes with the one, ſometimes with the other, without the two monarchs ever ſeeing each other during the whole negotiation. The pope had his reaſons for hindering them from conferring together, but by his means. He had a mind to treat privately of a marriage between Octavian Farneſe his nephew, and Margaret the emperor's natural daughter, widow of Alexander de Medici, and indeed the project ſucceeded to his wiſh.

Both inclined to peace.

The pope and emperor.

Herbert.

Truce for ten years.

Mean while, as the peace between the emperor and the king of France could not be effected, by reaſon of the many difficulties which occurred, the pope obtained of the two monarchs at laſt their conſent to a ten year's truce, which was almoſt as effectual as a peace. The truce being concluded, Paul III. immediately thought of means to form a league againſt the Turks. But as ſeveral reaſons hindered the kings of France and England from coming into it, he was forced to conclude it with the emperor, the king of the Romans, and the Venetians.

League againſt the Turks.

Francis I. ſlights Henry. Herbert.

When Francis had nothing more to fear from the emperor, he grew very cool to Henry, though he had extremely careſſed him ſo long as he ſtood in need of him. Henry was exceedingly incenſed, and ſhowed his reſentment, by ordering Bon[illegible] in his return from Spain, to ſtop at the French court. [illegible] rebel, who was retired into F[illegible] penſion, there being now fo[illegible] was naturally very bold, deliver[illegible] that Francis, offended at his inſole[illegible] to know whether he

he had ordered his ambaſſador to uſe ſuch language, and to deſire Bonner might be recalled. Henry thought fit to comply with his demand. But it appeared he was not very angry with Bonner, ſince at his arrival he promoted him, as has been ſaid, to the ſee of Hereford, and ſhortly after, to that of London. 1538.

Bonner behaves inſolently to the king of France, who has him recalled.

Whilſt Henry uſed all poſſible precautions to ſecure himſelf from the attacks of his enemies, cardinal Pole was labouring with all his power, by means of his correſpondents in England, to alienate from him the hearts of his ſubjects, by publiſhing every where that he had ſubverted all religion to ſet up his own fictions. This accuſation was the moſt ſenſible wound that could be given the king, ſince he pretended, religion conſiſted not in the things he had changed, but in thoſe he had retained. This is what he ſtrove to demonſtrate to the people, becauſe he plainly perceived, the general accuſation of having ſubverted religion could not but greatly poiſon their allegiance. Accordingly, Pole and his emiſſaries chiefly inſiſted upon this, in order to raiſe diſturbances in the kingdom. Several have thought, the cardinal had ſome private views which concerned not religion. He was of the houſe of York by his mother, and is ſaid alſo to have an inclination for the princeſs Mary, and to beſtir himſelf thus, in order to marry, and ſet her on the throne in the room of her father. At leaſt, there is reaſon to ſuſpect, his extraordinary zeal was fortified by ſome hidden views, and that in acting for the pope, he was labouring his own advancement. But this is only conjecture. However, Sir Jeffrey Pole, near relation of the cardinal [r], privately acquainted the king that he held correſpondence with Henry Courtney Marquis of Exeter, grandſon of Edward IV. [s]; with Henry Pole [t] lord Montague: with ſir Edward Nevil [u] and with ſir Nicholas Carew, maſter of the horſe, and knight of the garter: and that his inſtruments were a prieſt and a mariner. Upon this information, theſe perſons were apprehended, condemned and executed [w], but the informer was pardoned, as a reward for his intelligence. No other circumſtances of their trial are known but their correſponding with Pole, an unpardonable crime, as the king then ſtood affected to that cardinal.

Cardinal Pole labours to raiſe the king troubles. Herbert.

The cardinal's private views. Burnet. T. I. p. 221.

Several of his correſpondents in England are executed. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

[r] The cardinal's own brother.
[s] By the princeſs Catherine, married to the earl of Devonſhire.
[t] Another of the cardinal's brothers.
[u] Brother to the lord Abergavenny.
[w] The marquis of Exeter, and lord Montague were arraigned on December 3, and Sir Edward Nevil, January 2. Thomas lord Audley, ſitting as high ſteward, Hall, fol. 233.

During

1538. During the courſe of this year, Henry eſtabliſhed ſeveral ſuffragan biſhops. He required alſo of all the religious a new oath, whereby they expreſsly renounced the papal authority, and acknowledged the king's ſupremacy. There were ſome that refuſed to ſwear, but I know not in what manner their obſtinacy was puniſhed.

Suffragan biſhops. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 577, &c. 554, &c.

The pope and the emperor being then employed in their preparations againſt the Turk, his holineſs made uſe of that pretence to put off the meeting of the council to the 1ſt of May 1540, and at the ſame time removed it from Mantua to Vicenza.

The council is removed to Vicenza. Sleidan.

The marriage between the king of Scotland and Mary of Lorrain being concluded this year, the new queen came to Scotland about the middle of June.

The new queen arrives in Scotland.

1539. The laſt viſitation of the monaſteries tended only, as has been obſerved, to ſeek apparent reaſons to ſuppreſs them. The king had now reſolved it, and the enormities, true or falſe, of the monks, were only a cover for his revenge and perhaps for his avarice [x]. The viſitation being over, he ſent into the ſeveral counties commiſſioners to receive the ſurrenders, the abbots and priors were to make to their houſes [y]. There are extant in the collection of the publick acts, many of theſe ſurrenders, which, though very involuntary, contained however the feigned reaſons which had moved the monks and their ſuperiors to reſign of their own accord all their lands to the king. In ſome, they were made to ſay only, they were induced thereto by juſt and reaſonable cauſes. But in others of greater length they were made to alledge, "That what they had hitherto obſerved, conſiſted "only in dumb ceremonies, and conſtitutions of the biſhops "of Rome and other foreign potentates; who had taken no "care of their inſtruction, or to reform the many abuſes "which had hitherto prevailed in their houſes; but that de-"ſiring to live for the future according to the rule preſcribed "by Chriſt, the evangeliſts, and the apoſtles, they deemed

Surrenders of the monaſteries to the king. Burnet.

Suppoſed motives thereof. Act. Pub. tom. XIV. p. 603, &c.

Ib. p. 610, &c. Burnet. T. I. Coll. p. 150.

[x] Though great faults were diſcovered by the viſitors, yet it is certain, that they were themſelves guilty of great acts of viol[illegible] They embezzle[illegible] and furnitur[illegible] monaſteries. [illegible] the viſitors, [illegible] nuns belongi[illegible] nerally it w[illegible] hand and ill [illegible] fore to quiet theſe reports, and to give ſome colour to what was done, all the foul ſtories that could be invented, were publiſhed to defame the viſited [illegible] Burnet, T. I. p. 241. [illegible] the year 1538, there were [illegible] monaſteries ſuppreſſed, and [illegible] undred and one." See the [illegible] em in Rymer's Fœd. tom. [illegible], &c. and Burnet, T. I. [illegible] 144, 145.

"it

" it expedient for them to be governed by the king; their 1539.
" ſupreme head on earth: that therefore they ſubmitted
" themſelves to his mercy, and ſurrendered to him their
" houſes, with all things belonging thereto: that they be-
" ſought him to grant to each of them a penſion for their
" ſubſiſtence, and an expreſs licence to take a ſecular habit,
" and be admitted into livings like other eccleſiaſticks."
Others ſaid, " They had conſidered that chriſtianity con-
" ſiſted not in the practice of ceremonies, in wearing black,
" grey, or white habits, and in nodding with the head,
" wearing cords, with great knots about their middle, and
" the like, wherein they had been inſtructed and ſeduced.
" But that the true way of ſerving God was taught in the
" goſpel. And therefore, deſiring for the future to walk by
" that good rule, they ſubmitted themſelves to the ſupreme
" head of the church of England, and renouncing all ſu-
" perſtitions and foreign traditions, they reſigned their houſes
" to the king, with all things thereunto belonging." Others
ſurrendered their houſes by way of agreement between them
and the king, for the cauſes ſpecified in the deed itſelf [z].
But there are not in the collection of the publick acts, any
deeds of this kind at full length, where any of theſe cauſes
may be ſeen. It can only be gathered from what ſome au- Burnet.
thors ſay, that theſe cauſes were, either the houſes were T. I. p. 236.
overwhelmed with debts, or the revenues had been ill ma-
naged [a], or there had been committed crimes deſerving a ſe-
vere puniſhment, from which they were exempted on account
of the ſurrender. Be this as it will, the king having reſolved
at any rate to ſuppreſs all the monaſteries, the oppoſition of
the abbots, priors and monks would have been ineffectual.
Accordingly, perceiving plainly, that by fair means or force
they ſhould be compelled to ſubmit to his will, the greateſt
part thought it moſt prudent to do it with a good grace,
and make the beſt bargain they could for themſelves. The
abbot or prior, with the chief monks of each houſe, be-
ing gained beforehand either by promiſes or threats, the

[z] The general form in which moſt of the ſurrenders begin, is, " That " the abbot and brethren, upon full " deliberation, certain knowledge, of " their own proper motion, for cer-" tain juſt and reaſonable cauſes, eſ-" pecially moving them in their ſouls " and conſciences, did freely, and of " their own accord, give and grant " their houſes to the king." See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 604. Burnet, tom. I. p. 238.

[a] The viſitors found ſuch depredations committed in the rich abbey of St. Albans, that an abbot could not ſubſiſt any longer, the rents being ſo low. Burnet, T. I. p. 236, &c.

reſt

1539. reſt had hardly courage enough to make a fruitleſs reſiſtance [b].

The firſt ſuppreſſion of the leſſer monaſteries was done by act of parliament. But the king was pleaſed this ſhould appear to be entirely voluntary, as if the abbots, priors and monks had been induced of themſelves to ſurrender their houſes. A thing however ſo notoriouſly falſe, that not a man could be ignorant how forced theſe ſurrenders were. It muſt be confeſſed, that herein Henry ſtrangely abuſed the abſolute power he had acquired over his ſubjects, of whom not one dared publickly to find fault with his conduct, and ſtill leſs, openly to oppoſe his will. However he uſed artifice to make the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries to be received with leſs concern. Whilſt the commiſſioners were receiving the ſurrenders, he called a parliament for the 28th of April. At the ſame time, he cauſed a report to be ſpread that the kingdom was going to be invaded [c]. He confirmed the report by going in perſon to viſit the coaſts, by commanding forts and redoubts to be built in ſeveral places [d], and by giving preſſing orders to fit out a fleet, and keep the troops in a readineſs to march upon the firſt notice. The intent of all theſe proceedings was, to let the people ſee that the parliament would be obliged to lay heavy taxes to reſiſt the pretended invaſion, but that the king acquiring a large revenue by the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, would have no occaſion for a ſubſidy. The yearly value of the religious houſes amounted to one hundred ſixty one thouſand one hundred pounds ſterling, according to the rate they had been laſt farmed at [e]. But it muſt be obſerved, the abbots and priors foreſeeing

The king's artifice to get the ſuppreſſions received. Hall. fol. 234, 235 Stow. Hollingſh. Burnet. Herbert.

Revenues of the ſuppreſſed monaſteries.

[b] Beſides promiſes and threats, the king had another way of gaining the abbots to his will. Upon a vacancy, an abbot was put in only to reſign up the houſe. For after the king's ſupremacy was eſtabliſhed, the abbots formerly confirmed by the pope, were placed in this manner. The king granted a congé d'eſlire to the prior and convent, with a miſſive letter, declaring the name of the perſon whom they ſhould chuſe [illegible] election to the [illegible] gave his aſſent [illegible] the great ſeal, [illegible] the vicegerent [illegible] confirmed the [illegible] back to the [illegible] upon which [illegible] ſtored. Thus all the abbots were now placed by the king, and were generally pickt out to ſerve this turn. Burnet, tom. I. p. 236.

[c] By ſeveral princes, who were ſtirred up by the pope and cardinal Pole. Stow, p. 576.

[d] Many of which we have at this day. He built particularly Dover-pier. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 306. Herbert, p. 217.

[e] [illegible] given in at one hundred [illegible] two-thouſand five hundred [illegible] fifteen pounds, eighteen [illegible] pence. Stevens's Hiſt. [illegible] 5. The number of [illegible] ſuppreſſed firſt and laſt in [illegible] Wales, according to Camden, [illegible] hundred forty three, together

foreſeeing the impending ſtorm, had ſet the yearly rents very low, and raiſed the fines very high, that they might have wherewithal to ſubſiſt when they ſhould be turned out of their houſes [f]. The king pretended not to mind it, being on the contrary very glad, the people were not acquainted with the whole profit which accrued to him from theſe ſuppreſſions. Beſides the rents of the lands belonging to the monaſteries, the king had moreover a very conſiderable ſum ariſing from the church ornaments, plate, goods, lead, bells, materials, which he thought not proper to have valued, but it may be judged of by this ſingle article, namely, that in the abbey of St. Edmundſbury alone there was found five thouſand marks of gold and ſilver in bullion [g]. 1539. Speed. p. 801. Burnet. Herbert. p. 218.

The ruin of the monks was a great occaſion of joy and triumph to thoſe who had already embraced the reformation, or who wiſhed it could be embraced without danger. But they had not cauſe long to rejoice. Henry reſolving to ſhow, that in aboliſhing the papal authority, and deſtroying the monaſteries, he had not changed his religion, gave very ſoon an unqueſtionable proof of it. The parliament meeting the 28th of April, immmediately made, by the direction of the court, a law, entitled, "An act for aboliſhing diverſity of "opinions in certain articles concerning chriſtian religion." This is the law that is more commonly known by the name of the bloody ſtatute. The penalty of burning or hanging was enacted againſt thoſe, Henry ſhews he intends not to alter religion. Burnet. Herbert. The parliament. Hall. The bloody ſtatute.

I. Who by word or writing denied tranſubſtantiation.

II. Who maintained that communion in both kinds was neceſſary.

gether with ninety colleges, two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy four chantries, and free chapels, and one hundred and ten hoſpitals. Herbert, p. 218.

[f] This had been the practice all along, as well as juſt before the diſſolution of the abbies. The abbots were wont to hold the leaſes low, and raiſe great fines; by that means they were not obliged to entertain a greater number in their houſe, and ſo enriched themſelves and their brethren by the ſaid fines. This turned greatly to the king's advantage. Burnet.

[g] As this was the laſt parliament the abbots were ſummoned to, it will not be amiſs to inſert the names and number of the mitred or parliamentary abbots, who in the journals of parliament in this reign had their writs, being twenty eight; Abington, St. Albans, St. Auſtin's Canterbury, Battel, St. Bennet's in the Holm, Berdeney, Cirenceſter, Colcheſter, Coventry, Croyland, St. Edmundſbury, Eveſham, Glaſſenbury, Glouceſter, Hide, Malmſbury, St. Mary's in York, Peterborough, Ramſey, Reading, Selby, Shrewſbury, Taveſtock, Tewkſbury, Thorney, Waltham, Weſtminſter, Winchelcomb; to whom the prior of St. John may be added. Burnet, tom. I. p. 268.

1539. III. Or that it was lawful for priests to marry.

IV. Or that vows of chastity may be broken.

V. Or that private masses are unprofitable.

VI. Or lastly, That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation [h].

The laws concerning religion serve to increase the king's authority.

By this and some former laws, which settled what was to be believed in matter of religion, all the subjects were almost equally liable to the pains enacted therein. Indeed, this last law with those that were made before against the pope's authority, contained the king's belief, but not the nation's. There was hardly a person in the kingdom but what believed either more or less, and yet no one dared openly to swerve from it either to the right or left. The reformed however were the greatest sufferers by it, and indeed it was levelled against them. Gardiner bishop of Winchester was the real author of it. He had intimated to the king, that it was the only means to hinder a league from being formed against him. That what he had abolished not being essential to religion, nor considered as such by the generality of chri-

Gardiner author of the six articles.

h There was first a committee appointed for examining the different opinions, and drawing up articles for an agreement, consisting of Cromwell, the two archbishops, the bishops of Durham, Bath and Wells, Ely, Bangor, Carlisle and Worcester. But having spent eleven days in debates, the duke of Norfolk on the sixteenth of May told the lords, that the committee had made no progress, not being of one mind. Therefore he offered some articles to their consideration, that they might be examined by the whole house, and a perpetual law made for the observation of them. These were the six articles above. Cranmer argued against them three days together, though his arguments are lost, there being nothing remaining of what passed in the house, but what is conveyed to us in the journal, which is short and defective. On the twenty fourth of May, the parliament, for what reason is not known, [illegible] When bei[illegible] ed in th[illegible] might be b[illegible] as offend[illegible] Whereupo[illegible] archbishop [illegible] contest brought to the house the seventh of June; it was read a second time on the ninth, and on the tenth it was engrossed, and read the third time. When it passed, the king desired Cranmer to go out of the house, since he could not give his consent to it; but he humbly excused himself, for he thought he was bound in conscience to stay and vote against it. On the twenty eighth, after passing in the house of commons, it had the royal assent. Besides the six articles, "All the marriages of priests are declared void, "and if a priest lived with a woman "as his wife, he was to be judged a "felon; and if as his concubine, upon "the first conviction to forfeit all his "benefices, &c. and upon second conviction to suffer as a felon. The "women so offending were to be "punished in the same manner. For "the execution of this act, commissions were to be issued out to all "archbishops, bishops, their chancel- [illegible] commissaries, and such o- [illegible] king shall name, to [illegible] sions quarterly or oft- [illegible] proceed upon present- [illegible] ury." Burnet, tom. I,

stians,

ſtians, no man of ſound judgment could deem him heretical, 1539.
ſo long as he maintained theſe ſix articles, which entirely diſtinguiſhed true catholicks from ſectaries and innovators. This was really taking the king by his weak ſide! But, beſides this motive, the king had another which was no leſs powerful, namely, by adding this law to thoſe already made againſt the pope, he rendered his ſubjects ſo dependent upon him, that there was ſcarce a man but what was obnoxious to be called to an account. So the pope's friends and the reformed were equally in his power. Conſequently they were equally concerned not to diſpleaſe him in any thing, but rather blindly to ſubmit to his will. Cranmer alone ventured publickly and for three days together, to argue againſt the bill before it paſſed. But as ſoon as it had received the ſeal of the publick authority, he ſent away his wife into Germany till better times [i].

Cranmer argues againſt them in vain.

By another act the parliament granted to the king the lands of the religious houſes, which were ſuppoſed to have been freely ſurrendered to him. So, this ſtatute was rather a confirmation of what had been done, than an ordinance for the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries [k]. As the king had intimated that he intended to employ the revenues, he had acquired, in uſeful foundations, the parliament paſſed a bill for giving him power to erect new biſhopricks. Burnet.

The parliament grants the lands of the monaſteries to the king. He is empowered to erect new ſees.

Never

[i] He married a kinſwoman of Oſiander's the divine of Noremberg during his embaſſy with the emperor, about the year 1532. Herbert, p. 219.

[k] This act paſſed in the houſe of peers without any proteſtation made by any of the abbots, though it appears by the journal, that at the firſt reading of it, there were eighteen abbots preſent, at the ſecond twenty, and ſeventeen at the third. It was ſoon diſpatched by the commons, and offered to the royal aſſent. By it no religious houſes were ſuppreſſed, as is generally taken for granted, but only the ſurrenders that either had been, or were to be made, were confirmed. The laſt proviſo in it for annulling all exemptions of churches and chapels, had been a great happineſs to the church, if it had not been for the clauſe, "That the king might appoint others "to viſit them." For many of thoſe who purchaſed theſe lands with the impropriated tithes, got this likewiſe in their grants, that they ſhould be the viſitors of the churches formerly exempted, from whence great diſorders have ſince followed; for the incumbents being under no reſtraints, have often been ſcandalous to the church. This abuſe, which firſt ſprung from the ancient exemptions granted by the ſee of Rome, has not yet met with an effectual remedy. It was queſtioned, whether the lands belonging to the abbies ought to have returned to the founders and donors by way of reverter, or to have fallen to the lords of whom the lands were holden by way of eſcheat, or to have come to the crown. The endowments of the heathenish temples were, in Theodoſius's time, after a mature debate, adjudged to the emperor's exchequer, upon this reaſon, that by the will of the donors they were totally alienated from them, and their heirs. But in England it went

1539. Never was parliament more devoted to the king's will. They were not ſatisfied with approving whatever the king had done, but alſo whatever he might do for the future. It was enacted this ſeſſion, that the ſame obedience ſhould be paid to the king's proclamations, or to the orders of the council during a minority, as to the acts of parliament. It was pretended, that caſes might happen where the king had not time to call a parliament, and yet it was neceſſary for the good of the realm that his orders ſhould be executed, otherwiſe there might be danger of falling into great inconveniencies. Thus to avoid a poſſible but withal an uncommon inconvenience, another much more conſiderable was run into, by giving the ſovereign a deſpotick power. For if his orders were to be obeyed without the concurrence of the parliament, he had no occaſion to call one if he did not think it proper. It is true, there were ſome limitations in the act, as that no perſon ſhould be deprived of life or eſtate by virtue of the king's proclamation, nor any laws or cuſtoms broken or ſubverted thereby. But theſe reſtrictions were ſo ambiguouſly worded, that it was eaſy for the king to evade them. Upon this act were grounded the great changes of religion in the nonage of Edward VI.

An extraordinary act for increaſing the royal power.

Another about precedency. Statut. c. 10.

In this ſame ſeſſion the parliament paſſed an act to regulate the precedency of the officers of ſtate, by which Cromwell, the king's vicegerent in eccleſiaſtical affairs, though a locksmith's ſon, had the precedence of all perſons next the royal family [1].

Laſtly,

went otherwiſe, for when the order of the knights templers was diſſolved, it was then judged in favour of the lord by eſcheat. And this muſt have held good, if thoſe alienations and endowments had been abſolute without any condition. But the endowments being generally made in conſideration of ſo many maſſes to be ſaid for their ſouls, then it was moſt juſt, that upon a non-performance of the condition, and when the cheat which the monks had put upon the world was diſcovered, the lands ſhould have returned to the founders, and their heirs and ſucceſſors. Now was there any grounds for the lords to [illegible] eſpecially conſented [illegible] ments [illegible] of excludi[illegible] ſo. But for the founders and donors, certainly if there had not been a particular proviſo made againſt them, they might have recovered the lands their anceſtors had ſuperſtitiouſly given away, and the ſurrenders to the crown could not have cut off their title. But this act did that effectually. It is true, many of them were of royal foundation, and theſe would have returned to the crown without diſpute. See Burnet, vol. I. p. 262.

[1] By this act, it was ordered, 1. That no perſon of what ſtate, degree, or condition ſoever, except only the king's children, ſhall thenceforward ſit [illegible] the cloth of eſtate in [illegible] chamber (as the two [illegible] d to do. See Fiddes's [illegible], p. 302.) 2. That [illegible] ll ſit in this order, on the

Laſtly, The parliament confirmed the ſentence of death paſſed upon the marquiſs of Exeter and the reſt who had been executed for holding a correſpondence with cardinal Pole. Moreover for the ſame reaſon, they attainted the counteſs of Saliſbury the cardinal's mother, and the marchioneſs of Exeter, without bringing them to a trial. This laſt act met with great oppoſition in the parliament, many objecting that to condemn perſons unheard was a breach of the moſt ſacred and unalterable rules of juſtice. But Cromwell having ſent for the judges to his houſe, aſked them, whether the parliament had power to condemn perſons accuſed without a hearing? The judges replied, it was a nice and dangerous queſtion; that equity, juſtice, and all ſorts of laws required that the accuſed ſhould be heard; that however, the parliament being the ſupreme court of the realm; from which there could be no appeal, the validity of their ſentences, of what nature ſoever they were, could not be queſtioned. This was ſaying in other words, that the parliament would therein commit an injuſtice, for which they could not be called to an account. Cromwell having reported to the parliament the opinion of the judges, the two ladies of the blood royal were condemned to die, by a ſentence which eſtabliſhed a precedent the moſt pernicious that had ever been ſeen in England, and which proved fatal to its author, as will appear. Mean while the king granted a full pardon to the marchioneſs of Exeter, and a reprieve to the counteſs of Saliſbury, who was not executed till two years after. Thus the king daily acquired ſome freſh degree of authority. It might be ſaid, he uſurped it not, ſince it was given him by the parliament, if the circumſtances of the times had not rendered the very parliament ſlaves to his will.

1539.

Sentence againſt the marquis of Exeter, &c. is confirmed. Counteſs of Sarum and marchioneſs of Exeter attainted. Herbert. Burnet. T. I. p. 264.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 652. Decem. 21. Herbert.

Cranmer had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the law of the ſix articles, and ſuch an oppoſition would have infallibly ruined any other perſon but that prelate. But the king had an eſteem for him which could not be eaſily changed, becauſe he was

The king takes care to encourage Cranmer. Burnet.

the right hand ſide of the parliament houſe; firſt, the two archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, then the biſhops of London, Durham, and Wincheſter, and the reſt according to the time of their creation. 3. That the lord chancellor, treaſurer, preſ[illegible] cil, and lord privy [illegible] ſhall ſit, on the left [illegible] rment houſe, above [illegible] the royal family. 4. That the lord chamberlain, marſhal, high admiral, lord ſteward and chamberlain, ſhall be placed above all perſons of the ſame eſtates and degrees they ſhall happen to be of. 5. And the king's ſecre[illegible] ſhall ſit above all [illegible] Hen. VIII.

1539. perſuaded the archbiſhop acted according to the dictates of his conſcience, whereas he had a quite contrary notion of the reſt of his miniſters and courtiers. Their blind compliance ſerved only to make him deſpiſe them, though he liked to reap the advantage of their baſeneſs. So having a real eſteem and ſincere affection for Cranmer, and imagining, he muſt have been extremely mortified that the act had paſſed contrary to his opinion, and even apprehenſive of having diſpleaſed him by his oppoſition, he ſent the duke of Norfolk to encourage him, and aſſure him of his conſtant kindneſs. Cranmer [m] very thankfully received this teſtimony of the king's eſteem and goodneſs. Shortly after, the king talked with him himſelf concerning the law of the ſix articles, and was pleaſed that he explained to him the reaſons which led him to oppoſe it. Nay, he ordered him to put all his arguments in writing, though by the ſtatute itſelf, it was a crime worthy of burning. But Cranmer, truſting to the king's equity, drew up a memorial which he intended to give him. This writing being accidentally loſt, was found by one who was going to carry it to the king, if Cromwell had not prevented him [n]. Doctor Burnet repreſents this to be

He orders him to give him reaſons for oppoſing the ſix articles. Burnet. T. I. p. 265. Herbert.

[m] Burnet ſays, the king ſent for him firſt, on June 28, and next day ordered the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Cromwell, to dine with him. When they were at table with him at Lambeth, they ran out much in his commendation, and acknowledged he had oppoſed the act with ſo much learning, gravity, and eloquence, that even thoſe that differed from him were much taken with what he ſaid, and that he needed to fear nothing from the king. Cromwell ſaid, when complaints were brought againſt any of his counſellors, the king received them, but would not ſo much as hearken to any complaint of the archbiſhop. From that he went on to make a parallel between him and cardinal Wolſey's that the one loſt his friends by his haughtineſs and pride, but the other gained on his enemies by his mildneſs and gentleneſs. Upon which the duke of Norfolk ſaid, he might beſt ſpeak of the cardinal, for he knew him well, having been his man. This nettled Cromwell, who anſwered, that though he had ſerved him, he never liked his manner, and that though the cardinal had deſigned (if his attempt for the popedom had ſucceeded) to have made him his admiral, yet he reſolved not to accept it. To which the duke of Norfolk replied with a deep oath, "That he lied," with other reproachful language. Collier ſays, Cromwell told the duke, that he (the duke) offered to ſerve the cardinal as his admiral, upon which the duke ſaid that it was a lie. This troubled Cranmer extremely, who did all he could to reconcile them. But they were never afterwards hearty friends. Burnet, tom. I. p. 265.

[n] Cranmer's ſecretary having writ out the book in a fair hand, and returning with it from Croydon, where the archbiſhop was then, to Lambeth, found the key of his chamber carried away by Cranmer's almoner; ſo being obliged to go over to London, and not daring to truſt the book with any one, carried it with him. Some that were in the wherry with him, would needs go to Southwark ſide to ſee a bear-baiting, where the king was in perſon. The bear broke looſe into the river, and the dogs after her. They that were

be an unexpected and happy escape for Cranmer. But since the king himself ordered him to compose the writing, the danger does not seem to be so great, unless it be supposed the king would have condemned him unheard. But this supposition destroys itself by the particular esteem the king had for him. 1539.

Shaxton and Latimer resign their sees, and are sent to the Tower. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 641, 642. Burnet. Strype.

Shaxton bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer of Worcester, were not treated so favourably. As they could not resolve to approve of the law of the six articles, they believed that in resigning their bishopricks, they should be less exposed to the attacks of their enemies. But they did not come off so easily. They had no sooner put the instruments of resignation into the king's hands, but they were accused as having spoken against the six articles, and committed to the Tower.

Inquiry of those who rejected the six articles. Burnet.

When the parliament broke up, the king sent commissioners into the several counties to make enquiry of those who were against the six articles, being determined rigorously to execute the statute. As Cromwell and Cranmer could not but be suspected in this affair, the enemies of the reformation easily made the king sensible, that to leave to them the nomination of the commissioners would be labouring in vain. And indeed, persons who strongly opposed the act were very unfit to see it executed as the king desired. Some of the contrary party therefore were appointed, who discharged their commission with such immoderate zeal and passion, that they frustrated the designs of those who employed them. In the city of London alone, there were within few days above five hundred persons thrown into prison, and involved in the breach of the statute. Nay, the king was shown that, contrary to his intention, the commissioners had laid snares for these prisoners, to oblige them to discover opinions which they intended to conceal in obedience to the laws. Besides,

Hall. Stow. Burnet. Hollingsh.

were in the boat leaped out, and left the secretary alone. The bear got into the boat with the dogs about her, and sunk it. The secretary shifting for himself, lost the book in the water. But being brought to land, he saw his book floating upon the water. So he desired the bear-ward to bring it to him; who taking it up, gave it to a priest that stood there, to see what it might contain. The priest finding it to be a confutation of the six articles, told the bear-ward whoever claimed it would be hanged for his pains. The secretary thinking to mend the matter, said it was his lord's book. This made the fellow more untractable, being a spiteful papist, and an enemy to the archbishop. So that he would not give it back. Whereupon the secretary applied to Cromwell, who was then going to court, where he expected the bear-ward would be, in order to deliver the book to some of Cranmer's enemies. And so it happened, whereupon Cromwell called to him, and took the book out of his hands, threatning him for meddling with a privy counsellor's papers. Burnet, tom. I. p. 265, 266.

1539. since in so short a space, such numbers were imprisoned in London, it was easy to judge how many there might be in all the rest of the kingdom, and of what ill consequence it would be to execute the law upon numberless persons of all ages and sexes. This the chancellor, who was no enemy to the reformation, represented to the king, and prevailed with him to pardon all the prisoners. From this time to Cromwell's death, the proceedings upon the act were suspended, though it still subsisted, and might have been executed if the king had pleased. Thus every thing was regulated by the king's will, who hastened or retarded the execution of the laws according to the times and persons. This gained him a blind condescension from both parties, every one having to fear his own ruin according to the king's humour and disposition. It is certain, those that desired a reformation were constrained to feign an approbation of many things which in their hearts they detested, and that Cromwell and Cranmer who had most access to the king, dared to press him only indirectly to advance the work already begun. Hence they preserved their credit, and were enabled to do their party service. Their adversaries took the same course, and went still greater lengths in their compliance, well knowing it was the only way to gain the king's confidence. Bonner bishop of London, though a favourer of the pope, and persuaded that the king had no spiritual authority, took a commission from him, which adjudged to him both the spiritual and temporal power of his bishoprick, during his good pleasure [o]. After this, the excessive power which the king daily acquired must not be thought strange, since every one strove to submit to his will. Gardiner bishop of Winchester was one of the principal favourers of the old religion, to which he was very serviceable by a profound dissimulation. He expressed great zeal to execute as well the act of the six articles, as those made against the pope. He thereby maintained his credit, though the king had but little esteem for him.

The king pardons them all. Hall. Burnet.

Extreme condescension of both parties for the king. Herbert. Burnet.

Burnet. T. I. p. 267.

[o] The substance of the commission was: that since all jurisdiction, both ecclesiastical and civil, flowed from the king as supreme head, it became those who exercised any power only by the king's courtesy, gratefully to acknowledge, that they had it only of his bounty; and to declare they would deliver it up again when it should please him to call for it. And since his vicegerent could not look into all matters, therefore the king did empower Bonner in his own stead to exercise all the parts of episcopal authority, for which he was duly commissioned; and this to last during the king's pleasure only. See the original in Burnet, tom. I. Collect. p. 184.

The

The actual ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries was begun and ended in the courſe of this year [p]. The commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe ſettled every thing relating thereto. They awarded penſions to the abbots, priors, monks, and nuns, for their livelihood. They valued the plate, goods, ornaments of the prieſts, of the altars, of the churches, and ordered what buildings ſhould be demoliſhed, and what left ſtanding. I have already obſerved that the rents of all the ſuppreſſed monaſteries amounted to one hundred ſixty thouſand one hundred pounds ſterling. But if it be true that this valuation was made only upon the foot of the laſt leaſes, and that theſe were not above the tenth part of the real value, as ſome affirm, it follows that theſe rents were worth above ſixteen hundred thouſand pounds [q], beſides the ready money which accrued to the king by the ſale of the effects [r]. Here was wherewithal to make uſeful foundations to the church and ſtate, had all theſe riches been employed that way. The king ſeemed at firſt to have formed ſuch a deſign. Nay, this was what had ſerved for the principal ground of the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries. But the greedineſs of the courtiers and favourites allowed but a very ſmall part to be expended on things uſeful and neceſſary. Henry had at firſt reſolved to erect eighteen new biſhopricks [s], but as the money was laviſhed away, he found reaſons to reduce them to a much ſmaller number. In ſhort, he contented himſelf with founding ſix, and eſtabliſhing canons in ſome cathedrals which the monks had poſſeſſed. In all this he employed but a revenue of eight thouſand pounds. He laid out likewiſe part of the money in fortifying ſome ports, and all the reſt was ſquandered away in preſents and other

1539.

Value of what the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries produced. Herbert. Burnet. T. I. Collect. p. 151, &c. Speed.

Strype.

The king lays out the money in needleſs things. Burnet. Herbert.

[p] There are fifty-ſeven ſurrenders upon record this year; and the originals of about thirty of theſe are yet to be ſeen. Thirty ſeven of them were abbies or priories, and twenty nunneries: among the reſt, Godſtow, Weſtminſter, St. Albans, Waltham, Glaſtenbury, St. Peter's in Glouceſter, &c. The method uſed in the ſuppreſſion of theſe houſes, may be ſeen in Burnet, tom. I. Collect, p. 151, &c. The hoſpital of St. Thomas in Southwark was alſo ſuppreſſed this year. See Burnet, tom. I. p. 267, 268.

[q] Some compute, that the lands taken from the monaſteries, at twenty years purchaſe, would amount, at this preſent time, to thirty millions, five hundred and three thouſand, four hundred pounds. Thoſe formerly belonging to the abbey of St. Albans, being worth at this day, about two hundred thouſand pounds a year; and thoſe belonging to Glaſtenbury abbey, above three hundred thouſand pounds yearly. See Stevens hiſt. of taxes, p. 188—216.

[r] The treaſure found in the monaſteries was valued at one hundred thouſand pounds. Ibid. p. 217. As for an account of the other valuable effects found there, ſee Monaſticon Anglic.

[s] On which he intended to beſtow eighteen thouſand pounds a year. Burnet, tom. I. p. 269.

1539. needleſs expences. For this cauſe he could not avoid the blame of having plundered the church; whereas had he employed the beſt part of theſe lands in things uſeful to the church and ſtate, he would have gained the bleſſings of his ſubjects and their poſterity. As to the parliament, they are inexcuſable for having put into the king's hands ſuch immenſe riches deſigned for pious uſes, without taking care how they were to be employed. This is no ſlender evidence of what has been already obſerved, that the parliaments met in this reign only to be inſtrumental in gratifying the king's paſſions, without ever examining either the motives or conſequences of what he required. Henry had alſo formed the project of founding a college for young ſtudents, that they might be qualified for the ſervice of the ſtate, either in embaſſies or other affairs of the government[t]. But this project miſcarried with many others, becauſe the king having ſold the lands of the ſuppreſſed abbies, was very loth to put to ſuch uſes the ready money raiſed by the ſale. He choſe rather to laviſh it upon his pleaſures, or his courtiers, who uſed all ſorts of artifices, condeſcenſions, and baſe flatteries, to procure ſome part of theſe vaſt treaſures.

Remarks upon the conduct of the parliament.

Burnet. T. I. p. 269.

Whilſt Henry was employed in his domeſtick affairs, he had an eye however to what paſſed abroad. The emperor feigned the laſt year a firm intention to adjuſt the religious differences which occaſioned troubles in Germany. But this

The proteſtants avoid the emperor's ſnares, Sleidan.

[t] As this was the nobleſt deſign that ever was projected in England, it will not be amiſs to give ſome ſhort account of it. Sir Nicolas Bacon (who was afterwards one of the wiſeſt miniſters that ever this nation bred,) together with Thomas Denton and Robert Carey, were ordered to make a full project of the nature and orders of ſuch a houſe, which they brought to the king in writing, the original whereof is ſtill extant. The deſign of it was, that there ſhould be frequent pleadings, and other exerciſes in the Latin and French tongues; and when the king's ſtudents were brought to ſome ripeneſs, they ſhould be ſent with his ambaſſadors to foreign parts, and trained up in the knowledge of foreign affairs; and ſo the houſe ſhould be the nurſery for ambaſſadors. Some were alſo appointed to write the hiſtory of all embaſſies, treaties, and foreign tranſactions; as alſo of arraignments and publick trials at home. But before any of them might write on theſe ſubjects, the lord chancellor was to give them an oath, that they ſhould do it truly without reſpect of perſons, or any other corrupt affection. This noble deſign miſcarried, but if it had been well regulated, it is eaſy to gather what great and publick advantages might have flowed from it. Among which it is not inconſiderable, that we ſhould have been delivered from a rabble of ill writers of hiſtory, who have without due care and inquiry delivered to us the tranſactions of that time ſo imperfectly, that there is ſtill need of inquiring into regiſters and papers for theſe matters: which in ſuch a houſe had been more clearly conveyed to poſterity, than can now be expected after ſuch razure of records, and other confuſions, in which many of theſe papers have been loſt. Burnet, tom. I. 269.

Was

was only to draw money from the proteſtants to be expended in his war with the Turk. He expected that upon the bare hopes, he was pleaſed to give them, of redreſſing their grievances, they would drain themſelves of men and money, and ſo become leſs formidable. But the proteſtants would not ſuffer themſelves to be deceived to ſuch a degree. They plainly anſwered to his demand, that they could do nothing for him, without ſufficient ſecurity of being left in peace. 1539.

Henry finding that a rupture between the emperor and the proteſtants was not very remote, ſent freſh ambaſſadors to Germany to ſtrengthen the reſolutions of the Smalcaldick league, by hopes of his coming into it, and being declared protector. But the Germans had now diſcovered his deſign, which was to amuſe them, and keep the emperor in continual fear of his uniting with them. They returned therefore the ſame anſwer as before, that the ſole intent of their league was to maintain the Augſburg confeſſion, and if the king refuſed to admit that confeſſion, it was in vain to treat of other points: that moreover, they heard with extreme grief that he perſecuted in his realm ſuch as held the ſame opinions with them on ſundry articles of religion, and therefore, ſo long as the act of the ſix articles ſubſiſted, there was no likelihood that he really intended to join with them. Melancthon even writ him a letter in very ſtrong, though reſpectful terms, to ſhow him the unreaſonableneſs of that ſtatute. and Henry's

Henry, to whom all was obedient in England, and whoſe will was a law, was offended at the firmneſs of the German princes. On the other hand, Gardiner, who dreaded of all things the king's union with the Smalcaldick league, failed not to uſe this occaſion to divert him from it, by flattering his vanity. He repreſented to him, that it was very ſtrange, petty princes ſhould pretend to be a pattern to a great monarch, and dictate to the moſt learned prince in Europe, in matters of religion. He added, that whatever the proteſtants might pretend, they would never approve of his ſupremacy in England, becauſe it would be a tacit engagement to own that the emperor had the ſame right in Germany. This was falſe reaſoning, ſince there was a wide difference between the authority which the king had over his ſubjects, and that which the emperor could claim over the ſovereigns and free cities of Germany. However, he attained his ends, that is, he begot a great coldneſs between the king and the proteſtants. Gardiner diverts the king from his deſigns to join with th proteſtants. Burne Herber.

1539. Gardiner's artifices might have been more prejudicial to the reformation, if, on the other ſide, the reformers had not raiſed a counter battery, of which they made wonderful uſe. The king was ſo jealous of his ſupremacy, that he neglected nothing to ſupport it. Indeed, the abſolute power acquired over his ſubjects placed him above all oppoſition, but he wiſhed of all things, the nation was convinced of the juſtice of that prerogative. Hence the reformers took occaſion to remonſtrate to him, that nothing but the reading of the holy ſcriptures could undeceive the people of their falſe notion of the papal authority. By this means they had already obtained, that there ſhould be a bible faſtened with a chain in every church, to be freely peruſed by all perſons. But as many ſcrupled publickly to read the ſcriptures for fear of being ſuſpected of hereſy, Cranmer, meeting with a favourable opportunity, repreſented to the king that it was neceſſary to give his ſubjects leave to have a bible in their houſes. He inſinuated to him, that every one having liberty to read it, would eaſily be convinced that the pope's pretended authority had no foundation in the ſcriptures. This was an innocent ſtratagem, to procure the people an opportunity to inſtruct themſelves in many other articles, though the king had only one in view. Gardiner readily perceived the conſequence of the archbiſhop's requeſt, and ſeeing the king inclined to grant it, did all he could to divert it. He diſputed upon this ſubject with Cranmer in the king's preſence, who heard them very attentively. At laſt, perceiving ſolid learning in what Cranmer ſaid, and nothing but vanity in the reaſonings of his adverſary, he ſuddenly roſe up, ſaying to Gardiner, that ſuch a novice as he was not fit to contend with an old experienced general [u]. Shortly after, he iſſued out a proclamation, declaring he was deſirous to have his ſubjects attain the knowledge of true religion in God's word; and therefore he would take care they ſhould have an exact tranſlation of the bible. He forbid however, in order to prevent the inconveniencies which might ariſe from the difference of the verſions, the ſelling of any bible but what ſhould be approved by the vicegerent [w].

Bibles are ſet up in the churches.

Burnet.

People allowed bibles in their houſes. Idem.

Gardiner oppoſes it. Idem.

Proclamation about the bible. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 649, 650. Novem. 4. Strype.

[u] Gardiner challenged Cranmer to ſhew any difference between the authority of the ſcriptures, and of the apoſtolical canons, which he pretended were equal to the other writings of the apoſtles. Upon which they diſputed ſome time. Burnet, tom. I. p. 270.

[w] And about the ſame time iſſued out a proclamation for uniformity in religion, which the reader may ſee in Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 354. Coll. p. 295.

About

About the end of this year was ſeen a freſh effect of the mutual confidence which appeared between Charles V. and Francis I. A mutiny ariſing in Gaunt by reaſon of a tax laid upon wine by the governor of the Low Countries, the mutineers applied to the king of France to implore his protection, and even offered to ſubmit to him. But he did not think proper to accept of their offers. On the contrary, he informed the emperor of what was plotting againſt him. This ſeems very ſtrange, conſidering that hitherto he had never profeſſed much generoſity to that monarch. But the reaſon of this proceeding was, the emperor ſtill allured him with the hopes of the duchy of Milan, and ſo diverted him from the thoughts of recovering it by arms. However, the emperors's preſence in Flanders being alone capable of appeaſing the ſedition of Gaunt, he was at ſome loſs which way to get thither in time. It was dangerous going by ſea, as well on account of the ſeaſon, as becauſe he had no fleet to convoy him. The way through Italy was no ſafer, by reaſon he could not afterwards croſs Germany without paſſing through the territories of the proteſtant princes. There remained no other way but by France, which he reſolved upon, though he had as much reaſon to ſuſpect that kingdom as Germany. But he hoped to amuſe the king by means of the duchy of Milan, as he did in effect. He ſet out therefore and entered France with a ſmall train, upon the bare ſecurity of a ſafe conduct. Nay, he refuſed to take in hoſtage the dauphin and his brother the duke of Orleans, who came and received him at Bayonne, offering to ſtay in Spain ſo long as he ſhould be in the king's dominions. Wherever he came, the ſame reſpect was paid him as to the king himſelf, and he arrived at Paris the firſt of January 1540.

1539.

The emperor croſſes France to go to Gaunt. Haræus. P. Daniel. Hall. Herbert.

Hall.

Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves being at length concluded by Cromwell's diligence, who had been charged with the negotiation, the princeſs arrived in England about the end of the year 1539 [x], at the time the emperor was travelling through France in his way to the Low Countries. Henry receiving advice of her arrival at Rocheſter, went down incognito, being very impatient to ſee whether he had

The king's marriage with Anne of Cleves is concluded. Hall. Herbert.

She arrives in England. Stow. Hollingſh.

x On December 27, ſhe landed at Deal. William Fitzwilliams earl of Southampton, being ſent with a fleet of fifty ſail to bring her over. Hall, fol. 238.——This ſame month, king Henry renewed his guard of fifty gentlemen penſioners, with a ſalary of fifty pounds a year; they had been diſcontinued ſince the firſt year of his reign. Hall, fol. 237. Hollingſhead, p. 948.

been

1539. been deceived. But, to his ſorrow, he found her very different from what her picture, drawn by Hans Holbin, had caused him to expect. This firſt ſight gave him ſuch an averſion for her, that he would have immediately broke off the marriage, if he had not been prevented by ſtrong reaſons [y]. The ſame conſiderations which had made him conclude it ſubſiſted, and there were others which obliged him to conſummate it. The duke of Cleves was the emperor's neighbour in Flanders, and had alſo a pretenſion as well as he to the duchy of Guelders, after the death of the duke of that name. Conſequently, in caſe of a war between the emperor and England, that prince could give the emperor a very troubleſome diverſion in Flanders. On the other hand, his ſiſter was married to the duke of Saxony, head of the Smalcaldick league, with whom it was of great moment to the king to live in a good underſtanding. But this was not all. The emperor, then in France, was labouring with all his power to diſingage Francis I. from the intereſts of England. Nay, Henry had private intelligence, that the emperor offered to give the duchy of Milan to the duke of Orleans upon that conſideration. If therefore, in ſuch a juncture, he had ſent back the princeſs of Cleves without marrying her, he ran the hazard of an entire rupture with the princes of Smalcald, at a time when he ſaw himſelf upon the point of being forſaken by the king of France, who by degrees forgot the aſſiſtance he had received from him in his moſt urgent occaſions. So, lamenting his misfortune to be forced to marry a princeſs for whom he had conceived an averſion, he reſolved to make this ſacrifice the 6th of January 1540. But he was ſtill leſs pleaſed after his marriage than before, and from that very moment was determined to be divorced from her. He concealed his ſentiments however as much as poſſible, though it was eaſy for all to ſee his vexation and trouble. Cromwell, who had drawn him into this marriage, quickly felt the effects of his reſentment, though the king was very careful to hide it from him [z].

The king diſlikes her.

Stow. p. 579. Burnet. T. I. Coll. p. 197.

1540. He marries her however, Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

and bears Cromwell an ill-will. Stow. Burnet.

[y] He ſwore, when he firſt ſaw her, they had brought over a Flanders mare to him. Nicholas Wotton, doctor of law, employed in this buſineſs, gives her this character: She could both write and read in her own language, and ſew very well; but for muſick (in which the king delighted) it was not the manner of the country to learn it. Herbert, p. 221.

[z] Comwell aſked him next day how he liked her; the king told him, he liked her worſe than he did. For he ſuſpected ſhe was no maid, and had ſuch ill ſmells about her, that he loathed her more than ever, and did not believe he ſhould ever conſummate the marriage. This was ſad news to Cromwell,

The parliament meeting the 12th of April, Cromwell made a ſpeech to both houſes, informing them that the king ſeeing with extreme concern ſo great diviſion among his ſubjects in matters of religion, had appointed commiſſioners to examine the points in diſpute, that the articles of faith might be fixed without reſpect of parties, by the word of God: that he was very deſirous his people ſhould have the knowledge of the truth; but then he was reſolved to puniſh without mercy, ſuch as ſhould preſume to prefer their private, before the eſtabliſhed, opinions. The commiſſioners named by the king were approved of, and had orders to begin this examination without delay [a]. Two days after the king created Cromwell, earl of Eſſex [b]. 1539. Parliament. Hall. Herbert. The king appoints commiſſioners to examine the doctrines of religion. Burnet. Strype. Cromwell created earl of Eſſex.

During this ſeſſion, the parliament ſuppreſſed the order of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, who are now called knights of Malta. Their dependence on the pope and the emperor was the cauſe or pretence of their ruin. There is no doubt, the deſire of enjoying their ſpoils induced alſo the king to procure their ſuppreſſion. And indeed, the parliament gave him all their lands as they had given him thoſe of the abbies. Though they had large revenues both in Ireland and England, the king allowed however but three thouſand pounds for their maintenance after their ſuppreſſion [c]. The affair being ended, the parliament was prorogued to the 25th of May. Knights of St. John ſuppreſſed, Hall. Herbert. Stow. Hollingſh. Burnet.

well, who knew how nice the king was in theſe matters, and that ſo great a misfortune muſt needs fall heavy upon him, who was the chief promoter of it. Burnet, tom. I. p. 273. Stow, p. 578.

[a] The king appointed the two archbiſhops, with the biſhops of London, Durham, Wincheſter, Rocheſter, Hereford, St. Davids, and eleven doctors, to draw up an expoſition of thoſe things that were neceſſary for the inſtitution of a chriſtian man. He alſo appointed the biſhops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Sarum, Chicheſter, Worceſter, and Landaff, to examine what ceremonies ſhould be retained, and what was the true uſe of them. Theſe committees were to ſit conſtantly Mondays, Wedneſdays, and Fridays, and on other days in the afternoon only. Burnet, tom. I. p. 275.

[b] April 17. One would think by this that the king was not angry with him about his marriage, ſince he conferred ſo great a title on him. Henry Bourchier, earl of Eſſex, the laſt of his family, venturing to ride a young horſe, had the misfortune to be thrown, and by the fall to break his neck. Dugdale, vol. II. p. 130, 137.——On November 29, 1538. Sir Thomas Audley, lord chancellor, was created lord Audley of Walden: and on March 9, 1539, ſir William Poulet was advanced to the title of lord St. John; on the 29th, ſir John Ruſſel, to that of lord Ruſſel; and William Parr, to that of lord Parr. Idem. p. 376, 378, 381.

[c] He allowed a thouſand pounds penſion to the prior of St. John's near London, and five hundred marks a year to the prior in Ireland, (for there was but one houſe in each kingdom) with very conſiderable allowances for the knights, amounting in all to three thouſand pounds a year. The Houſe in Ireland was at Kilmainan. Burnet, tom. I. p. 276. Stow, p. 579.

A few

1539. A few days after, there fell upon Cromwell a ſtorm, which probably had been gathering ſome time before. This miniſter had many enemies, and enviers. He was ſon of a farrier or lock-ſmith; and though his birth was ſo mean, he was raiſed to great honour, even to the having the precedence of all the lords in the kingdom, except the royal family. All the nobility envied him. The whole popiſh party alſo hated him mortally, deeming him the firſt adviſer of the ſuppreſſion of the abbies, and one of the principal encouragers of the king to all the innovations he had made in religion. Among theſe, who were very numerous, the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner were the perſons that could do him moſt hurt, becauſe they had free acceſs to the king. Theſe two courtiers perceiving the king's coldneſs for the new queen, doubted not of his ill-will to Cromwell, for engaging him in that marriage, and reſolved to make uſe of this occaſion to ruin him. They hoped when he was removed, it would not be impoſſible to procure an agreement between the emperor and the king, and then, a reconciliation with the pope, which Cromwell had always oppoſed to the utmoſt of his power. Two other things greatly contributed to the downfal of this miniſter. The king had always employed him, in his correſpondence with the Smalcaldick league, and ſo long as he thought he wanted that league, he could not be without his aſſiſtance. But growing cold at length to the German princes, as I before obſerved, and knowing, the dreaded union between Charles V. and Francis I. was only a chimera, and conſequently he ſhould have no need of Germany, Cromwell became leſs neceſſary. The ſecond thing which helped to ruin Cromwell was, the king fell in love with Catherine Howard, the duke of Norfolk's niece. Norfolk finding his credit conſiderably increaſed, made uſe of it to procure the miniſter's deſtruction. As ſoon as he had a fair opportunity, he repreſented to the king. "That there were many male-contents in the kingdom, and good men could not be perſuaded that a prince like him, would willingly give any occaſion of diſcontent to his people: that they inferred from thence, he muſt have been ill ſerved by his miniſter, who doubtleſs had abuſed his confidence: that as the people ſeemed diſſatisfied only with regard to religion, it was natural to think, this happened through the vicegerent's fault, whoſe conduct perhaps it would be proper to examine: that he was accuſed by the publick of many things, which, if true, rendered him the moſt

Cromwell's diſgrace. Burnet.

Burnet.

The duke of Norfolk ſtirs up the king againſt Cromwell.

"moſt guilty of all others, conſidering the favours heaped on 1540.
"him by the king: that beſides, though no particular fact
"could be proved upon him, it was however a very great
"crime to rob the king of the hearts of good part of his
"ſubjects: that he took the freedom therefore to tell him,
"in order to quiet their minds, there was no better way
"than to ſacrifice to them ſo odious a miniſter." Theſe inſinuations, which were doubtleſs ſeconded by Gardiner and other enemies of Cromwell, produced at length the deſired effect. The king, prejudiced againſt him, reſolved to diſpatch him out of the way, without knowing yet of what he was guilty. But he found in his death a double advantage. Firſt, he diſcovered his reſentment againſt him on account of the marriage, he had drawn him into. Secondly, he believed to make his people a ſacrifice capable of ſilencing all their murmurs [d]. This reſolution being taken, and the parliament meeting the 13th of June, the duke of Norfolk accuſed Cromwell of high-treaſon at the council board, and received orders to arreſt him [e] and ſend him to the Tower. This illuſtrious priſoner had the common fate of all diſgraced miniſters. In a moment, he was forſaken by all but his friend Cranmer, who alone ventured to write to the king in his favour, though to no purpoſe.

Cromwell's death is decreed.

He is accuſed of high treaſon, and ſent to the Tower. Hall. Hollingſh. Cranmer writes in his behalf. Burnet.

Cromwell being in the Tower, the articles of his impeachment were drawn, conſiſting in generals, of which not ſo much as the leaſt proof was offered to be given. The king knew, if his proceſs was made according to the uſual forms, he might produce warrants which would fully clear him, and which could not be diſclaimed. For this reaſon it was thought proper to bring his affair before the parliament, and cauſe a bill of attainder to be paſſed againſt him, without allowing him to make his defence [f]. In this manner had he himſelf proceeded in the affair of the marchioneſs of Exeter and the counteſs of Saliſbury, and therefore could not think it ſtrange the ſame thing ſhould be practiſed in his caſe. The parliament, ever ſlaves to the king, deemed the impeachment juſt, though deſtitute of proof. So by an act, declaring him attainted and convicted of here-

Herbert. He is condemned without being heard. Burnet. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Burnet. T. I. p. 278.

[d] See above, p. 339. Note b.

[e] He was arreſted July 9. Hall, fol. 242.

[f] The bill was brought into the houſe of lords, Cranmer being then abſent, on the 17th of July, and read the firſt time; and on the 19th was read the ſecond and third time, and ſent down to the commons, where it ſtuck ten days. And then a new bill, conceived by the commons, was brought up with a proviſo annexed to it. They alſo ſent back the lords bill. It ſeems they rejected the lords bill, and yet ſent it up with their own, either in reſpect to the lords, or that they left it to their choice, which of the two they would offer to the royal aſſent. Which was an unparliamentary proceeding. Burnet, tom. I. p. 277.

ſay

1540. ſy and treaſon, he was condemned as a traitor and heretick, the parliament leaving it to the king's choice to make him ſuffer the puniſhment of either of thoſe crimes. This, joined to ſome other foregoing, as well as following inſtances, ſhow to what height the king had carried his authority, ſince to diſcover his will was ſufficient to be immediately obeyed, even by thoſe whoſe buſineſs and intereſt it chiefly was to reduce his power within due bounds. The execution of the ſentence was deferred till after the ſeſſion of the parliament.

The king is determined to null his marriage. Stow. Burnet. Herbert.

Henry was ſo tired of his queen, that he could not bear the vexation to ſee himſelf engaged for the reſt of his life in ſo diſagreeable a marriage. He reſolved therefore to divorce her, let what would be the conſequence, eſpecially as the reaſons which induced him to marry her no longer ſubſiſted. He had loſt all hopes of making a league with the proteſtants of Germany, and his fears of the emperor were vaniſhed, ſince he ſaw every thing tending to a rupture between him and France. He only wanted a pretence to demand a divorce, and give ſome colour to the proceedings of the clergy and parliament, of whoſe concurrence he was ſure, however ſlight the pretence might be. He found one in a precontract between the queen and the duke of Lorrain's ſon. But this contract was ſo ſlight, that the conſequences were to be much preſſed, to make it ſerve for the foundation of diſſolving Anne's marriage with the king. The duke of Cleves and the duke of Lorrain, had formerly, it ſeems, in a treaty, agreed upon a marriage between Anne of Cleves and the prince of Lorrain both minors. This agreement had never been confirmed by the parties when of age. On the contrary, the ambaſſador of the duke of Gueldres, who acted as mediator in that treaty, declared afterwards by an authentick inſtrument, that this article was deemed null. However, when Henry's marriage with Anne was concluded, this preengagement raiſed a difficulty. But the ambaſſadors of Saxony and Cleves poſitively promiſed to clear that point and put it out of all doubt, as ſoon as the princeſs ſhould arrive in England. Anne being come to Greenwich, the king, who liked her not, inſiſted upon this article, in order to ſend her back. For that purpoſe, he called a council, and ſending for the ambaſſadors, the explanation, they had promiſed, was demanded. But they had brought nothing with them, looking upon this difficulty as little material. Mean while, the council telling them, that good proofs were expected and

Pretence of the divorce. Burnet. Herbert.

not

not bare words, they offered to produce within three months an authentick abſtract from the chancery of Cleves, to prove what they had alledged. This alone would not have been capable of inducing the king to proceed, if, as has been ſaid, there had not been ſtrong reaſons to cauſe him to accompliſh his marriage. So, the council was of opinion, that if there were no other objection, the marriage might be lawfully ſolemnized. The abſtract from the chancery of Cleves being come, great exceptions were found to it, upon the ambiguity of the word eſpouſals, becauſe it was not expreſſed whether they were eſpouſals by the words of the preſent or of the future tenſe. But as the king would not yet commence the affair of his divorce, he cauſed the abſtract to be kept, in order to make uſe of it when there ſhould be occaſion. Upon this therefore he reſolved to found his divorce. 1540.

The parliament, after a prorogation of ſome days, meeting again, Henry ſent the queen to Richmond. A few days after, a motion was made in the houſe of lords, to preſent an addreſs to the king, to deſire him to ſuffer his marriage to be tried. After what has been ſeen, it can't be imagined any lord would be ſo hardy as to dare to make ſuch a motion, unleſs he was ſure of the king's approbation. So, the motion being aſſented to, the lords deſired the concurrence of the commons [g]; after which, they went in a body [h] to preſent their addreſs to the king. Henry proteſted to them, that he ſought only the glory of God, the good of his people, and the declaration of truth. Then he agreed that the affair ſhould be referred to the clergy, who immediately appointed commiſſioners to examine the witneſſes [i]. All that could be gathered from the king's own depoſition, and thoſe of the witneſſes, was, that there had been a precontract between the queen and the prince of Lorrain, which was not ſufficiently cleared: that the king having eſpouſed the queen againſt his will, had not given an inward conſent to his marriage, without which, it was affirmed, his promiſes could not be obligatory, a

The parliament pray the king to examine the validity of his marriage. Hall. Stow. Burnet. Herbert.

The matter is brought before the convocation. Extraordinary reaſons alledged for the divorce. Burnet. Strype's Mem.

g The lord chancellor, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and the biſhop of [illegible], were ſent to deſire their concurrence. Burnet, tom. I. p. 280.

h The whole houſe of peers, with twenty commoners, on July [illegible]. Burnet, tom. I. p. 280.

i On the 7th of July it was brought before the convocation, and the caſe was argued by the biſhop of Winchester, and a committee appointed to conſider of it; and they deputed the biſhops of Durham and Winchester, with [illegible] Heighton, dean of York, to examine witneſſes that day. Burnet, ibid.

1540. man's act being only what is inward: that the king had never conſummated his marriage: that the whole nation had a great intereſt in the king's having more iſſue, which they ſaw he could never have by the queen.

T. I. Coll. p. 306, 307, &c.

Burnet.

The king muſt have had a very ill opinion of the convocation, the parliament, and the publick, to alledge ſuch extraordinary cauſes of his divorce. The firſt had been diſcuſſed before the celebration of the marriage, and the council was of opinion, it could be no juſt impediment. As to the ſecond, if that maxim took place, contracts would be of no uſe, ſince one of the parties might ſay, he had not given an inward conſent. This would be eſtabliſhing, without remedy, inſincerity, fraud and perfidiouſneſs in the higheſt degree. As for the third, the king had doubtleſs forgot what he had alledged in the proceſs of his divorce with Catherine. He then maintained, purſuant to his clergy's opinion, that the conſummation of Arthur's marriage with Catherine was not neceſſary to render it valid, but that the bare conſent of the parties made it compleat. The fourth was of no greater weight, ſince there was no neceſſity of nulling the marriage, under colour that the king was not pleaſed to lie with the queen. Beſides, he had now an heir.

Sentence of divorce. Burnet.

In ſhort, his word muſt be taken, when he ſaid, he had not conſummated his marriage, his word, who ſued for the divorce, and who uſed this argument to obtain it. Mean while, the clergy thought theſe reaſons ſolid, and paſſed a ſentence of divorce upon them, and the parliament were ſo abject, as to proſtitute themſelves to the king's paſſion, and confirm the ſentence [k]. There is no diſtinction to be made here, ſince neither in the convocation, nor in the parliament, was there one ſingle vote againſt the divorce; ſo much did every one dread to incur the king's diſpleaſure. This is a remarkable evidence of what I have often intimated, that in every thing tranſacted in England during the latter part of Henry VIII's reign, the parliament and clergy ought to be conſidered only as the king's inſtruments to gratify his paſſions. To him is due the praiſe of whatever was good and uſeful, and he it is that ought to be blamed for what-

[k] Sentence was given the 9th of July, which was ſigned by both houſes of convocation; and had the two archbiſhops ſeals put to it, of which whole trial the record does yet remain, having eſcaped the fate of the other books of convocation. The original depoſitions are alſo extant. Burnet obſerves, this only can be ſaid for their excuſe, that the king's reaſons were as juſt and weighty as uſed to be admitted by the court of Rome for a divorce; and moſt of them being canoniſts, and knowing how many precedents there were to be found for ſuch divorces, they thought they might do it as well as the popes had formerly done. Burnet, tom. I. p. 281.

ever

ever was amiſs. Mean while, the parliament and clergy are inexcuſable for not having endeavoured to ſupport the cauſe of Juſtice and truth, when they believed them to be oppreſſed. 1540.

The queen was not much troubled at what had been done in her abſence, and even without her being examined. Probably, ſhe had entertained no great affection for a ſpouſe, who had never given her any token of his love. However, though the king had thought it needleſs to aſk her approbation, when he was meditating the divorce, becauſe then the clergy and parliament only were concerned, whom he knew to be at his devotion, he demanded her conſent to what had been done, thinking no doubt the better to juſtify himſelf to the world. At the ſame time he offered by letters patents to declare her his adopted ſiſter, with a penſion of four thouſand pounds a year [l], and her choice either to live in England. or return home. She agreed to all without ſollicitation, and choſe to live in England, where ſhe hoped to paſs her time more agreeably than at Cleves, in her brother's court. Beſides it is likely ſhe believed her penſion would be more ſecure if ſhe remained in England, than if ſhe lived abroad. Every thing being thus ſettled, ſhe writ to the duke her brother, that ſhe approved of the divorce, and deſired him to live in a good underſtanding with the king [m]. Anne conſents to the divorce. Hall. Stow. Burnet. Herbert. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 710. Burnet.

This grand affair being finiſhed, the parliament paſſed an act to moderate one of the ſix articles in the bloody ſtatute. This article, as the other five, made it death for the prieſts to break their vow of chaſtity; but by this laſt act, the pains of death were turned to forfeiture of goods. Act to moderate the pains of one of the ſix articles. Burnet.

All the reſt of this reign will be only a continued ſeries of ſenſible proofs of the ſlaviſh ſubjection the Engliſh nation was reduced to. But, in this very ſeſſion of parlia- Proofs of the ſlaviſh attachment of the parliament.

l There is in Rymer, a liſt of the ſeveral manors and eſtates, granted her by the king for life; but it is no where ſaid, that they were four thouſand pounds a year. See tom. XIV. p. 710, &c. Biſhop Burnet ſays, it was only three thouſand pounds a year. See tom. I. p. 282.

m The 10th of July, Cranmer reported to the houſe of lords, the convocation's ſentence, who ſent him down to the commons to report the ſame. On the 11th, the king ſent the lord chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Southampton, and the biſhop of Wincheſter to the queen, to let her know what was done, and to make her the offers above mentioned. Next day, being the 12th of July, the bill was brought into the houſe for annulling the marriage, which eaſily went through both houſes. Burnet, tom. I. p. 282.

1540. ment, there are three, which ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence.

The parliament confirms whatever the king ſhall pleaſe to enjoin in matters of religion.

The commiſſioners appointed by the king, purſuant to an act of parliament, to examine the doctrines of religion, having drawn a long memorial, and ſet down certain articles as undeniable and abſolutely neceſſary, it was moved in the houſe of lords, to paſs into a law what the commiſſioners had already done, and whatever they ſhould do for the future by order of the king. This motion being received, a bill was brought in immediately, and when paſſed ſent down to the commons, who agreeing to it, ſent it up again the next day. By this ſtatute it was enacted, that not only the memorial drawn by the commiſſioners, provided it were approved by the king, but likewiſe whatever the king ſhould enjoin for the future in matters of religion, ſhould be believed and obeyed by all his ſubjects. This was inveſting the king with the infallibility taken from the pope. Greater ſigns of ſlavery can hardly be ſeen, ſince the parliament gave the king power over conſcience, after having in a manner rendered him maſter of life and fortune. Moreover a clauſe was inſerted in this act, which under colour of limiting the king's authority ſenſibly enlarged it, namely, "That nothing "ſhould be done or determined by virtue of this act, which "was contrary to the laws of the realm." Theſe contradictory clauſes in the ſame ſtatute rendered the king arbiter of the lives of his ſubjects, ſince on the one hand, they were enjoined to ſubmit to the king's will, in matters of religion, without knowing however what he would pleaſe to preſcribe, and on the other, were forbid to do any thing contrary to the laws. Conſequently, in caſe the king commanded any thing contrary to the law, they were liable to be proſecuted by virtue of this ſtatute, whether againſt law they obeyed the king, or in obedience to the law refuſed to comply with his will. The acts paſſed in this reign are full of ſuch contradictions, which were not inſerted without deſign.

Law about marriage in favour of the king.

The parliament paſſed another bill which carried no leſs marks of ſervitude. It was enacted, that a marriage already conſummated ſhould not be annulled, on pretence of pre-contract or any other impediment not mentioned in the law of God. Without doubt the parliament had, or perhaps feigned to have, forgot that the king's marriage with Anne Bullen was annulled by reaſon of a pre-contract, and upon the ſame foundation, during this very ſeſſion, they had approved the diſſolution of his marriage with Anne of Cleves.

It

It is true, the king declared, it was not conſummated. But Catherine of Arragon proteſted the ſame thing with reſpect to her marriage with prince Arthur, and yet it was decided, that a party concerned ſhould not be believed even upon oath, when they were preſumptions to the contrary. Theſe were real contradictions but not minded by the king. His aim was to legitimate the princeſs Elizabeth by virtue of the former branch of the act, and to remove, by the latter, the impediments in the canon law, to his intended marriage with Catherine Howard, who was couſin-german to Anne Bullen [n]. 1540. Intent of the act.

Before the parliament broke up, the clergy of the province of Canterbury, aſſembled in convocation, offered the king a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound, of all eccleſiaſtical preferments to be paid in two years, in acknowledgment (as they ſaid in their addreſs) of his care to free the church of England from the tyranny of the pope. The king gladly accepted their preſent, which was readily confirmed by the parliament. But this was not ſufficient for the king's occaſions. In a few days, he demanded alſo an aid of money of the commons. Though for ſome time the parliament had been wont to ſubmit without examination to the king's pleaſure, this demand met with ſome ſort of oppoſition in the lower houſe. And indeed, it could not but ſeem ſtrange, conſidering the king was in peace with all the world, and beſides, he could not be imagined to have already conſumed the money procured by the ſuppreſſion of the abbies. Some of the commons repreſented, that if in time of peace, and within the ſpace of one year, the king had ſpent ſuch immenſe ſums, there was nothing more to do but to give him all the lands in the kingdom, which too would not ſuffice for the expence of few years. But theſe ſpeeches had no great effect. It was anſwered by the king's party, that he had laid out vaſt ſums in ſecuring the coaſts [o], and that the keeping his ſubjects in peace and plenty coſt him Money granted to the king by the clergy. Burnet. Strype. Burnet.

[n] By other ſtatutes it was enacted, 1. That phyſicians in London ſhall be diſcharged from watch and ward, and not ſerve the office of conſtable, or any other. That the preſident, and four fellows of the college, ſhall ſearch and examine the wares and drugs of apothecaries; and that they may practiſe ſurgery. 2. By another, the barbers and Surgeons were made one company. 3. And by another it was ordered, That a court of firſt fruits and tenths, (conſiſting of a chancellor, treaſurer, two auditors, two clerks, a meſſenger, and an uſher,) ſhould be erected. 4. As alſo a court of wards. This laſt was aboliſhed 12 Car. II. See Statut. 32 Hen. VIII.

[o] In building havens, bulwarks, and other forts for the defence of the coaſts. Burnet, tom. I. p. 284.

1540. more than the moſt burthenſome war. Theſe reaſons, though very weak, paſſed for inconteſtable, and the commons granted the king a ſubſidy, as large as if he had been actually engaged in a dangerous war [p]. This is a third proof of the parliament's ſlavery. Mean while, the people could not conceive what was become of all the money the king had lately received, and which ſhould have ſupplied his neceſſities for many years.

The parliament is diſſolved. A general pardon, with abundance of exceptions. Burnet.

This parliament, which had given the king ſo great teſtimonies of a boundleſs compliance, was diſſolved the 24th of July. But the king was pleaſed firſt to requite his ſubjects with a free and general pardon, as it was called, though the exceptions limited the benefit to few perſons. All thoſe were excluded who had been condemned for denying the king's ſupremacy, or for tranſgreſſing ſome one of the ſix articles of the bloody ſtatute, and even thoſe who were only accuſed of theſe crimes which were then unpardonable. The counteſs of Saliſbury, cardinal Pole's mother, and Thomas Cromwell were excepted by name.

Cromwell's execution. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Burnet.

As Cromwell's execution had been deferred, he was in ſome hopes of obtaining his pardon, and the more, as having writ to the king a very ſubmiſſive letter, he was ſo moved with it that he cauſed it to be thrice read. But the ſollicitations of the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, ſeconded by thoſe of Catherine Howard, who acted in their favour, rendered the endeavours of the priſoner fruitleſs. The king ſigned a warrant to cut off his head the 28th of July [q], about ſix weeks after his condemnation. As Cromwell left a ſon of whom he was very fond, he would ſay nothing on the ſcaffold that might do him a prejudice. He contented himſelf with ſhowing, that he willingly ſubmitted to the ſentence the law had paſſed on him. He prayed for the king's proſperity, and declared he died in the profeſſion of the catholick religion [r]. Theſe laſt words were variouſly interpreted, according to the paſſions and prejudices of the two parties in matters of religion. Though it was certain, Cromwell had lived in the opinions of the Lutherans, the contrary party maintained, he recanted at his death, and that by the catholick religion was to be underſtood the old religion, pro-

Burnet. Hall. fol. 242. Stow. p. 580. Hollingſh.

[p] A tenth, being two ſhillings in the pound of lands, and twelve pence of goods; and four fifteenths. Hall, fol. 241. Stow, p. 579.

[q] Which it ſeems was done very barbarouſly. Hall, fol. 242.

[r] His words were, "I pray you "that be here to bear me record, I "die in the catholick faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, no "nor doubting in any ſacrament of "the church." Hall, fol. 242.

ſeſſed in the kingdom before all the innovations. The others pretended, theſe words ought to be taken in a more general ſenſe, and at moſt to ſignify only the religion which was then eſtabliſhed. However, the care Cromwell took when he came to die, to ſay nothing that might offend the king, turned to his ſon Gregory's advantage, who was this year created a peer of the realm, by the title of lord Cromwell. The office of vicegerent enjoyed by the father died with him, no one deſiring a poſt ſo obnoxious to envy, and ſo fatal to the firſt poſſeſſor. Beſides, the duke of Norfolk and the biſhop of Wincheſter, who were then in great credit, took care not to ſollicit the king to fill a place, which would engage the perſon who held it, to uſe all his intereſt to hinder a reconciliation with Rome [s]. 1540. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 708. Dec. 18.

Some days after Cromwell's death [t], was ſeen at London a ſight, which very much perplexed both parties. This was a company of people condemned and executed all together, ſome for denying the king's ſupremacy, others for maintaining the Lutheran doctrines. Among theſe laſt were Robert Barnes doctor of divinity, Thomas Gerard parſon of Honylane, and William Jerom vicar of Stepney. Theſe three being impeached before the parliament, were condemned to Several perſons of both religions executed. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

[s] Thomas Cromwell from being but a blackſmith's ſon at Putney, found means to travel into foreign countries, to learn their languages, and to ſee the wars, being a ſoldier in the duke of Bourbon's army at the ſacking of Rome. Whence returning, he was received into cardinal Wolſey's ſervice; and after his fall, the king voluntarily, (for his fidelity to his old maſter) took him for his ſervant. He obtained ſucceſſively the offices and dignities of privy counſellor, maſter of the jewel houſe, clerk of the hanaper, principal ſecretary of ſtate, juſtice of the foreſts, maſter of the rolls, lord privy ſeal, baron, the king's vicegerent in ſpirituals, knight of the garter, earl of Eſſex, great chamberlain of England, &c. Herbert, p. 225. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 370. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 363. As his extraction was mean, his education was low; all the learning he had, was, that he had got the New-Teſtament in Latin by heart. His miniſtry was in a continual courſe of flattery and ſubmiſſion, by which he did great things that amaze one, who has conſidered them well. The ſetting up the king's ſupremacy, and the rooting out the monaſtick ſtate in England, conſidering the wealth, numbers and zeal of the monks, were bold undertakings, and executed with great method. But in the end, an unfortunate marriage, to which he adviſed the king, not proving acceptable, and he being unwilling to deſtroy what himſelf had brought about, was, no doubt, backward in the deſign of breaking it when the king had told him of it. And then, upon no other viſible ground, but becauſe Anne of Cleves grew more obliging to the king than ſhe was formerly, the king ſuſpected that Cromwell had betrayed his ſecret, and engaged her to a ſofter deportment, on deſign to prevent the divorce, and did upon that diſgrace and deſtroy him. He carried his greatneſs with wonderful temper and moderation, and was thankful to [illegible] his old acquaintance. Burnet, [illegible] p. 284. Stow, p. [illegible] 952.

[t] July 30. Hall, [illegible]

1540. be burned upon a general accuſation of ſowing hereſy, perverting the ſcriptures, and maintaining errors deſtructive of religion, without the act's mentioning any particulars, and in all appearance, without the parliament's examining the proofs. By the ſame act were condemned to ſuffer the ſame puniſhment four men, one of whom was accuſed of maintaining the papal authority, another for holding correſpondence with cardinal Pole, a third for deſigning to ſurprize Calais, a fourth for harbouring a rebel [u], and laſtly, three more convicted of denying the king's ſupremacy [w]. All theſe were burned or hanged at the ſame time and place. It is to Hall. be preſumed, they were not admitted to ſpeak for themſelves, ſince Barnes, after a declaration of his faith to the people, aſked the ſheriff whether he knew why he was to ſuffer. The ſheriff anſwering, he did not, he turned to the ſtake and ſaid, the puniſhment he was going to ſuffer plainly taught him the crime of which he was ſuppoſed to be guilty. He prayed however for the king, and even for Gardiner whom he ſuſpected to be the author of his death. The biſhop endeavoured to clear himſelf by a printed apology, but had the misfortune not to be believed [x].

Catherine Howard declared queen. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

On the 8th of Auguſt, Catherine Howard the duke of Norfolk's niece [y] was declared queen, the king having privately married her ſome time before. She was ſo devoted to the duke her uncle, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, that ſhe was entirely guided by their counſels. As ſhe had a great aſcendent over the king, very likely ſhe would have induced him to give himſelf over to the guidance of theſe two miniſters, who were preparing to procure by her means great alterations in religion, had not her fall, which will be preſently related, confounded their projects. However, they improved as much as poſſible ſo favourable a juncture, to ſtrike at the reformation and the reformed. Certainly Cranmer was then in a very dangerous ſituation. He could not

The friends of the old religion triumph at it.

Deſigns againſt Cranmer. Burnet.

u Theſe four were, Gregory Buttolph, Adam Damplip, Edmund Brinholme. and Clement Philpot, who were attainted for aſſiſting Reginald Pole, adhering to the biſhop of Rome, denying the king's ſupremacy, and deſigning to ſurprize the town of Calais. Derby Gunnings, was alſo attainted for aſſiſting Fitzgerald a traitor in Ireland. Burnet, tom. I. p. 297.

w Thomas Abell, Richard Fetherſton, and Edward Powell. Hall, fol. 243. Stow, p. 581.

x At the ſame time was attainted and executed the lord Hungerford. His crimes were, keeping a heretical chaplain, applying to a conjurer to know how long the king was to live, and the practiſing beaſtiality. Herbert, p. 225. Hall, fol. 243.

y She was daughter of Edmund Howard (third ſon of Thomas duke of Norfolk, ſon of John firſt duke of Norfolk) by Joyce daughter of Sir Richard Culpeper of Hollingburn in Kent. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 272.

doubt

doubt that the authors of Cromwell's ruin, desired his de- 1540.
struction with the same ardour, nay, were privately working it. Complaints of him were already heard in several places, and even a member of parliament [z] said openly in the house, he was the protector and head of the innovators. These things would have doubtless taken effect, had his enemies had a little more time to prepare all their plots. But as they knew the king had a real esteem for him, they intended to proceed by degrees, plainly perceiving, they could not without danger to themselves, press his ruin so directly as Cromwell's. Besides, there was but one article which gave them any advantage upon Cranmer, namely, religion, in which too he had been very cautious, well knowing that the way to advance the reformation under such a prince as Henry, was not directly to oppose his will.

Exposition of the christian doctrine, which every one was obliged to receive. It is very disadvantageous to the reformation. Burnet. T. I. p. 286, &c.

The change produced at court by Cromwell's disgrace and the new queen's advancement was quickly perceived. The commissioners appointed to draw up a declaration of the christian doctrine, having presented their work to the king, he ordered it to be immediately published [a]. Though the declaration corrected sundry abuses, the popish party had so prevailed, that instead of promoting, it sensibly obstructed the reformation, as it is easy to see by the abstract doctor Burnet gives of it in his history of the reformation of England. However, as several principles were laid down which might be of great use in a more favourable juncture, the re-

z Sir John Gostwick knight of the shire for Bedfordshire. Burnet, tom. I. p. 285.

a It was published with a preface written by those who had been employed in it. First, the true nature of faith is stated. After this, there followed an explanation of the apostles creed, with practical inferences. From that they proceeded to examine the seven sacraments. Then followed an explanation of the ten commandments, which contains many good rules of morality. After that, an explanation of the lord's prayer was added. Then followed an exposition of the angel's salutation of the blessed virgin, and the ave-maria explained. The next article is about free will, which they say must be in man. After this they handled justification. Next good works are explained, which are said to be absolutely necessary to salvation. The method they followed was this, (as appears in some authentick writings,) first, the whole business they were to consider, was divided into so many heads or queries, and these were given to so many bishops and divines, and at a prefixed time every one brought in his opinion in writing upon all the queries. When their answers were given in, two were appointed to compare them, and draw an extract of the particulars, in which they agreed or disagreed; which the one did in Latin, the other in English. As this was the way that was used concerning the seven sacraments, (as may be seen Collect. N. 21. vol. I. of Burnet's Reformation,) so 'tis reasonable to believe they proceeded with the same maturity in the rest of their deliberations, though the papers are lost. Burnet, tom. I. p. 286, &c.

1540. formers were glad, in hopes theſe principles would ſerve one day to deſtroy the errors advanced in the declaration. On the other hand, the popiſh party thought they had gained much, becauſe they ſaw doctrines laid down, to which probably the reformers would never conſent, and hoped this oppoſition would draw the king's indignation upon their whole party. As for themſelves, having always had an abſolute compliance for the king, they intended to purſue the ſame courſe, in order to put him entirely into the diſpoſition they deſired. Other commiſſioners, who were ordered to reform the miſſals, made ſo ſlight alterations, that excepting a few razures of thoſe collects, in which the pope was prayed for [b], there was nothing changed, nor was it neceſſary to reprint the maſs books. Thus by the credit of the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, ſupported by the new queen, archbiſhop Cranmer, and thoſe of his party ſaw a ſtorm approaching, which probably would overwhelm them all. Perhaps it was very fortunate for them, that the king was diverted ſome time by other affairs, from his attention to what concerned religion.

Reformation of the miſſals very inconſiderable. Burnet.

The emperor breaks his word with Francis. Bellai. Mezerai.

The emperor's paſſage through France ſeemed at firſt to create a ſincere reconciliation between him and Francis. During his ſtay at Paris, he poſitively promiſed to give the duchy of Milan to the duke of Orleans. But when Francis preſſed him to ſign an inſtrument of inveſtiture, he anſwered ſuch an act would be looked upon as extorted, if dated in France, and that it was more honourable for him and the king too, that it ſhould be ſigned in ſome town of Flanders. Afterwards, when he was out of France, he found ſome freſh excuſe not to perform his promiſe. Mean while, he ſubdued the Gantois, and puniſhed them ſeverely for the trouble they had given him of a journey to Flanders. After that, when Francis claimed his promiſe, he clogged it with ſuch reſtrictions, that it was eaſy to perceive he had no mind to part with a country, by which Spain had a communication with his other dominions in Italy and Germany. Francis vexed to be thus deceived turned out of favour chancellor Poyet, and conſtable Montmorency, who had adviſed him to take the emperor's word.

[b] And of Thomas Becket's [illegible] for as all the pariſhes and the offices of other ſaints [illegible] to furniſh themſelves days were by the king's injunc[illegible]plete books of the offimore to be obſerved. So the old [illegible]ſhed books were every ſerved ſtill. But in queen Mary's [illegible] and deſtroyed. Burcare was taken that poſteri[illegible]294. not know how much was d[illegible]

About

About the end of the year 1540, there were ſome beginnings of a quarrel between Francis and Henry, which ended at length in a war. Francis ordered a fortreſs to be built at Ardres, and a bridge to be made over to the Engliſh pale. But the governor of Calais not ſuffering this incroachment, ſent a detachment of his garriſon and beat down the bridge. The French rebuilt it, and the Engliſh demoliſhed it a ſecond time. Whereupon the king of France ordering marſhal de Biez to raiſe troops in Picardy, Henry reinforced the garriſon of Calais [c], and repaired the fortifications. Mean while the two kings willing to avoid a rupture upon ſo ſlight an occaſion, agreed to ſend commiſſioners [d] upon the ſpot, with powers to adjuſt the difference. But the conference producing no good effect, each provided for his defence in caſe of an attack. 1540. Beginning of a quarrel between Francis and Henry. Hall. Herbert.

It was this year that the famous jeſuitical order was founded by a bull of Paul III. dated the twenty ſeventh of September [e]. The order of the jeſuits.

The uneaſineſs the emperor had given Henry for ſome time was now almoſt vaniſhed, ſince Francis had been diſappointed in the affair of Milan. Henry knew ſufficiently that prince's temper and character, to foreſee without much difficulty that he would ſoon break with the emperor. A war between theſe two monarchs could not but be advantageous to Henry. It would of courſe procure him quiet, and 1541. Henry fears nothing from the emperor and pope.

[c] He ſent fifteen hundred workmen, to wall and fortify Guiſnes, and five hundred ſoldiers to defend them. And alſo Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, William Fitzwilliams, earl of Southampton, and John lord Ruſſel, were ſent over with two hundred horſe. Hall, fol. 243.

[d] The Engliſh commiſſioners were Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, and Sir Edward Karne. Herbert, p. 226.

[e] The founder of this order was Inigo (or Ignatius) de Leyola of Guipuſcoa in Spain. He was born 1492, the very year the Indies were diſcovered, and Granada taken by Ferdinand. He lived obſcurely till he came to twenty nine years of age, and then turned ſoldier in the wars of Navarre 1521, where being hurt in the knee, the pain thereof ſeems to have wakened devotion in him to a religious life; for ſo ſoon as he recovered, he went to our lady of Montſerrat, and offered his ſword and dagger; then giving his cloaths to a poor man, took upon him a ſhirt and miſerable habit, which he girt about him with a rope of riſhes; and in theſe arms (as Sandoval terms them) he watched one whole night before our lady, and ſo went to an hoſpital three leagues off, and there attended ſick perſons, whence he travelled to the Holy Land; being returned, and in his thirty third year, he began to learn grammar at Barcelona, which in two years he attained. Then he went to the univerſity of Alcala, and ſo to Salamanca, where being oppoſed and perſecuted, he left all and came to Paris, and there ſtudied till he had found divers others, with whom he agreed to return in pilgrimage to Jeruſalem. Thus about 1536 going to Venice, he ſtay'd till his companions overtook him, and went from thence to Rome, where he obtained of Paul III. the foundation of the jeſuits order 1540. Herbert, p. 226.

enable

1541. enable him to preſerve an equality of power between them, which was the firmeſt foundation of his own and his kingdom's ſecurity. So fearing nothing from the pope or the emperor, or the king of France, or his own ſubjects, whoſe attempts muſt be in vain without a foreign aid, he confined himſelf wholly to his domeſtick affairs. He had chiefly two things in view. The firſt was, to preſerve and even enlarge the authority he had acquired; the ſecond, to take care that no alterations ſhould be made in religion, but ſuch as he himſelf judged reaſonable. Theſe were the two affairs which wholly employed him. As he was poſitively bent upon theſe two points, and the parliament durſt not oppoſe his will, it may be eaſily judged that none of his miniſters had the courage to contradict him in any thing. So, it was himſelf alone that ordered every thing according to his fancy, his council only approving his motions. However, there were in the council, as well as in the kingdom, two oppoſite parties with reſpect to religion. But every one had always his eyes upon the king, to try to diſcover his thoughts for fear of combating his opinion.

He is abſolute in his kingdom.

Cranmer's character. Burnet.

Archbiſhop Cranmer was at the head of the party who wiſhed for a greater reformation. He was ſtill very much eſteemed by the king, eſpecially on account of his integrity. But ſincerity, which he profeſſed, rendered him unfit for political affairs, in a court where inſtead of hearkening to reaſon, juſtice, and equity, the king's inclination only was to be conſidered.

Audley's.

Chancellor Audley was a perſon of good ſenſe. He ſerved the reformers when he could without danger. But he was too much a courtier to inſiſt upon what he judged reaſonable, if the king was againſt it.

The duke of Norfolk's.

The duke of Norfolk was as eminent for his merit as for his birth. He was reckoned a good general, but was ſtill a better courtier. Ever ſubmiſſive to the king's will, he outwardly approved whatever he was pleaſed to command him: But in private, he grieved at all the late innovations in religion, and could not endure either the reformation or the reformed. He would have been glad to ſee the king reconciled to the pope, but the ſmall hopes of their reconciliation made him very cautious how he offended ſo unforgiving a maſter. Nevertheleſs, as the king was not always in the ſame diſpoſition, the duke found frequent occaſion to ſerve his party, eſpecially in the puniſhment of thoſe who diſliked the ſix articles, and were ſo hardy as publickly to ſhow it. In a word, he was at the head of the favourers of the pope,

and the old religion. But he carefully concealed from the king his inclination for the former; and as for the latter, he ſhowed his zeal only in ſupporting what the king had retained. 1541.

Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter was in the ſame ſentiments, and behaved in the ſame manner. But he was very far from being ſo much eſteemed by the king, who made uſe of him however becauſe he was pliant and dexterous, and had an extenſive knowledge of foreign affairs. As this knowledge rendered him of greater inſight than the reſt of the miniſters, he ſometimes engaged the king in proceedings, the conſequences whereof might be advantageous to his party, and of which the king himſelf did not always know the motive. By a blind ſubmiſſion to the king's will, he kept himſelf in ſome degree of favour, being convinced himſelf, and having alſo convinced his friends, that compliance was the only means to procure a revocation of what had been done againſt the pope. Gardiner's.

Bonner biſhop of London was alſo one of the heads of the ſame party, but however always ready to ſacrifice every thing to his fortune. He was naturally bold, paſſionate, and exceſſively cruel, as he plainly ſhowed upon many occaſions. As he was of very little merit, he ſupported himſelf by courting thoſe who were in favour, and by making the king's will the rule of his actions. Bonner's.

Queen Catherine blindly followed the directions of the duke of Norfolk her uncle, and uſed what power ſhe had over the king, to ſupport the credit of the enemies of the reformation. The queen's.

Such was the ſituation of the court, when the king, freed from his foreign affairs, was wholly employed in his domeſtick concerns. The kingdom however was in profound tranquillity, becauſe the terror with which people were ſeized ſilenced all contradiction. In December the laſt year, he began the foundation of the new biſhopricks, by converting the abbey of Weſtminſter into a biſhop's ſee [f]. In this year 1541 he founded three more, Cheſter [g], Glouceſter [h], Foundation of ſix new biſhopricks.

[f] With a deanery and twelve prebends, with the officers for a cathedral and a choir. Of which Thomas Thirleby was the only biſhop. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 705.

[g] Auguſt the fourth, out of the monaſtery of St. Werburgh at Cheſter, with a deanery and ſix prebends. Rymer, ibid. p. 718.

[h] September the third, out of the monaſtery of St. Peter's at Glouceſter, with a deanery and ſix prebends. Ibid. p. 724.

and

1541. and Peterborough [i], and the next year Oxford [k] and Bristol [l]. These foundations, and some others of little consequence, were the only charitable uses to which he applied the immense riches acquired by the suppression of the abbies [m]. His courtiers magnified these pious acts, whilst others took notice of the little proportion between seven or eight thousand pounds a year, employed in these uses, and what was acquired by the ruin of near seven hundred religious houses.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 731, 748, 754. Burnet.

The king declares hereticks all those who reject the exposition of faith. Herbert. Burnet.

Mean while, Henry had a mind to show his zeal for religion, as if his sole aim was to procure the eternal salvation of his people. The book of the exposition of christian faith being printed, he prefixed an ordinance, declaring all those to be hereticks, who believed more or less than was contained in that book [n]. However, as it was not possible that all should conform to it, and it does not appear, any person suffered upon that account in the course of this year, it is likely the king had intimated that he desired not his ordinance to be rigorously executed.

Francis prepares to make war upon the emperor. P. Daniel.

Whilst Henry was congratulating himself upon triumphing over the pope, and enjoying a tranquillity which the court of Rome had in vain attempted to disturb, the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon what passed between the emperor and the king of France, and upon the preparations in Turkey. The war between the emperor and Francis was going to be renewed, but very unseasonably for the emperor, when Soliman was preparing to invade Hungary, on occasion of the death of John de Zapol, competitor of the king of the Romans. These two princes, after long contending for the crown of Hungary being at last tired of war, agreed that Zapol should hold, during his life, what he possessed

[i] The fourth of the same month, out of Peterborough abbey, with a deanery and six prebends. Ibid. p. 731.

[k] September the first, out of the abbey of Osney at Oxford, [illegible] deanery and six prebends. [illegible] 754.

[l] June the fourth, out of St. [illegible] at Bristol, with a deanery a[illegible] bends. Ibid. p. 748.

[m] The priories at most ca[illegible] Canterbury, Winchester, [illegible] Worcester, Carlisle, Roche[illegible] ly, were also converted in[illegible] and colleges of preb[illegible] this came far short of what the king had once intended, so Cranmer's design was quite disappointed. For he had projected, that in every cathedral there should be provision made for readers of [illegible] and of Greek and Hebrew, [illegible] number of students to be [illegible]d in the daily worship of God, [illegible] trained up in study and de[illegible] [illegible]m the bishop might trans[illegible] [illegible] this nursery, into all the [illegible] diocese. Burnet, tom. I. [illegible]

[n] [illegible]ded a sort of a preface about [illegible] after the book was fi[illegible] pub[illegible] [illegible] p. 293.

with

with the title of king, but after his death the crown ſhould deſcend to Ferdinand. Zapol dying, and leaving a ſon called Stephen, under the guardianſhip of his mother, Ferdinand expected that the treaty ſhould be executed, and would have taken poſſeſſion of all Hungary. But young Zapol's mother implored Soliman's protection, which he readily granted, intending to improve this diſſention, to become maſter of Hungary, and penetrate afterwards into the imperial territories. 1541.

The emperor ſeeing Hungary threatened with a powerful invaſion, which might be of fatal conſequence to Germany, uſed all his art to pacify the proteſtants, without giving them however any ſatisfaction, endeavouring only to amuſe them, and obtain ſome aſſiſtance againſt the Turk. On the other hand, he laboured to perſuade Soliman, that he was in perfect union with the kings of France and England, that the dread of a general league of the chriſtian princes might divert him from his deſign. Wherefore, he tried to amuſe Francis with putting him in hopes, he would give the Low Countries to his ſecond ſon, and erect them into a kingdom. At the ſame time he gave the Ottoman port to underſtand, this affair was in a manner concluded. Francis fell not into the ſnare. But hearing from all parts that the emperor's miniſters every where gave out, the negotiation was upon the point of concluſion, he reſolved to ſend an ambaſſador to Venice, and another to Conſtantinople, to undeceive the emperor of the Turks, and the ſenate of Venice. He choſe for theſe embaſſies Rincon and Fregoſa, who ſet out in order to paſs through Italy. But the marquis of Guaſto, governor of Milan, receiving advice that they were to embark at Turin, and go down the Po, cauſed them to be ſo narrowly watched, that they were murdered in the boat. Francis made great noiſe about the aſſaſſination, but the emperor gave him no ſatisfaction. This was a freſh occaſion of the rupture between the two monarchs.

The emperor's artifice to divert Soliman from invading Hungary.

Francis to break the emperor's meaſures, ſends ambaſſadors to Turkey and Venice. Mezerai. Bellai.

The ambaſſadors are murdered on the Po.

About the ſame time, the emperor called a diet at Ratiſbon for the fifth of April. As it was then no proper juncture to diſturb the proteſtants, the diet reſolved at laſt to grant them a ſecond delay, which was called the interim, that they might continue quiet and more readily engage to furniſh ſupplies againſt the Turks.

The interim granted in Germany to the proteſtants. Sleidan.

In the mean time, the king of the Romans ordered Buda, capital of Hungary, to be inveſted, in hopes of taking it before the Turks ſhould arrive. But the ſiege proving more difficult than was expected, the Turks had time to relieve it,

Battle of Buda gained by the Turks.

1541. it, and give the Germans battle, over whom they obtained a ſignal victory. Shortly after, Soliman coming to Hungary made his entry into Buda, and under colour of taking young Zapol under his protection, became maſter of the city, and great part of the kingdom.

The emperor's expedition into Africa. Hiſt. d'Eſp. Mezerai.

Mean while, the emperor having ended the diet, inſtead of marching into Hungary to aſſiſt the king his brother, took the rout of Italy, and embarking at Portovenere with an army of twenty thouſand men, ſailed for Africa to make war upon Barbaroſſa, who had made himſelf king of Algiers. This proceeding gave occaſion for many ſpeculations. It was ridiculed at the French court, as if, inſtead of fighting the Turks, he had ſought a pretence to fly from them. But as the African expedition was projected the beginning of the year, and the troops were now on the coaſt of Italy, it is certain he would not have had time to relieve the king of the Romans, if he had attempted to march his army into Hungary. However, he landed his army near Algiers the twenty ſecond of October. But, two days after a ſudden and violent ſtorm deſtroyed part of his fleet. This accident obliged him to reimbark the beginning of November, after having loſt good part of his troops and ſhips. It is pretended, Francis out of mere generoſity would not proclaim war againſt him, whilſt employed in this expedition. It is however difficult to believe that Francis, who actually held intelligence with Soliman, and afterwards ſcrupled not to make uſe of the aſſiſtance of the Turks, ſhould ſcruple to interrupt the emperor's deſigns againſt the infidels of Africa.

It miſcarries. Mezerai.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

Henry ſaw with pleaſure that the king of France and the Turks were going to find the emperor employment, which would hinder him from thinking of England. But though he was eaſy in that reſpect, he was however in ſome pain with regard to the king of Scotland, who, though his nephew, had no reaſon to love him, and could eaſily aſſiſt the Engliſh malecontents, who were very numerous in the northern counties. Henry was afraid alſo, that a religious zeal would carry that prince to undertake ſomething againſt him, becauſe he began to ſuffer himſelf to be governed by the churchmen, who under colour of perſuading him to deſtroy hereſy, ſtrongly attached him to the pope's intereſt. The reformed had now been burned many years in Scotland. But theſe puniſhments cauſed there the ſame effects as elſewhere, that is, they increaſed inſtead of leſſening the number, and yet the clergy were ſtill obſtinately bent to root them out with fire and ſword. James V. was a prince much

Burnet.

much addicted to his pleaſures, and very greedy of money. Beſides, he had ſeveral natural ſons whom he could not enrich as he wiſhed, becauſe he had exhauſted his treaſure in needleſs expences. There were two parties in his court, whereof the one favoured the king of England and the reformed, and the other, chiefly conſiſting of churchmen, was entirely againſt Henry, and continually ſtrove to induce the king to extirpate all who ſwerved from the old religion. The former endeavoured to perſuade him to imitate the king of England his uncle, and ſecure a large revenue by the ſuppreſſion of the abbies. The latter repreſented to him, that by ſtrictly executing the laws againſt hereticks, he would raiſe by forfeited eſtates above a hundred thouſand crowns a year. After ſome conſideration, James cloſed with the laſt advice, and ſuffering the clergy to take their own courſe, there followed in Scotland a violent perſecution [o].

1541.

Henry perceiving the king his nephew to be thus governed by perſons wholly addicted to the court of Rome, feared, he would at laſt be led to unite againſt him with the pope and emperor. This apprehenſion ſeemed to him the more juſt, as he could hardly rely any longer on the aſſiſtance of the king of France, who was wont to direct the court of Scotland, becauſe that ancient ally was grown extremely cold to him. Whereupon, he reſolved to uſe all his art to gain the king his nephew, and perſuade him to break, like him, with the pope. To this end he ſent ambaſſadors to deſire an interview at York, not queſtioning that in an amicable conference he ſhould have eloquence enough to perſuade him to what he pleaſed. James accepted the overture, and promiſed to come to York, where Henry went and expected him. But the Scotch eccleſiaſticks and their whole party ſo beſtirred themſelves to prevent this interview, the conſequence whereof they perceived, that they ſucceeded at laſt, and prevailed with the king to find ſome pretence to be excuſed.

Henry reſumes his deſign of gaining the king of Scotland. Burnet. Buchanan.

James agrees to it. Hall. Herbert.

[o] George Buchanan, the famous Scotch hiſtorian, was in danger at this time, and would have died with the reſt, had not he eſcaped out of priſon. See his hiſtory of Scotland, l. 14. The ſharpneſs of his poems againſt the clergy was the cauſe of his confinement. He went beyond ſea, and lived twenty years in exile, and was forced to teach ſchool moſt part of the time. In his writings there appears not only all the beauty and graces of the Latin tongue, but a great vigour of mind and quickneſs of thought. His ſtile is ſo natural and nervous, and his reflections on things are ſo ſolid, (beſides his immortal poems) that he is juſtly ſtiled the beſt of our modern authors. Burnet, tom. I. p. 211.

Mean

1541. Mean while, Henry who knew nothing of this change, impatiently waited at York for the day appointed for the interview. In the interval, he iſſued out a proclamation, that all who had been aggrieved for want of juſtice by any of his former miniſters, ſhould come to him and his council for redreſs. His aim was to throw all paſt miſcarriages on Cromwell, and put his ſubjects, particularly the northern people, in hopes of better times [p]. But whilſt he was preparing for the king of Scotland's reception, he received letters of excuſe that he could not have the honour of waiting upon him. He was extremely provoked, and this refuſal, which he deemed an affront, ſoon after cauſed a breach between the two kingdoms. But his vexation at this affair was not comparable to the unexpected affliction he met with upon his return to London.

Henry goes and ſtays for him at York. Proclamation in favour of all the people. Hall. Stow. Burnet. T. I. p. 311. Herbert.

Since his laſt marriage, he daily bleſſed God for the happineſs he enjoyed with his queen, and upon all occaſions publickly teſtified his extreme ſatisfaction: nay, during his journey to York, deſiring to give God thanks in a manner ſuitable to the ſentiments of his heart, he ordered his confeſſor [q] to draw up a particular thankſgiving, and prayed him to join with him in the ſame. All this ſhewed his eſteem and tender affection for the queen, who ſeemed to have the ſame fondneſs for him. But when he came to London, he heard things which it would have been well for him never to have known. Whilſt he was at York, one John Laſſels came to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who remained at London, and told him that his ſiſter, an old ſervant of the ducheſs dowager of Norfolk, under whoſe care the queen was brought up, ſaid to him, that the queen had been very lewd before and ſince her marriage; and that two men, among others, namely, Dirham and Mannock, had often enjoyed her. Cranmer communicating the ſecret to the lord chancellor, and other privy counſellors, it was agreed that the archbiſhop ſhould inform the king of it, as ſoon as he returned to London, though they were not igno-

The queen's lewdneſs is diſcovered. Hall. Hollingſh. Burnet.

Herbert. p. 228.

[p] In April this year, there broke out a new inſurrection in Yorkſhire, which was ſoon ſuppreſſed. During this progreſs, the places the king paſſed through made their ſubmiſſion to him, thanking him for his pardon, and made him the following preſents: Stamford 200 l. Lincoln 400 l. Boſton 500 l. Lindſey 300 l. Keſteven, and the church of Lincoln 500 l. The chief perſons of Yorkſhire 900 l. The archbiſhop of York, with three hundred prieſts, 600 l. The mayors of York, Newcaſtle, Hull, 100 l. a piece. Hall, fol. 244.

[q] The biſhop of Lincoln, on November 1. Herbert, p. 228.

[r] Two of the ducheſs of Norfolk's domeſticks. Herberts, p. 228.

rant

rant of the danger they expoſed themſelves to, if the accuſation could not be proved. But on this occaſion it was no leſs dangerous to be ſilent. 1541.

Cranmer not knowing how to execute his commiſſion, choſe to ſet it down in writing, and put it in the king's hands [s], deſiring him to read it in private. Henry took it at firſt for a calumny, reſolving in himſelf to puniſh the authors ſeverely. Nay, it was with this view only that he was pleaſed thoroughly to examine the matter, though with all poſſible ſecrecy, for fear of vexing the queen. He ordered therefore the lord privy-ſeal to examine Laſſels in private. Laſſels boldly ſtood to what he had ſaid upon his ſiſter's report, who alſo confirmed what ſhe had told her brother. Upon theſe depoſitions, ſome pretence was uſed to arreſt Dirham and Mannock, who diſcovered in their examination more circumſtances than were deſired. They confeſſed not only that they had lain with the queen, but alſo that three court ladies, her confidents, were commonly eye-witneſſes to her lewd practices. One of the three was the lady Rochford, who accuſed the lord Rochford her huſband of a criminal commerce with queen Anne Bullen his ſiſter [t]. They farther depoſed, that the king being at Lincoln, one Culpeper, by the lady Rochford's means, was brought into the queen's chamber at eleven a clock in the night, and ſtaid there till four in the morning, and that when he went away the queen gave him a gold chain and a rich cap. Moreover, the queen had taken Dirham into her ſervice, which ſhewed ſhe intended to continue the ſame courſe of life. The queen at firſt denied all. But in a ſecond examination ſhe confeſſed [u], that before marriage ſhe had proſtituted herſelf to ſeveral men. This confeſſion ſhook the king's reſolution, who lamenting his misfortune, could not forbear burſting out into tears. In ſhort, after Dirham, Mannock, and Culpeper were condemned to die [w], he was pleaſed the queen's impeachment ſhould be brought before

Cranmer informs the king of it. Burnet, Herbert.

Depoſitions are taken in private.

Several witneſſes againſt the queen. Hall. Burnet. Hollingſh.

The queen's confeſſion. Herbert. Burnet.

[s] November 2. Herbert, p. 228.

[t] In an original letter ſent from divers of the council to William Paget our ambaſſador then in France, wherein all the circumſtances of the affair are ſet forth at large, it appears that there were three ſundry women one after another, that had lain in the ſame bed with them when Dirham lay with the queen. One of theſe women the queen had taken into her ſervice as well as Dirham. See the letter in lord Herbert, p. 228. Compl. Hiſt.

[u] To the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who took the confeſſion of the ſame in writing ſubſcribed with her hand. Herbert, p. 229. This confeſſion is extant in Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. tom. III, Collect. p. 171. whereby it appears that ſhe confeſſed more than enough.

[w] Dirham and Culpeper were executed at Tyburn, December 10. Hall, fol. 245.

1541. the parliament, which met the 16th of January the next year 1542.

Act Pub. XIV. p. 737, &c.

The commiſſioners [x] named by the parliament to examine the queen, reported, that the facts ſhe was accuſed of, were ſufficiently proved. Whereupon both houſes declared her guilty, and petitioned [y] the king that ſhe might be puniſhed with death, together with the lady Rochford, accomplice of her lewd practices, the ducheſs dowager of Norfolk, the lord William Howard and his lady [z], the counteſs of Bridgewater, five other women, and four men, for miſpriſon of treaſon, in concealing what they knew of the queen's vicious life. Here again may be obſerved, the ſervileneſs of the parliament, who did not dare to condemn the queen and her accomplices, without knowing whether the king would be pleaſed to ſuffer them to be puniſhed. They did not proceed in this manner with regard to Anne Bullen and the lord Rochford, becauſe the king's authority was not arrived to that height, as at the time I am ſpeaking of. The king conſenting they ſhould be puniſhed, they were condemned to die by an act of attainder. There was alſo a very extraordinary clauſe in the act, declaring: "That

1542.

Act of attainder againſt the queen and her accomplices. Burnet. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

[x] Cranmer, the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and the biſhop of Weſtminſter examined the queen, January 28. How much ſhe confeſſed to them is not very clear, neither by the journal nor the act of parliament, which only ſays, "ſhe "confeſſed," without mentioning the particulars. Burnet, vol. I. p. 312. Journals of parliament.

[y] The bill for her attainder was read January 21, for the firſt time; and for the ſecond and third times, Feb. 6. and 8. Journals of Parl.—The act, paſſed in both houſes, began with petitioning the king: 1. Not to be troubled, ſince it might ſhorten his life. 2. To pardon every thing ſpoken againſt the queen. 3. That the queen and her accomplices might, &c. Burnet, tom. I. p. 313.

[z] Rapin, by miſtake, ſuppoſes theſe to be her father and mother, whereas they were her uncle and aunt. Her father was the lord Edmund Howard. As the family of the Howards ſpread themſelves into ſeveral branches, in order to prevent confuſion, it will be proper to inſert here a ſhort genealogical account of that family, which ſhall be carried on in due time. Sir Robert Howard (temp. Hen. VI.) married Margaret daughter and coheir to Thomas de Mowbray duke of Norfolk; by whom he had John, created duke of Norfolk, June 28, 1 Ric. III. and ſlain afterwards at Boſworth fight, who married, 1. Catherine, daughter of William lord Molins, by whom he had Thomas created earl of Surrey, 1 Rich. III. and reſtored to the ſame title 4 Hen. VII. and to that of duke of Norfolk 5 Hen. VIII. 2. Margaret daughter of ſir John Chedworth. The ſaid Thomas married, firſt, Elizabeth daughter and ſole heir to ſir Frederick Tilney, by whom he had Thomas the third duke of Norfolk, ſir Edward knight of the garter and high admiral, and Edmund father of Catherine, fifth wife of Henry VIII. His ſecond wife was Agnes, ſiſter and heir of ſir Philip Tilney, by whom he had William created baron of Effingham, March 11. (1 Mary) and Thomas who died in the Tower en 1537, where he was confined about Margaret Douglaſs daughter of the queen of Scotland. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 265—278.

"whoever

" whoever knew any thing of the incontinence of a queen, 1542.
" ſhould reveal it under the pains of treaſon: that if the
" king or his ſucceſſors ſhould intend to marry a woman as
" a virgin, if ſhe not being ſo, did not declare the ſame
" to the king, it ſhould be high treaſon; and all who knew
" it, and did not reveal it, were guilty of miſpriſion of trea-
" ſon: that if the queen or the princeſs of Wales ſhould
" procure any by meſſages or words, to know her car-
" nally; or any other by meſſages or words ſhould ſollicit
" them; they, their counſellors and abbettors, are to be
" adjudged high traitors."

Henry giving his aſſent to the act by his letters patents [a] the queen and the lady Rochford were beheaded on Tower-hill the 12th of February. The queen ſtood to what ſhe had confeſſed, concerning the miſcarriages of her former life before ſhe was married; but denied upon her ſalvation, that ſhe had ever defiled the king's bed. As for the lady Rochford, ſhe died unlamented by all. But her death and infamy ſerved at leaſt to raiſe again the reputation of the lord Rochford her huſband, and of queen Anne Bullen, whoſe death ſhe procured by her evidence, which her own condemnation cauſed to be univerſally ſuſpected. The queen is beheaded. Hall. Burnet. Herbert. Stow.

The extreme ſeverity of the parliament to the queen's relations was much cenſured by the publick. It was thought unnatural to puniſh a grandmother for not diſcovering her grand daughter's incontinence [b]. Accordingly the king moderated the ſeverity, by pardoning her and moſt of thoſe who were condemned, ſome of whom however remained long in priſon. As for the laſt clauſe, which made it treaſon for a woman, courted by the king, not to reveal the loſs of her virginity, it was turned into ridicule. People jeſtingly ſaid, the kings of England for the future could only marry widows, there being no reputed maid who would run the hazard of being attainted of treaſon, in caſe the king happened not to like her [c]. The act of parliament is cenſured. Burnet.

[a] Which he was empowered to do by this act. He did it Feb. 11.

[b] It was not her parents (as Rapin repeats here again by miſtake) but her grandmother, the old ducheſs of Norfolk (under whom ſhe had been bred) that people thought was cruelly dealt by, for not telling the king her grand-daughter was a whore, which would have been inconſiſtent with the rules of juſtice or decency. Her parents ſeem to have been dead before now, ſeeing there is nothing ſaid of her father ſince 12 Henry VIII. Dugdale, vol. II. p. 272.

[c] This part of the act was afterwards repealed in the firſt parliament of Edward VI.

1542. This affair being ended, the parliament confirmed [d] an act paſſed in Ireland, whereby that iſland was erected into a kingdom. From thenceforward the kings of England inſerted among their titles, that of king of Ireland, whereas before they were ſtiled only lords [e].

Ireland is erected into a kingdom. Herbert. Hall. Stow.

Before the parliament broke up, the king began in ſome meaſure to ſhew his intention to ſeize the colleges and hoſpitals as he had done the abbies. But the execution of this deſign was very difficult. By the local ſtatutes of moſt of them, the governors, preſidents, or any of the fellows, had no power to ſurrender the lands belonging to their houſes, without the conſent of the whole ſociety. So it was not eaſy to gain whole bodies of men, who were ſo much concerned to keep the revenues on which they ſubſiſted. It is true, the king had prevailed with ſome, who were not bound by ſuch expreſs ſtatutes, to reſign their houſes to him. But, as he had his eye upon all, an expedient was to be found, for the reſt to follow this example without breaking their oath.

The king deſigns to ſuppreſs the colleges and hoſpitals. Burnet.

To that end, all the local ſtatutes of colleges and hoſpitals were annulled by act of parliament, and the governors, preſidents and fellows were no more to be ſworn to the obſervance thereof. This obſtacle being removed, a few more were ſurrendered to the king. But this affair was not entirely finiſhed till 1545, by a much ſhorter method.

An act to pave the way.

Whilſt the king's affairs were thus tranſacting in the parliament, the convocation, which ſat at the ſame time, were much divided about the new tranſlation of the bible, that was going to be publiſhed. Many affirmed, it was full of faults, and to ſuffer it to be read before it was reviſed, would be very injurious to the people. Gardiner moved this diſpute, in hopes the reviſal would take up ſome time, and the king in the mean while alter his mind [f]. His party was ſo numerous, that he would have carried his point, if Cranmer, who perceived his deſign, had not moved the king to refer

Diſpute concerning the verſion of the bible. Burnet.

[d] January 23, as appears by the journals.

[e] Among other acts, theſe that follow were alſo then made: 1. That perſons, who by privy tokens and counterfeit letters, deceitfully obtain any money, goods, or chattels, ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment (except death) as ſhall be appointed by thoſe before whom they are convicted. 2. That no perſon, except what has lands, tenements, fees, annuities, or offices, to the yearly value of one hundred pounds, ſhall keep or ſhoot with any gun. 3. That no man ſhall be juſtice of aſſize in the county where he was born, or dwelleth. 4. By another, the court of ſurveyors of the king's lands is ſettled. And 5. the puniſhment of thoſe that are guilty of murder, or bloodſhed, within the verge of the king's court. Statut. 33 Henry VIII.

[f] Gardiner had a ſingular conceit. He fancied there were many words in the New Teſtament of ſuch majeſty, that they were not to be tranſlated,

but

refer the peruſing of the tranſlation to the two univerſities, where he had much more intereſt than in the convocation. Several biſhops ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and ſome even entered a proteſtation againſt it [g]. But all ſignified nothing; ſince the king declared it to be his pleaſure: nay, he granted, the 12th of March, a privilege to a London bookſeller [h] to print the bible in Engliſh. This gives occaſion to preſume, the univerſities reviſed not the tranſlation, ſince it was impoſſible they ſhould have examined it in ſo ſhort a ſpace. 1542. Ib. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 745.

The king wanted money for the war with Scotland, on which he was entirely bent, but durſt not aſk the commons. Not that he doubted of ſucceſs, but was afraid of alienating the hearts of his ſubjects, who were much more tender of matters of intereſt than of all others. He wiſhed the commons would voluntarily offer him money, without being aſked. It was in order to gain their affection, that he commanded a ſheriff to be impriſoned for arreſting a member of parliament [i], and offered to leave it to them to puniſh him as they thought fit. On the other hand, he every where borrowed money to let them ſee his neceſſity [k]. But for once the commons feigned not to underſtand this language, being unwilling to introduce the pernicious cuſtom of granting the king ſubſidies unaſked. Beſides, as they were yet ignorant of the deſign of a war with Scotland, they ſaw no occaſion to offer him money. So, the parliament broke up without granting the king any thing, except the act concerning the colleges and hoſpitals, which was a ſeed, the fruit whereof he was to gather in due ſeaſon. The king wants the commons to offer him a ſubſidy; but they do not. Stow. Hollingſh.

The war with Scotland being reſolved, Henry ſent ſir William Paget to France, to ſound Francis I. and try to hinder him by ſome treaty from aſſiſting the king of Scotland. The ambaſſador's inſtructions were, to demand of the king of France, that the treaty of perpetual peace between France and England ſhould be renewed. Francis eaſily perceived there was ſome hidden myſtery in the overture. As he knew Henry was diſpleaſed with the king of Scotland, He endeavours to hinder the king of France from aſſiſting Scotland. Herbert. Burnet, T. III. 155.

but muſt ſtand in the Engliſh bible as they were in the Latin. A hundred of theſe he put into a writing which was read in convocation. His deſign was viſibly to make the tranſlation unintelligible to the people. Some of theſe words were, eccleſia, penitentia, contritus, juſtitia, juſtificatio, idiota, elementa, baptizare, martyr, ſacramentum, ſimulachrum, gloria, &c. Burnet, tom. I. p. 314.

[g] All the biſhops of the province of Canterbury, except Ely and St. David's, proteſted againſt it. Burnet, p. 315.

[h] Antony Marlar. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 745.

[i] George Ferrers, member for Plymouth. Hollingſh. p. 955.

[k] Stow ſays, he took in May a loan of money of all ſuch as were valued at fifty pounds or upwards in the book of ſubſidy, p. 583.

1542. he did not doubt that he desired the peace to be renewed, on purpose to insert in the new treaty some article to tie up his hands, and prevent him from aiding his ally. He answered therefore, that it was needless to renew a treaty, the conditions whereof the king of England had not performed. The ambassador replied, there was no sort of terms in the treaty of peace, and consequently his master could not be accused of breaking them. But this dispute was entirely founded on a mistak . The ambassador understood by the treaty of peace, a private treaty of one single article, namely, that there should be a perpetual peace between France and England. But Francis meant some other treaties signed the same day, and which belonged to the first, though they was written apart. It was this separate treaty which Henry wanted to renew, imagining he should thereby hinder Francis from assisting the king of Scotland. But Francis did not design that, under this pretence, Henry should be suffered to crush an antient ally of France, and France not be able to oppose it. On the contrary, he deemed it a manifest breach of the peace, to attack his allies without any just cause. Mean while, as neither would mention the king of Scotland, though both had him in their thoughts, Francis, to embarrass Henry demanded pursuant to the former treaties, his assistance to recover the Milanese. Henry required on his part, that Francis, according to his promise, should abolish the papal authority in France. These reciprocal demands were more apt to produce a breach than a renewal of the treaties. Besides, the English had already begun hostilities, by seizing some French ships which were supposed to be pyrates, and the French had detained some English vessels by way of reprisal. So, the ambassador having taken his leave without effecting any thing, reported to his master, that the king of France was ill inclined to him; that is, he would not, without opposing it, suffer the king of Scotland to be oppressed. This was the meaning of Francis's being ill affected to England, he being at that time very far from wishing a war with the English, since he was just going to begin another which he much more desired.

Embassy of France to the diet of ineffect.

Francis was so provoked at all the emperor's artifices, that, to proclaim war against him, he only staid to see him so embroiled with the Smalcaldick league, that there should be no [illegible] agreement. To foment the dissension, [illegible] ders to the diet assembled at Spire, in [illegible] our of clearing himself from the pretend-

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ed calumnies he was aſperſed with, and particularly from the imputation of making an alliance with the Turks. His ambaſſadors complained to the diet, in very ſtrong terms, of the murder of Rincon and Fregoſa, pretending that Rincon was ſent to Conſtantinople only to diſſuade Soliman from his deſign of carrying war into Germany. However, in the ſequel of their diſcourſe, they would have perſuaded the German princes, that it was their intereſt to fortify their frontier towns and abandon Hungary to the Turks. So their preſence at the diet having produced no great effect, they returned very diſſatisfied. 1545.

Shortly after their departure, the pope's nuncio offered to the diet, in his maſter's name, a council at Trent. The catholicks gladly accepted the offer, and thanked the nuncio. But the proteſtants rejected it, becauſe they would not have a council called by their adverſary, and in a ſuſpicious place, ſince the city of Trent belonged to the king of the Romans. The diet however ended to the emperor's and Ferdinand's ſatisfaction, after having unanimouſly reſolved to give them a powerful aſſiſtance, under the conduct of the elector of Brandenburg. The pope offers a council at Trent. Herbert.

Though the proteſtants refuſed the pope's offer, Paul III. called a council at Trent for November following, by a bull of the 22d of May. But this was only to amuſe the world. He knew that when a war between the emperor and France was going to commence, there would be obſtacles enough to hinder the council from aſſembling. The calling of the council of Trent.

And indeed at this very time Francis I. was bringing five armies into the field, to attack the emperor in five places at once; namely, in Rouſſillon, Luxemburg, Piedmont, Flanders and Brabant. But the ſucceſs anſwered not his expectations. The great effort he made this year to invade his enemy, ſerved only to diſable him to do the like again when he came himſelf to be attacked. The dauphin beſieged Perpignan in vain. The duke of Orleans his brother took Luxemburg and Montmedy: but theſe places were retaken before the end of the campain. As for the other three armies, they performed nothing conſiderable. Francis invades the emperor in five places. Bellai. Mezerai. Herbert.

Whilſt Francis was vainly endeavouring to be revenged of the emperor, Henry came to a final reſolution to make war upon Scotland. He had been in hopes, that in the expected conference with the king his nephew, he ſhould perſuade him to renounce the papal authority, and was extremely concerned to ſee himſelf diſappointed. This affair ſeemed to him of the utmoſt importance, becauſe not hay- Henry reſolves upon a war with Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Burnet.

1542. ing much to fear from abroad, where the naval forces were not comparable to his, Scotland was the only country which could give him any uneaſineſs. From thence alone could the Engliſh malecontents receive any ſuccours, and he remembered with terror, the danger he ſhould have run when the rebels were in arms in the north, had they been ſupported by a Scotch army. In this war therefore upon Scotland, his aim was not to make conqueſts, but to bend the king of Scotland to his will by force, ſince he could not do it by fair means. This he deemed abſolutely neceſſary, in order to procure a ſettled peace. At the time of the northern rebellion, the junctures were very favourable to him; for, being then in ſtrict union with France, king James could not engage to ſupport the Engliſh malecontents without Francis's conſent, who inſtead of approving ſuch a deſign, would have rather diverted him from it. But affairs were now upon another foot, ſince Henry could no longer rely upon the king of France's friendſhip. It is true, that prince was not to be much feared, whilſt at war with the emperor; but he conſidered that the equality of theſe two monarch's forces would probably oblige them to make peace very ſoon, and this peace, in which no doubt the pope would interpoſe, neceſſarily be to his prejudice; nay, it was a queſtion whether it would not occaſion a league againſt him, and the king of Scotland join in it. In that caſe, England could be invaded in the north with the more eaſe, as the northern counties were moſt inclined to rebel. It was therefore of very great conſequence to Henry to gain the king of Scotland to his intereſt, ſince, being ſecured from that ſide, an invaſion was not to be much feared, which he looked upon as impoſſible, conſidering the ſuperiority of his naval forces.

He had intended to make uſe of two ways to gain the king of Scotland in the propoſed conference. The firſt way was, to ſhow him that it was in his power to ſecure to him the ſucceſſion of the crown of England, after his ſon Edward, or remove him from it, ſince by the act of parliament made for that purpoſe, he could call to the ſucceſſion his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, or exclude them for ever. In the former caſe, king James could not pretend to the crown, till after the poſterity of theſe two princeſſes was extinct; but in the latter caſe, he came immediately after prince Edward. As therefore to gain two degrees, was a conſiderable advantage for the king of Scotland, Henry hoped he would not be ſo unwiſe as to ſlight it. The ſecond way he deſigned to make uſe of to win that prince, was to

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lay before him the advantages which would accrue to him in caſe he renounced the pope, as well by reaſon of the facility this would give him, to ſucceed to the crown of England, if there ſhould be occaſion, as by the riches he would acquire in ſuppreſſing the monaſteries of Scotland. As James was very greedy of money, Henry did not queſtion ſucceeding by this ſecond means, though the firſt ſhould prove ineffectual. He was therefore extremely vexed to ſee himſelf diſappointed of his hopes, by the king his nephew's *refuſal* to meet him at York. He found, the new queen had too great an influence over him, and even ſuſpected it to be the effect of the intrigues of the pope, the emperor, and perhaps the king of France. So, deſpairing to ſucceed in his project, by fair means he reſolved to try to accompliſh it by force. 1542.

Scotland was little able to reſiſt England without the aſſiſtance of France. But Francis was ſo employed, that there was no likelihood of his interpoſing in the quarrel. Henry hoped therefore, if he could gain at firſt ſome advantage, he ſhould render the Scots leſs intractable, and more eaſily diſpoſe the king his nephew to hearken to his propoſals. Thus the war he intended to wage with Scotland was properly deſigned to oblige the Scots to a compliance with his deſires, and not founded upon caprice only, or to be revenged of the affront he received, as the hiſtorians pretend. However, as he could not diſcover the real motives without doing himſelf a prejudice, he pretended a violation of the truce. James's denial of ſome lands of ſmall value lying on the frontiers, and his reception of ſome Engliſh rebels. But as all this was not very capable of deceiving the world, he bethought himſelf of reviving the old pretenſions of the kings of England to the ſovereignty of Scotland. To that purpoſe, he ſet out a long declaration, in which was inſerted the memorial largely ſpoken of in the reigns of Edward I. and Henry VII. containing the pretended proofs of the homage, Scotland had formerly paid to England. The declarations was however ſo ambiguouſly expreſſed, that it plainly appeared, Henry was willing to have it in his power to quit his pretenſions without injuring his honour. It is entirely needleſs to repeat the contents of the memorial. It will ſuffice to obſerve, that the Engliſh writers ſpeak of it, as if the ſovereignty of the kings of England over Scotland was there demonſtrated, and the bare citation of it ſufficient to carry the cauſe. Doctor Burnet, though a Scotchman, ſeems to give into this opinion univerſally ſpread in England, ſince he ſpeaks of

The deſign of this war.

Hollingſh.

He revives the pretenſions to the ſovereignty of Scotland.

Declaration upon that head.

Hall. fol. 247.

Burnet.

1542. of this memorial in his hiſtory of the reformation without making any remarks. Perhaps he did not think proper to combat the ſentiments of the Engliſh without any neceſſity, in reſpect to his hiſtory.

War with Scotland. Hollingſh. Herbert.

Henry publiſhed not his declaration till his army was juſt entering Scotland. His deſign was to ſurprize the Scots, which he believed the more eaſy, as there appeared to be no juſt cauſe of breach between the two kingdoms. However, king James hearing that ſoldiers were raiſing in England, put himſelf in a poſture of defence, in caſe he ſhould be attacked. In the mean while, he ſent two ambaſſadors [l] to the king his uncle, to ſee to content him if poſſible, or at leaſt to gain time till the king of France could aſſiſt him. The ambaſſadors were long detained at the court of England upon frivolous pretences, and whilſt Henry was making his preparations, he gave them no anſwer. Nay, they were not ſuffered to return but with the army which was to enter their country, under the command of the duke of Norfolk [m], and where they were as priſoners. Two other ambaſſadors of Scotland who were going to London, meeting the Engliſh upon their march were alſo detained till the army arrived at Berwick.

Buchanan.

Hall. Buchanan. Stow. Burnet.

Mean while, king James hearing the duke of Norfolk was marching towards the north at the head of twenty thouſand men, ſent a body of ten thouſand to the frontiers, under the command of George Gordon, expecting the reſt of the troops who were marching from ſeveral parts to join him. But Gordon could not hinder the duke of Norfolk from entering Scotland about the end of October [n], and ravaging the country north of the Tweed. After this ſhort expedition, the Engliſh army retired to Berwick, the ſeaſon which was now very bad preventing them from advancing any farther. In the mean time, king James ordered the lord Maxwell to march with fifteen thouſand men, whilſt the Engliſh were retiring to Berwick. The Scots pretend, upon the news of Maxwell's march, the Engliſh retreated in ſuch confuſion that they might have been eaſily defeated, if Gordon had ventured to attack them, and that the king was extremely angry with him for this diſappointment. However, James heading his army in perſon held a council of war, and appeared

Hall. Buchanan. Leſley.

The king of Scotland is reſolved to fight.

[l] The biſhop of Orkney, and James Leirmouth, maſter of his houſhold. Hall, fol. 254.

[m] The duke was accompanied with the earls of Shrewſbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertford, Angus, Rutland; and ſir Anthony Brown, maſter of the horſe to the king, ſir John Gage, comptroller of the houſhold, &c. Ibid.

[n] October 21. Ibid.

peared fully reſolved to give battle, let what would be the conſequence. But he was alone of that opinion. On the contrary, the danger to which the kingdom would be expoſed in caſe of a defeat was ſtrongly repreſented to him. In ſhort, as he would not alter his reſolution, the generals and nobles told him, they would not obey him, if without any neceſſity he obſtinately expoſed the kingdom to ſo manifeſt a hazard. This oppoſition threw him into a fury. He ſwore he would puniſh their diſobedience, and called them all traitors, ſince they hindered him from obtaining, as he thought, a certain victory. Cardinal Beaton inſpired him with this notion, by telling him, it was impoſſible for ſuch hereticks as the Engliſh to conquer him. The truth is, James was a little diſturbed in his mind, ever ſince he had unjuſtly put to death a nephew of the duke of Albany, whoſe apparition was ever preſent to his imagination. So being extremely troubled to be thus diſobeyed, he left the command of the army to the lord Maxwell, with orders to march towards the enemy, and remained himſelf within diſtance to join him, in caſe there was occaſion to fight. But a few days after as he was extremely incenſed with his generals, and greatly miſtruſted them, he gave a commiſſion in form to Oliver Sinclair his minion, to command the army. The new general, very unfit for ſuch a poſt, repairing to the camp, cauſed his patent to be publickly read at which all were offended. This bred ſuch diſcontent among the troops, that they began to diſband, when a body of five hundred Engliſh horſe appeared on a hill, where they were poſted to watch the motions of the enemy. This ſight increaſed the confuſion among the Scotch troops, who imagined the whole Engliſh army was approaching to give battle. In this condition, being without a general, ſince Maxwell's commiſſion was revoked and none would obey Sinclair, they choſe to retire in a fright, which permitted them not to look back and obſerve the ſmall number of their enemies. The Engliſh horſe ſeeing them fly with ſuch precipitation, cloſely purſued them, and without meeting any reſiſtance ſlew great numbers, took priſoners ſeven lords, two hundred gentlemen, eight hundred ſoldiers, with four and twenty pieces of ordnance °. Never was victory ſo eaſily won. Among the chief priſoners were the earls of Glencairn and Caſſilis, the lords Maxwell, Somerville, Oliphant, Gray, and Oliver Sinclair the king's favourite.

1542.

The nobles refuſe to follow him. Buchanan.

He gives the command of the army to Sinclair. Buchanan. Burnet. Leſley.

Rout of the Scotch army. Buchanan.

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Burnet.

° The battle or rencounter happened on November 25. Idem. fol. 255.

The

1542.

Death of the king of Scotland. Buchanan. Hall.

The news of this rout threw king James into a dismal melancholy, to which he was already too much inclined. He fancied, his generals and nobles had betrayed him, and in that belief, resolved to put most of them to death. His vexation was still increased, upon hearing that a herald, sent by the duke of Norfolk, was murdered by an English refugee. He immediately feared the ill consequences of such an accident, after his late misfortune. So imagining it would be impossible to free himself from his present embarrassment, he could not withstand his immoderate grief, which brought him to his grave the 14th of December 1542. His death happened seven days after the birth of a princess called Mary, of whom his queen was delivered and who was his only heir. A little before he lost two sons in one day.

Birth of the princess Mary. Buchanan.

Henry orders the prisoners to be brought to London. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. Herbert.

Henry not knowing what passed in Scotland, had ordered the Scotch prisoners to be brought to London, where they arrived the nineteenth of December [p]. The next day [q] they were conducted through the city from the Tower, (where they had been confined) to Westminster, where the king was pleased to see and talk with them. He expostulated with them, for having by their pernicious counsels persuaded their king to quarrel with him, and told them they justly bore the punishment of a war raised by themselves. Nevertheless, as he intended to make use of them to procure such a peace as he desired, he ended his discourse with some obliging expressions, and granted them more liberty, by putting them in the custody of several noblemen. The earl of Cassilis had the good fortune to fall into the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury, and to receive from him during his short stay at London, such instructions as induced him to embrace the reformation when he returned to his own country.

Hollingsh. p. 959. Burnet.

He projects a match between his son and the new queen of Scotland. He sends away the prisoners. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

A few days after [r], the news of the birth of Mary princess of Scotland, and of the king her father's death arriving together, Henry thought it a favourable juncture to unite Scotland to England by marrying his son Edward to the new queen of Scotland. He caused the captive lords to be sounded, and finding them inclined to second the overture, set them at liberty, on condition they would give hostages for their return, in case the project of the marriage did not succeed. This condition being accepted, they were con-

p [illegible] conducted by sir Henry Savil, and sir Thomas Wentworth. Herbert, p. [illegible].

q Two days after, viz. the twenty first. Hall, foll. 255. Stow, p. 583.

r December 22. Hollingshead, p. 959.

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ducted to Newcaſtle, from whence they returned into their country. We ſhall ſee preſently what was the event of this project. 1542.

The parliament of England meeting the twenty-ſecond of January granted the king a ſubſidy [a], as well for his charges in the war with Scotland, as for his other occaſions. By that was meant a war with France, of which there was no longer room to doubt, ſince the king was upon the point of concluding a league with the emperor. The union which was going to be formed between theſe two monarchs, was like to be ſo favourable to the adherents of Rome and the old religion, that they queſtioned not but the deſtruction of the reformation in England was approaching. However, at this very time they had the mortification to ſee an act of parliament paſſed, which much checked their hopes. The act moved and at length obtained by Cranmer ran, that lords, gentlemen, merchants, might have in their houſes an Engliſh bible, with ſome other religious books, mentioned in the act, for the inſtruction of their families. But it was expreſly forbid to print, ſell, buy, or keep any other religious books, and to preach or ſpeak againſt the ordinance of the year 1540. There was alſo a very conſiderable clauſe in the ſtatute, that the offenders, if eccleſiaſticks, ſhould not be condemned to be burnt till the third offence; and the puniſhment of the laity, not extend beyond forfeiture of goods and chattels [and perpetual impriſonment.] Moreover, the act allowed the party accuſed to bring witneſſes for his own purgation, which had never been practiſed before in the caſe of hereſy. Laſtly, It was enacted, that the accuſed ſhould be tried within a year at fartheſt after the indictment. But on the other hand, the law of the ſix articles was confirmed, and the parliament left it in the king's power to annul or alter the act at his pleaſure. By this laſt clauſe the king ſtill continued to be maſter of the lives of the reformed, ſince by

1543. The parliament grants the king a ſubſidy. Herbert. Burnet.

An act allowing the bible in private houſes. Burnet.

Advantageous clauſe to perſons accuſed of hereſy.

Power granted the king to repeal this act.

[a] This ſubſidy was as follows: every perſon worth in goods 20 l. and upwards, paid two ſhillings; from 20 l. to 10 l. ſixteen-pence; from 10 l. to 5 l. eight-pence; from 5 l. to 20 s. four-pence. And for lands, fees, and annuities, they paid according to this rate: they that were worth 20 l. and upwards, paid three ſhillings in the pound; from 20 l. to 10 l. two ſhillings; from 10 l. to 5 l. ſixteen-pence; and they that were worth from 5 l. to 20 s. paid eight-pence in the pound; All theſe were doubled on ſtrangers. The clergy alſo granted a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound; and every prieſt having but an annual ſtipend, was to pay ſix ſhillings and eight-pence. Theſe ſeveral ſubſidies were to be paid in three years. Stow, p. 585.

repealing

1543. repealing this act, he could procure [illegible] other statutes [t].

Henry concludes a league with the emperor. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 768. February 11. Hall. Herbert. Burnet.

A fortnight after the parliament [illegible] concluded with the emperor a league [illegible] not publiſhed till June. It was the [illegible] that the king ſhould join with the emperor [illegible] more powerful. He was already [illegible] the contrary, it would have been much more proper, in order to keep the balance even, to have aſſiſted France. At leaſt, it is undeniable that a neutrality would have been advantageous to the Engliſh. But the king's paſſion ran counter to the nation's intereſt. He was extremely diſſatisfied with Francis upon ſeveral accounts. In the firſt place, he obſerved in him a great indifference for his concerns, ever ſince he had not wanted his aſſiſtance. Secondly, He perceived at length, that all his promiſes to renounce, like him, the papal authority tended only to amuſe him. He knew, Francis on ſeveral occaſions had blamed his conduct with reſpect to religion, and ridiculed his marriages. In the next place, he paid neither the yearly penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns, nor that of ten thouſand for the ſalt of Brouage, though bound by divers treaties. As for the debt of two millions, Francis indeed could produce acquittances for good part of that ſum, but then Henry had received no money, the acquittances being in lieu of the ſuccours he had voluntarily promiſed to lend him in his former wars. However, there was a round ſum ſtill left unpaid, and the debtor never endeavoured to ſatisfy him. Moreover, Henry had preſented the king of France with what was due to him from the emperor, ſolely on condition he would perform the treaties, and complained, Francis had not been punctual. But what moſt offended Henry was, the obſtacles Francis had raiſed him in Scotland by means of a faction, which openly oppoſed his deſigns. Here was ſufficient cauſe for a breach, if the nation's intereſt had been the ſame with the king's. But in ſuch an oppoſition, ſeldom does it happen that the people's advantage prevails over the ſovereign's. Henry reſolved therefore to make the king of France ſenſible, that it was worth his while to have ſhown a greater regard for him, and to that end,

Reaſons of Henry's being diſpleaſed with Francis. Herbert. p. 236.

[t] In this parliament, an act was made for authorizing the county and city of Cheſter to ſend, each, two repreſentatives in parliament; which they uſed not to do before. And another for empowering perſons that are not common ſurgeons to miniſter medicines, notwithſtanding the ſtatute 3 Henry VIII.

choſe

choſe to be reconciled with the emperor, and join in a league with him. 1543.

Charles V. deſired nothing more earneſtly. He plainly ſaw that with the aſſiſtance of England, he ſhould ſoon bring the king of France to reaſon and deſtroy all his hopes of recovering Milan by arms. His conſtant fear of Henry's uniting with France and the German proteſtants, cauſed him to conſider the alliance with England as what would enable him to accompliſh his ambitious deſigns. He found his account much better in hindering Francis from ſetting foot again in Italy, and in ſubduing the proteſtants, than in executing or rather in trying to execute the pope's ſentence againſt Henry, an undertaking which, probably would not have ended to his honour. Beſides, the death of queen Catherine his aunt had much leſſened and it may be entirely ſtifled his deſire to revenge her. So, at the very time he was complaining to all the princes of Europe that Francis held private intelligence with the Infidels, he ſcrupled not to court the alliance of an excommunicated king, who, according to the principles of the Romiſh church, ought not to have been looked upon with leſs horror than the Turk. One ſingle difficulty retarded the concluſion of this alliance. The emperor would have Mary queen Catherine's daughter acknowledged for legitimate, which Henry obſtinately refuſed. Nay, he could not grant it without condemning his divorce with Catherine, and all his proceedings upon that occaſion. He promiſed however, that purſuant to the power granted him by parliament, he would give Mary a place in the ſucceſſion, but would never conſent, this article ſhould be inſerted in the treaty. The emperor's friends in England adviſed him to be ſatisfied with this verbal promiſe, apprehenſive as they were that the league, from whence they expected great advantages, would be delayed by this obſtacle. Bonner biſhop of London, who had been ſent into Spain for the negotiation, willingly and ardently endeavoured to accompliſh it, in hopes that an union between the emperor and the king, would re-eſtabliſh religion in England upon the ſame foot as before the divorce.

The advantages of this league on the emperor's ſide.

Difficulty upon the concluſion of the league. Burnet.

It is removed.

The treaty was therefore concluded at London the eleventh of February 1543. It contained a league for England only with what Henry held in Picardy; and on the emperor's part, for the provinces of the Low Countries under his dominion [u], without

Treaty of league between the emperor and Henry.

[u] The places and dominions mentioned on king Henry's part, are, the kingdoms of England and Ireland, the iſlands of Wight, Jerſey, Guernſey, and

1543. without any mention of Spain or Germany. The league was to this effect:

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 768. Herbert. p. 236.

That the emperor and the king of England ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to the king of France to declare to him, that by his ſollicitations only the Turks had invaded Chriſtendom. That therefore the two confederate monarchs exhorted him to break his alliance with the Infidels, to hold them for enemies, and renounce his correſpondence with them. That they demanded moreover, he ſhould ſatisfy the damages done to Chriſtendom, by his calling in thoſe cruel enemies. That he ſhould give over the war he had begun in ſeveral places, that the emperor might apply himſelf to the defence of Chriſtendom. That he ſhould cauſe the town of Maran, taken by the Turks, to be reſtored to king Ferdinand, and to the emperor, Caſtro-novo, which they had reduced with the aid of twelve French gallies. That he ſhould repair the loſſes the Germans had ſuſtained by the Turkiſh invaſion. Laſtly, that he ſhould ſatisfy the king of England for whatever he owed him, and give him ſecurity for the payment of the hundred thouſand crowns.

After theſe preliminaries, the two confederate monarchs agreed, that they would not make peace or truce but upon theſe conditions: that Francis ſhould pay the king of England whatever was due to him, and for ſecurity of the annual penſion, ſurrender into his hands the earldom of Ponthieu, Boulogne, Montreuil, Ardres, and Terouenne, free from all homage, for which however Henry ſhould conſent that the yearly revenues thence ariſing ſhould be in lieu of the penſion. Moreover, that Francis ſhould reſtore to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy.

That if the king of France ſhould delay but ten days to accept theſe conditions, the two confederate monarchs ſhould proclaim war againſt him, with a declaration that they would never make peace till the king of England was in poſſeſſion of Normandy, Guienne, and the kingdom of France, and the emperor of Abbeville, Amiens, Bray, Corbeil, Peronne, Ham, St. Quinty, and the whole duchy of Burgundy.

and Man; the caſtle and earldom of Guiſnes, and the towns of Calais and Boulogne; and of the emperor's part, are named, the kingdom of Spain [regna Hiſpaniarum,] the provinces of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Hanow, Artois, Limburg, Luxemburg, Namur, Frieſeland, the countries of Duſſeſſel, Utrecht, and Mechlin. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 769, 770.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, They agreed, that each ſhould take the field, and invade France with twenty five thouſand men, of whom five thouſand ſhould be cavalry [w]. 1543.

Theſe were vaſt projects. But theſe princes were too wiſe to imagine, that with twenty five thouſand men each, they were able to conquer France. It is likely therefore, they agreed in the treaty to bring into the field ſo ſmall a number of troops, only to engage Francis to make preparations accordingly. And indeed we ſhall ſee hereafter, that they invaded France with above a hundred thouſand men.

One of the chief reaſons why Henry joined in a league with the emperor was to find the king of France ſo much employment at home, that it ſhould not be in his power to break his meaſures for the union of Scotland with England, by a marriage between Mary and prince Edward. Henry had this affair extremely at heart and very juſtly, as it is eaſy to imagine. But unhappily for him, there was a queen dowager in Scotland of the houſe of Lorrain and a cardinal archbiſhop of St. Andrews, who being both devoted to France and the pope laboured with all their power to defeat his projects. As the affairs of Scotland will be very ſoon intermixt with thoſe of England, it is abſolutely neceſſary to ſee what paſſed in that country, after the death of James V. without which it would be very difficult to underſtand what will be ſaid hereafter. Henry's chief aim.

After the deceaſe of James V. Scotland was in a very ill ſituation. The late king had not ſettled the regency during his daughter's minority. The next heir to Mary was James Hamilton earl of Arran, a perſon of a mean genius, a lover of books and eaſe, but little capable of managing the publick affairs, and ſtill leſs thoſe of war [x]. He had ſhown ſome inclination for the new religion, and thereby rendered himſelf as much ſuſpected and odious to the clergy, as agreeable to thoſe who had embraced the reformation. The queen dowager, ſiſter to the cardinal of Lorrain and the duke of Guiſe, had an extreme averſion to the reformed. This averſion was cheriſhed by cardinal Beaton, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, a violent and cruel man, who had already given ſeveral proofs of his barbarous temper towards thoſe who embraced the new religion. Moſt of the lords who by their counſels could have ſupported the ſtate in ſuch a Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Burnet.

[w] And alſo each of them ſhould fit out ſhips, with two or three thouſand armed men. Rymer, p. 775.

[x] This is Buchanan's character of him. Rapin.

1543. juncture, were either ſlain in the late rout, or in the hands of the Engliſh. But though they had been alive in Scotland, it would have been very difficult to ſucceed. There had long been ſuch a diviſion among the nobles, that what one moved was ſure to be oppoſed by another. This was the conſequence of the factions raiſed by the kings of France and England in the kingdom, and which were continued by different opinions in religion. To all theſe evils was added that of a war againſt a powerful neighbour, who had juſt gained a very conſiderable advantage, and could eaſily improve the conſternation, all Scotland was under.

Amidſt this confuſion, cardinal Beaton ſeeing none able to withſtand him, formed the deſign of ſeizing the regency. To that end, he forged a will for the late king, wherein he was appointed regent or viceroy during Mary's minority with three counſellors or aſſiſtants, of whom the earl of Arran was one, and cauſed it to be publiſhed till the parliament ſhould meet and confirm it. Mean while, he ſtrove by all ſorts of ways to gain proper perſons to ſupport him, as well among the people as among the great men. The queen dowager was the firſt that declared for him.

Buchanan. Hall. Hollingſh.

But whilſt the cardinal was labouring to ſtrengthen his party, the friends and relations of the earl of Arran were earneſtly ſoliciting him, not to yield the regency to one who had no right to it. They repreſented to him, that the will on which the cardinal grounded his pretenſions, was a forgery, becauſe the late king never valued him ſo as to commit the regency to him in prejudice of the princes of the blood: that it was a contrivance to deſtroy the Hamiltons with their whole party, and hinder the progreſs of the reformation: that the cardinal was known to be a man of ill principles, of little or no conſcience, cruel, and ſuperſtitious, and if once he had the power in his hands, the flames of perſecution would quickly be kindled all over the kingdom, not only againſt the reformed, but againſt all in general who would not blindly ſubmit to his orders; that infallibly the princes of the blood, and the chief of the nobles would be firſt ſacrificed to his ambition and jealouſy. The earl of Arran was of a peaceable temper, and without ambition. If he had followed his own inclination, he would have left the cardinal quietly to enjoy the authority he had uſurped. But his friends having in a manner forced him by their remonſtrances to proſecute the right due to his birth, he reſolved to demand the regency, and ſhew the forgery of the pretended will on which the cardinal reſted.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the priſoners, who had been releaſed, came to Scotland, and with them Archibald Douglaſs earl of Angus, and William Douglaſs his brother, who had been fifteen years exiles in England. By their arrival, the earl of Arran's party was conſiderably ſtrengthened, whereas the cardinal loſt many followers, who had joined with him more out of fear than affection. It was publickly ſaid, that the earl of Arran's right was indiſputable, though the king had capriciouſly diſpoſed of the regency in favour of the cardinal, which however was incredible. The parliament meeting in March, the will was examined, and the forgery being detected, the cardinal was removed, and the earl of Arran declared regent with almoſt unanimous conſent. It was not without reaſon that moſt of the lords and nobles were deſirous to free themſelves from the dominion of cardinal Beaton. Before the parliament met, a paper was found written with the king's own hand, wherein were ſet down the names of three hundred lords and gentlemen, whom he had reſolved to diſpatch. As moſt of the proſcribed perſons were of the reformed religion, or favoured the reformation, it was not doubted, that the cardinal had greatly contributed to put the king upon this barbarous reſolution, by repreſenting to him that thoſe who had refuſed to fight againſt the Engliſh, were ſecret friends of the king of England, and favourers of the new opinions. It is certain, many of the nobility were of the reformed religion, or well wiſhers to the reformation. The earl of Arran was of this number, and upon that account was ſo well ſupported whenhe demanded the regency, becauſe thoſe of the new religion intended to make him their protector. But this was an ill choice, the earl's unactive and timorous temper rendering him very unfit to ſupport the party who put themſelves under his protection.

1543. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert. Buchanan.

Whilſt the parliament was ſitting, Henry ſent an ambaſſador [y] to Scotland to propoſe the marriage of prince Edward his ſon with the young queen, according to the agreement with the captive lords. The ambaſſador was furniſhed with a good ſum of money to facilitate the negotiation, Henry knowing by experience how effectual that means was in Scotland. The queen and cardinal Beaton uſed all their credit and addreſs to cauſe the overture to be rejected. But as their party was too weak to balance the king of England's, the cardinal made it his buſineſs to confound all the conferences

Henry propoſes to the Scots the marriage of their queen with prince Edward. Buchanan. Hall. Herbert.

y Sir Ralph Sadler, his ſecretary. Herbert. p. 234.

1543. held upon this occasion, by long speeches, affected disputes, invectives against the contrary party, with design to raise quarrels, which would obstruct the conclusion of the affair. His artifices being at last perceived, he was confined to a room till the debates were ended. The moment the cardinal no longer appeared, the king of England's proposal was accepted without much difficulty, and the parliament appointed ambassadors to go and treat at London with the king, concerning a peace and the marriage. George Douglass, the earl of Angus's brother, and some other lords [z] were charged with the negotiation, which ended at length in two treaties concluded at London the 1st of July 1543. The first was to settle a good and firm peace between the two kingdoms. The second, for the marriage of prince Edward with the young queen of Scotland. Henry did all he could to have Mary put into his hands. But the Scotch ambassadors not consenting, it was at last agreed, she should not be brought into England till she was ten years of age: that in the mean time the parliament of Scotland should appoint four lords [a] to take care of her education, and Henry might add a fifth of his own nation to convey his advices to the governors [b]: that the parliament of Scotland should give the king six hostages of distinction for security that the marriage should be consummated.

Buchanan. Herbert. The king's proposal accepted.

Treaty between England and Scotland. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 781, —— 796. Herbert, Burnet.

Buchanan.

This affair being ended, the cardinal had a little more liberty granted him, by being given in custody to the lord Seaton. But that lord suffering himself to be corrupted by his prisoner, afforded him means to make his escape. As soon as he was at liberty, he used all his art to break the treaties with England, wherein he was powerfully assisted by the queen dowager. As they were both firmly attached to France and the old religion, they could not see, without extreme grief, the alliance lately concluded with a prince whom they looked upon as a heretick, and whose interests had for some time been contrary to those of Francis I. They plainly perceived, this alliance was capable of producing great alterations as well in church as state, and would infallibly destroy the antient union between France

[z] William earl of Glencairn, William Hamilton, James Leirmouth, and Henry Wardlaw. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. [illegible]

[a] The number is not specified in Rymer, it is only said ——— certos ejusdem regni [viz. Scotiæ] Barones — See p. 793.

[b] The king might send a nobleman and his wife with other persons, not exceeding twenty, to wait on her. And for performance of the marriage, six noblemen were to be sent from Scotland for hostages. Rymer, ib. p. 794. Burnet, vol. I. p. 323.

and

and Scotland. To prevent this, the cardinal aſſembled at his houſe the heads of the clergy, and repreſented to them that religion was in danger, he obtained a large contribution to aſſiſt him to ſupport it. This money ſerved him to maintain his creatures, and gain ſome of the contrary party. In a word, he was well caballed, that he quickly put things in extreme confuſion. By his ſollicitations and intrigues he ſo managed, that the priſoners who had been releaſed reſolved not to go and redeem their hoſtages. The earl of Caſſilis alone could not be prevailed with upon any conſideration to break his word. In ſhort, the cardinal's party being grown very numerous by his liberalities, ſtrongly oppoſed the ſending of the hoſtages promiſed to the king of England by the treaty. Beſides that, the cardinal reſolving at any rate to ſet the two nations at variance, cauſed the Engliſh ambaſſador to be highly affronted by ſome of his party, and his ſervants to be inſulted. But the ambaſſador knowing how deſirous the king his maſter was, that the treaties ſhould be executed, bore all with patience for fear of raiſing an unſeaſonable quarrel, which he ſaw to be the cardinal's view. Thus the cardinal had brought things to ſuch a ſtate, that the regent, who wanted reſolution, tried in vain to ſtop theſe violent proceedings, ſince his commands were openly diſobeyed.

1543.

Cardinal Beaton breaks theſe meaſures.

His party is ſtronger than the regent's.

At laſt, the day being come that the three hoſtages were to be delivered, the Engliſh ambaſſador demanded them of the regent, complaining withal of the affronts he had received. The regent told him, "he was very ſorry any diſreſpect had been ſhown to his perſon and character, and would give him at a more convenient ſeaſon what ſatisfaction he deſired, but at preſent it was no proper juncture. That he was himſelf witneſs of the troubles raiſed by the cardinal, and how contemptible the authority of the government was rendered by that prelate's cabals: as for the hoſtages, it was no longer in his power to put them into his hands, ſince the cardinal and his whole party were againſt it, who were now grown too ſtrong to be compelled." The ambaſſador was ſufficiently convinced of the truth of what the regent ſaid; and as he ſaw little appearance of a change in favour of the king his maſter, he contented himſelf with ſummoning the priſoners to return to England according to their promiſe. But in that he ſucceeded no better. They refuſed to return, though they were releaſed only upon parole. The earl of Caſſilis alone, abhorring the perfidiouſneſs of his fellow priſoners,

The priſoners refuſe to go back, except the earl of Caſſilis.

[f] Gilbert Kennedy.

1543. ſet out for London, and put himſelf into the king's hands. This action met with its due reward. He was very civilly received the earl. He commended his fairneſs, and making him rich preſents, diſmiſſed him without [illegible]. Mean while, finding his party in Scotland was neither ſtrong, nor firm enough to his intereſt, he reſolved to proclaim war with that kingdom. He might eaſily have ſubdued it ſome months before, if he would have taken advantage of the conſternation of the Scots, after their defeat and the death of their ſovereign.

The queen and cardinal's artifices to ſeize the government. Buchanan. Burnet.

The queen and the cardinal having accompliſhed their deſign with reſpect to a rupture with England, conſidered of means to procure the government of the kingdom, by ſupplanting the earl of Arran, head of the contrary faction. Indeed, they did not much fear the earl, as they had lately ſhown. But he bore the title of regent, and very poſſibly, by the counſels of the able men of his party, and the king of England's aſſiſtance, he might find means in the end to make himſelf formidable. The war Henry had proclaimed againſt Scotland afforded them an opportunity to execute their project. They repreſented to the king of France, "That it was almoſt impoſſible for Scotland to maintain a "war againſt England without a powerful aid from him: "that the earl of Arran, regent of the kingdom, favoured the "Engliſh, and, inſtead of oppoſing them, would certainly "make uſe of them to eſtabliſh his authority, and compleat "the queen's projected marriage: that probably, this mar-"riage would break the old alliance between France and "Scotland, and produce a ſtrict union between Scotland "and England: that he might plainly ſee how much he "was himſelf concerned in a war, which, as it would in-"fallibly be unſucceſsful, would cauſe him to loſe Scotland: "that indeed they perceived how difficult it was for him to "aſſiſt them, when he wanted all his forces againſt the em-"peror: but they had deviſed an expedient to gain time, in "breaking the meaſures of the contrary party. The expe-"dient was, that he ſhould ſend over Matthew Stuart earl "of Lenox who was in France, that they might oppoſe "him to the Hamiltons, whoſe ſworn enemy he was, be-"cauſe they had killed his father; that this lord being in "Scotland, would be immediately acknowledged for head "of the party againſt the regent, and by the aſſiſtance they "were ready to lend him, would become ſo ſuperior, that "it would not be poſſible for the regent to execute his de-"ſigns in favour of England." The better to perſuade the earl

They ſend for the earl of Lenox from France to ſet him up againſt the regent.

earl of Lenox to come to Scotland, they put him in hopes of marrying the queen dowager, and of being placed on the throne in case the young queen died before she was married. They told him, this would be so much the easier, as before the birth of Mary the late king had designed him for his successor, though farther removed than the earl of Arran, because he looked upon Arran as a bastard, by reason of the unlawfulness of his father's marriage. These remonstrances had the desired effect. Francis I. glad to strengthen his party in Scotland, without being forced to send great supplies, sent away the earl of Lenox with all speed, promising him his protection. 1543.

Mean while, the regent having some notice of this project, resolved to support himself by becoming master of the queen's person, then in the castle of Linlithgoe [d]. But as he was not secret enough, the cardinal, who was informed of it, came to Linlithgoe well attended, in order to hinder the queen's removal. Shortly after, the earl of Lenox arrived from France, and after saluting the regent, withdrew to his own house, where he assembled his friends, to consult with them what was to be done. He acquainted them with the motives of his return, and the hopes given him of being put in possession of the regency, the queen mother, and the throne, if the young queen happened to die. The friends he consulted being all enemies to the regent, unanimously advised him to improve the present opportunity, and each made him an offer of his person, his estate, his vassals, and his friends. So the earl being determined to pursue his point, drew together four thousand men, and putting himself at their head, came to the queen, under colour of guarding her against the attempts of the regent, for fear she should be delivered to the enemies of the kingdom. Indeed, the earl of Arran had resolved to secure her, and was preparing to execute his designs. But when he found himself prevented, and considered, the queen could not be got out of the hands of the earl of Lenox, without coming to an open war, he sent to treat of an agreement. Lenox consented, on condition the queen should for the future be educated in Sterling castle, and four neutral lords, whom both parties could equally trust, appointed to guard her and take care of her education. The four lords [e] being chosen and approved of,

The cardinal hinders the regent from having the queen's person in his power.

The earl of Lenox arrives, and opposes the regent's designs. Buchanan.

[d] Under her mother's care. Buchanan.

[e] William Graham, John Erskin, John Lindsey, and William Levingston. Buchanan, l. 15.

1543. the queen was removed to Sterling caſtle, where, a few days after [f], ſhe was crowned.

The regent ſides with the queen and the cardinal. Buchanan.

The regent ſeeing the party of his enemies ſtrengthened, believed himſelf unable to withſtand the ſtorm which was forming againſt him. So his courage and reſolution failing him when moſt wanted, he choſe to give way to the torrent, rather than ſtrive in vain, as he thought, to reſiſt it. Perſuaded as he was, that he ſhould be too weak to oppoſe the queen mother and the cardinal, he believed he ought to alter his meaſures, and ſtrictly unite with them. But even here he met with difficulties, which he could not ſurmount, without acting againſt his conſcience.

He abjures at Sterling.

He had hitherto almoſt openly profeſſed the new religion. But the queen and the cardinal, as they could not reſolve to be reconciled to him, ſo long as he was engaged in the party of the reformed, managed him ſo well, that at laſt they perſuaded him to abjure in the church of the Franciſcans at Sterling. By this action he loſt all his old friends, and was reduced to depend upon the oppoſite party, with whom the cardinal had more power than himſelf. From thenceforward he was wholly guided by the counſels of that prelate, who was the true regent, whilſt the earl, that bore the name, was only the ſhadow.

The queen and the cardinal try to ſend back the earl of Lenox to France. Buchanan.

When the queen and the cardinal were poſſeſſed of the government, they were at a loſs about the earl of Lenox, to whom they were no longer willing to perform their promiſe. So, their chief care was to be rid of that lord, who greatly embarraſſed them. They agreed therefore, to deſire the king of France to recall him, and whilſt an anſwer was expected, the queen ſhould continue to cheriſh his hopes, but withal ſhould uſe ſundry artifices to delay her marriage, concerning which he began to be very urgent with her. This project was executed as it had been reſolved. The queen for ſome time amuſed her lover, who, not ſuſpecting what was contriving againſt him, ſpent his time in procuring her diverſions, imagining, that would haſten his marriage; but the queen ſtill found ſome freſh excuſe to defer it. This behaviour at laſt bred in him ſuſpicions, which were confirmed by ſome friend of greater penetration, or better informed than himſelf. He heard, the queen and the cardinal had writ to the court of France, that nothing could be more prejudicial to the king's intereſt than his ſtay in Scotland, ſince they had gained the regent to their ſide.

They prejudice the king of France againſt him.

[f] Auguſt 22. Buchanan, l. 15.

Lenox

Lenox was ſo provoked at being thus mocked, that he 1543.
ſwore to be revenged, and without taking leave of the queen and the cardinal, retired to Dunbarton. In the mean while, Francis, who was not yet informed of the alterations in Scotland, ſent thirty thouſand crowns to the earl of Lenox, to be diſtributed among thoſe of the party, or to gain ſome of their adverſaries. By theſe means the court of France had long maintained a faction in Scotland, whilſt the court of England oppoſed her by the ſame methods. The money arriving when Lenox was at Dunbarton, he ſent part to the lords who had the care of the young queen, and gave ſome to his own friends. But the cardinal had none, though he had flattered himſelf with having the beſt ſhare, and expected it with impatience. He was ſo very angry, that he perſuaded the regent to raiſe an army and ſurprize Glaſcow, where Lenox was retired with his money. The preparations which were making at court, though under other pretences, giving the earl of Lenox ſuſpicion they were deſigned againſt him, he reſolved to put himſelf in a poſture of defence. It was not difficult for him to draw forces together. The cardinal had many enemies, and the regent had loſt his friends, ſince they had been forſaken by him. So, the regent's levies were made very ſlowly, whilſt the earl's viſibly increaſed. Within a few days, he raiſed ten thouſand men, and ſent the cardinal word [5], he would ſave him the trouble of coming to Glaſcow. The cardinal received the defiance with a ſeeming contempt, and pretended to purſue his enterprize. But it was not his intention to come to a battle. He did not ſufficiently rely on the regent's experience, who was no warrior. Beſides, he foreſaw, that by prolonging the time, he ſhould oblige his enemy to diſmiſs his troops, becauſe he wanted wherewithal to keep them long on foot.

He takes up arms.

A peace is made to his diſadvantage.

What the cardinal had foreſeen came to paſs. The earl of Lenox finding himſelf deſtitute of money, and ſeeing the deſertion was great in his army, was forced at laſt to accept a peace that was offered him. He came to Edinburgh, where he was outwardly reconciled with the regent and the cardinal; after which they went together to Sterling. But a few days after, having notice that the court had ill deſigns againſt him, he privately withdrew, and returning to Glaſcow, furniſhed the biſhop's palace with a garriſon and ammunition, and ſhut himſelf up in Dunbarton. There he

The cardinal has all the power under the regent's name.

[5] From Leith where he was. Buchanan.

was

1543. was informed, that the king of France had been ſo prejudiced againſt him, that there was no hope of obtaining his aſſiſtance for the future. Such was the ſituation of the affairs of Scotland, when Henry reſolved to renew the war againſt that kingdom. We muſt now ſee what paſſed in England.

The king's ſixth marriage. Herbert. Hollingſh. Burnet.

In July, Henry married his ſixth wife, the lady Catherine Parr [h], widow of John Nevil lord Latimer, verifying what was only ſaid in raillery upon the act paſſed in 1541, that the king muſt marry a widow. The new queen was a favourer of the reformed. But ſhe was to proceed with great caution, not to offend a huſband, whoſe abſolute will it was, that none ſhould believe, but what was believed by himſelf. For that reaſon ſhe durſt not, juſt after her marriage, intercede for three proteſtants who were burnt at Windſor [i], at the inſtigation of Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter. This prelate never miſſed an opportunity to exaſperate the king againſt thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit to the act of the ſix articles. But he ſhowed not the ſame zeal againſt thoſe who were ſtill attached to the pope. This affair however went farther than he deſired, ſince it occaſioned the diſcovery of a plot, formed to ruin ſeveral families at Windſor, upon falſe accuſations. The king was ſo offended at theſe diabolical practices, that he would have the affair thoroughly examined. The event was, that the contrivers of the plot [k] were carried on horſeback, with their faces to the horſe-tails, and then ſet in the pillory. 'Tis ſaid, Gardiner had a great ſhare in the project. But he was a very crafty man, who knew how to conceal the hand that gave the blow, when he thought it dangerous to ſhow it.

Proteſtants burnt at Windſor. Hall. Stow. Burnet. Fox.

Plot diſcovered and puniſhed. Burnet. Herbert.

Plot againſt Cranmer. Burnet.

It was eaſy for the enemies of the reformation to perceive, that Cranmer moſt obſtructed the execution of their deſigns, and they ſhould never ſucceed ſo long as he was in favour with the king. Whereupon they reſolved to apply themſelves before all things to his deſtruction, after which, they imagined, the ruin of his whole party would follow of courſe. There were in this undertaking two contrary things, whereof one ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs, and the other ren-

h Daughter of ſir Thomas Parr of Kendal, on July 12. Stow. p. 584.

i July 28. Their names were, Anthony Peerſon a prieſt, Robert Teſtwood a ſtarling man, and Henry Filmer a taylor. John Marbeck another ſtarling man was alſo condemned, but pardoned afterwards. He was the firſt that compiled an Engliſh Concordance. Hall, fol. 256. Burnet, tom. I. p. 326.

k Dr. London prebend of Windſor, and William Symonds. Ibid.

dered

dered the execution very difficult. The firſt was, the king 1543.
ſeemed fully bent not to ſpare thoſe who were called here-
tics, that is, thoſe who did not entirely conform them-
ſelves to the declaration of faith lately publiſhed. Now
every one knew the archbiſhop was of this number, though
he uſed great caution not to give his enemies any advan-
tage either by word or deed. The ſecond was, the king's
ſingular eſteem for the archbiſhop, againſt whom ſeveral un-
ſucceſsful attempts had been made. Notwithſtanding this,
his enemies thought, if they could convince the king, that
Cranmer's opinions were very different from his, it would
in ſome meaſure incenſe him. After that they hoped the
king would require of him, as of the reſt of his ſubjects,
a blind ſubmiſſion, and that Cranmer's oppoſition, would de-
ſtroy the king's affection for him. The buſineſs therefore
was to inſpire the king with ſuſpicions, which ſhould in-
duce him to examine what were the archbiſhop's opinions
upon religion. To that end, no occaſion was loſt to hint He is ac-
to the king, that it was in vain to puniſh hereticks whilſt cuſed to the
their chief ſupporters were ſuffered to live unmoleſted. Henry king.
perceiving Cranmer was aimed at, made no anſwer. He
hoped, his ſilence would demonſtrate, it was in vain to try
to incenſe him againſt that prelate. But at laſt theſe inſin- Henry feigns
uations were ſo often repeated, that he ſeemed to give ear to liſten to
to them, in order to know their intent. He hearkened there- the accuſa-
fore to whatever was ſaid againſt Cranmer, and deſired to tion.
have the intended articles of accuſation, with the names of
his accuſers. The duke of Norfolk, the biſhop of Win-
cheſter, and their party, believed the archbiſhop ruined, ſince
the king was pleaſed to examine his conduct. But they
took care not to make themſelves parties, their deſign being
to appear unconcerned, to ſtrike the ſurer. They cauſed
therefore the accuſation to be drawn by ſome prebendaries of
Canterbury, and certain Kentiſh juſtices of the peace, whom
they perſuaded to be his accuſers. The articles being put
into the king's hands, he went in his barge to Lambeth,
the archbiſhop's palace on the other ſide of the Thames.
Cranmer hearing the king was coming, haſtened down to
his ſtairs to receive him, and by his order went into the
barge. When the king was alone with him, he lamented
the growth of hereſy in the kingdom, and told him, he was
endeavouring to find out the chief encouragers of it, to pu-
niſh them according to the utmoſt rigour of the law, about
which he was come to aſk his advice. Cranmer anſwered
without any concern, that his zeal was laudable; but in-

treated

1543. treated him for God's ſake to conſider well what hereſy was, leaſt, inſtead of puniſhing heretics, he ſhould act againſt God. After ſome converſation upon the ſubject, the king told him at laſt, he was the man who was accuſed of being the protector and chief encourager of the heretics, and then gave him the articles of accuſation againſt him. Cranmer peruſing them, fell on his knees, and freely owned to the king, he was ſtill of the ſame mind as when he oppoſed the ſix articles; but that he had done or ſaid nothing againſt them. Then he humbly deſired to be tried by the laws, becauſe he was ſure he ſhould never be convicted of tranſgreſſing them. Whereupon the king aſked him, whether it was true that he was married. Cranmer confeſſed it, but ſaid he had ſent away his wife to Germany upon the paſſing of the act of the ſix articles. Henry, who had long ſeen about him only ſuch as diſſembled their ſentiments, was charmed with the archbiſhop's candor and ſincerity. Inſtead of being diſpleaſed with his confeſſion, he could not forbear admiring his ſteadineſs, which made him dare the greateſt danger he had ever been in, and that he ſo wiſely allied it with an inviolable regard for the laws. Wherefore he gave him a very ſenſible proof of his eſteem and affection, in diſcovering to him the plot his enemies had laid againſt him, naming his accuſers, and ordering him to proceed againſt them. Cranmer excuſed himſelf, but the king told him poſitively he would be obeyed, and that he ſhould name his judges himſelf. If Cranmer had been vindictive, he had a fair opportunity of being revenged on thoſe who would have ruined him, and particularly on Gardiner chief contriver of the plot; as appears in letters under his own hand. But he ſhowed ſo great backwardneſs to puſh the affair, that at length the king was tired with preſſing him, ſince he did it ſo unwillingly. Mean while, he had not the leſs value for him. Shortly after, one of his ſecret enemies, known for ſuch by the king, though he himſelf had no ſuſpicion of him, deſiring his aſſiſtance in a ſuit he had at court, he went immediately and ſpoke to the king in his behalf. The king ſurprized to ſee him ſpeak for that perſon, aſked him if he knew him well; and upon his anſwering, that he took him for his friend; "No, (replied the king) he is your "mortal enemy, and I command you when you ſee him "next to call him knave." Cranmer modeſtly anſwered, ſuch language did not become a biſhop; but the king inſiſted upon his compliance. Nevertheleſs Cranmer found means to be excuſed, and the king, content with admiring his goodneſs,

He informs him of the whole plot, and orders him to proceed againſt his accuſers.

Cranmer excuſes himſelf.

The king gives him another mark of his eſteem.

goodneſs, would not preſs him any farther. Thus the plot, 1543.
contrived for the archbiſhop's ruin, ſerved only to indear him the more to the king, and demonſtrate to his enemies how dangerous it was to attack him.

The 23d of December, the king created the lord Parr, the queen's brother, earl of Eſſex [l], and conferred on ſir William Parr her uncle the title of lord Parr, of Horton, with the office of chamberlain to the queen [m]. The queen's brother is made earl of Eſſex. Herbert.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, the war between the emperor and the king of France was carrying on in ſeveral places. In the beginning of the campaign, Francis had ſome advantages in the Low Countries, where he took Landrecy, Emery, Bapanume, Maubeuge and Luxemburg. But the emperor arriving about the end of the ſummer with a ſtrong ſupply of Spaniſh troops, Francis being inferior in number, was obliged to keep at ſome diſtance. This gave the emperor an opportunity to inveſt Landrecy, of which however he was forced to raiſe the ſiege, upon Francis's finding means to throw in ſuccours. But he made himſelf amends by taking Cambray. Continuation of the war between the emperor and France. Bellai. Mezerai. Stow.

At the ſame time Barbaroſſa, admiral of the Turks, coming to Marſeilles the beginning of July with a hundred and ten Turkiſh gallies, found there the earl of Enghien, of the houſe of Bourbon, with twenty two French gallies. After their junction, they went together and attacked Nice the 10th of Auguſt, and on the 20th became maſters of the town. But the caſtle made ſo brave a defence, that the Turkiſh admiral finding he loſt both time and reputation before the place, retired and wintered in Provence, from whence he returned to Turky the beginning of the ſpring. I ſhall ſay nothing of the war in Piedmont, becauſe it produced no remarkable event [n]. Siege of Nice by the French and the Turks.

During the whole campaign, Henry aſſiſted the emperor only with a ſmall body [o] of troops, commanded by ſir John

[l] He had married Anne daughter and heir of Henry Bourchier earl of Eſſex. Stow, p. 585.

[m] Alſo, ſome of the Iriſh nobility that came and ſubmitted to king Henry, June 3, were, on July 1, advanced to the following honours; namely, William Boruck, or Bourk, alias Macwilliam, was created earl of Clanreckard, and baron Dunkellyn. Mawer Obrien, earl of Tomon, or Thomond, and baron of Inſykwyne. And Conaught Obrien, baron of Ibrackayn. Sir Conaught O'Neal came alſo and made his ſubmiſſion to king Henry, and was created earl of Tyrone, Septemb. 1. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 797——800. tom. XV. p. 7. Hall, fol. 247, 256.

[n] This year, the firſt caſt pieces of iron (both cannons and mortars) that ever were made in England, were made at Buckſtead in Suſſex, by Peter Baud, Ralph Hogg, and Peter van Colen. Stow, p. 584. Hollingſh. p. 960.

[o] Six thouſand men. Hall, fol. 256.

Wallop.

1544. Wallop [p]. But they both formed vaſt projects for the next year. They intended to enter France, the one by Champagne, the other by Picardy, each at the head of forty thouſand men, and to join about Paris. To execute this project it was neceſſary to act with union and a good underſtanding. So, Henry could not diſpenſe with performing his promiſe to the emperor, to give the princeſs Mary a place in the ſucceſſion. The parliament meeting the 14th of January 1544, immediately paſſed an act, ſettling the order of thoſe who could pretend to the crown after the king's death. I have frequently obſerved, that the parliament was held in ſubjection, and did nothing but what the king pleaſed. Several inſtances have been ſeen, but none more flagrant than the following. In this act prince Edward was ranked firſt, with his iſſue. In the ſecond place, the heirs male by the king's preſent or future marriage with their iſſue. In the third place, the princeſs Mary and her line. Laſtly, the princeſs Elizabeth and her heirs. But there was no mention of the king's divorces with the queens, mothers to theſe two princeſſes. So notwithſtanding the acts, which approved and confirmed theſe divorces, and were never repealed, the parliament ſeemed to conſider theſe princeſſes as legitimate, though before they had been declared baſtards, and, as ſuch, excluded from the ſucceſſion. On the other hand, to convince them, they were indebted to the king their father for this favour, the act made them liable to ſuch limitations or conditions, as the king ſhould pleaſe to declare by his letters patents, on pain of forfeiting the right which was granted them. Moreover, in caſe of diſobedience on their part, or if they died without heirs, the parliament gave the king power to ſettle the crown on any other by his letters patents, or his laſt will ſigned with his own hand. Was not this conſidering theſe two princeſſes as baſtards, ſince their right to the ſucceſſion was made to depend on the king their father's pleaſure? without pretending to queſtion the right of the king and repreſentatives of the nation to ſettle the ſucceſſion as they pleaſe, I cannot forbear remarking, that this right was carried on that occaſion as far as it can be ſtretched. Suppoſing theſe two princeſſes baſtards, the parliament impowered the king to call them to the throne, contrary to the laws and cuſtoms

The emperor's and Henry's vaſt projects. Act. Pub. XV. p. 1, 2. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Parliament.

Act to ſettle the ſucceſſion to the crown. Herbert. Burnet.

Remarks on this act.

[p] Sir Thomas Seymour was marſhal, and ſir Richard Cromwell captain of the horſe. Hall, ibid. They departed from Calais, July 22. Stow, p. 585.

of

of the realm ſince the conqueſt. On the other hand, ſuppoſing them legitimate, they left the king free to exclude them from the ſucceſſion, contrary to the ſame laws and cuſtoms, ſince it was in his breaſt to impoſe on them conditions impoſſible to be performed. This was a power no king of England had ever enjoyed, and which ſhows, this act flowed not ſo much from the parliament as from the king himſelf. To palliate in ſome meaſure theſe contradictions, care was taken not to mention in the act, the king's divorces with Catherine and Anne. Only every one was free to gueſs the motives of the act, which was not very difficult, ſince there was no other than that of complying with the king's will. By a clauſe in the ſtatute, all perſons were obliged to take a new oath againſt the authority of the biſhop of Rome, which whoſoever refuſed, or ſhould break any of the articles of the act, was to be adjudged a traitor. 1544.

A new oath ordained. Act. Pub. XV. p. 21.

By another act paſſed this ſeſſion, the title of king of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, and ſupreme head of the church of England and Ireland, was united for ever to the crown of England.

The king's title ſettled for ever.

By another it was enacted, that no perſon ſhould be indicted on the ſtatute of the ſix articles, but upon a preſentment by the oaths of twelve men, before commiſſioners appointed by the king: that no perſon ſhould be impriſoned but upon an indictment; and laſtly, the preſentment ſhould be made within forty days after the pretended offence was committed, otherwiſe it ſhould be rejected [q]. Hereby the eccleſiaſtical courts were tied up in ſome meaſure, from oppreſſing the ſubjects on pretence of hereſy, ſince the ſame privileges were allowed for that crime, as were enjoyed by the Engliſh with reſpect to all other offences.

Act to limit the juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtical courts.

Laſtly, the parliament granted the king a ſubſidy, in a manner unheard of before, by enjoining that thoſe who had lent him money ſhould be obliged to forgive the debt [r]. However unjuſt this act was with reſpect to the particular

The parliament declares the king clear of all debts,

[q] Here is a miſtake. The preſentment was to be made within a year after the offence committed. And if any preacher or reader ſhould ſpeak any thing in his ſermon or reading, contrary to any matter contained in the ſix articles, he muſt be complained of within forty days, unleſs a juſt cauſe were given why it could not be ſo ſoon. See the act. This act had clearly a relation to the conſpiracies mentioned in the former year, both againſt the archbiſhop, and ſome of the king's ſervants.

[r] Nay, thoſe who had got payment, either in whole or in part, of the ſums ſo lent the king, were to repay what they had received, to the exchequer. There was ſuch an act paſſed in the 21ſt year of the king. See above, p. 322, note [illegible] Vol. I. p. 330.

1544. perſons who had lent the money, the parliament was not ſorry the king deſired it, in order to put a ſtop to the cuſtom of loans, which in time would have rendered parliaments uſeleſs.

and revives the authority to appoint commiſſioners.

The power formerly granted the king was alſo revived during life, of appointing commiſſioners to examine all canons and conſtitutions eccleſiaſtical, and to make the neceſſary alterations, which the king had hitherto neglected [s].

The lord Wriotheſly made chancellor. May 3.

Before the end of the ſeſſion, Thomas Wriotheſly great friend of the old religion was made lord chancellor in the room of the lord Audley deceaſed [t].

War in Piedmont. P. Daniel. Battle of Ceriſoles. P. Daniel. Herbert.

In the beginning of the year, Francis I. ſent into Piedmont the earl of Enghien who was but two and twenty years old, to take the command of the army in the room of Boutiers who had not been very ſucceſsful. The young prince engaging the marquiſs of Guaſto at Ceriſoles, obtained the 14th of April a ſignal victory over him, which coſt the imperialiſts ten thouſand men, beſides the wounded and priſoners. In the conſternation the marquiſs of Guaſto was under, after the loſs of the battle, he would have found it very difficult to keep Milan for the emperor, if the earl of Enghien had not been ſtopped in the midſt of his career by expreſs orders. As the king of France was informed, that the emperor and the king of England were to join and invade him in the center of his dominions with an army of eighty thouſand Foot and twenty two thouſand horſe, he deemed it more neceſſary to provide for the defence of his kingdom than to think of making conqueſts in Italy. For that reaſon he ordered the earl of Enghien to ſend him twelve thouſand men of his army. This diminution diſabled the young prince to reap any other advantage from his victory than the taking of Carignano, which he reduced to the king's obedience.

Francis recalls his troops out of Italy.

[s] There were thirty two commiſſioners appointed, ſixteen of the clergy, and the ſame number of the laity. The bill for examining theſe laws was read, for the firſt time, January 13; and for the ſecond, third, and fourth times, the 19th, 22d, and 24th of the ſame month, and paſſed March 6. Upon mention of this bill's being read the fourth time, it is obſerved in the journals of the houſe of lords, that bills of moment have been uſually or often read four times. See Jour. Procer. Burnet, tom. III. p. 161; and Statut. 35 Hen. 8.——In this ſeſſion of parliament, there was a very good act made for the preſervation of timber and woods, which ought to be better obſerved. See ibid. c. 17.

[t] The lord Audley died April 30, and ſir Thomas Wriotheſly was created baron of Tichfield, January 1. this year. Hall, fol. 257. Stow, p. 585. Sir William Petre, Cranmer's great friend, was about this time made ſecretary of ſtate. Burnet, tom. I. p. 331.

Mean

Mean while, the formidable armies which were to invade France not being yet ready, Henry reſolved to uſe part of his troops to finiſh the affair of Scotland, which he had ever at heart. Though he had declared war againſt Scotland, it was not to make conqueſts, but ſolely to compel the Scots by the terror of his arms, to agree to the marriage of their queen with the prince his ſon. He could not conceive, that in their preſent circumſtances, they could flatter themſelves with the hopes of ſucceſs in a war ſo unequal and capable of ruining Scotland in one ſingle campaign. But cardinal Beaton, an obſtinate man if ever there was one, who governed in the regent's name, choſe rather to expoſe the kingdom to become a prey to the Engliſh than conſent to a peace, which could not be made without ruining his fortune. So Henry ſeeing it was neceſſary to preſs him more cloſely, reſolved to ſend into Scotland part of the troops deſigned againſt France. The lord Edward Seymour earl of Hertford and ſir John Dudley lord Liſle high admiral were appointed for the expedition. Seymour led the army to Newcaſtle, where the admiral arrived with a fleet and two hundred tranſport ſhips, on which the troops were embarked. The earl of Hertford landing near Leith [u], took that town without difficulty, and then marched directly to Edinburgh, of which he became maſter with the ſame eaſe. The regent and cardinal had not provided for their defence, imagining the king's threats would be without effect. The city of Edinburgh was ſacked and burnt, but the Engliſh attacked not the caſtle, for fear of being engaged in too long a ſiege. After that, they returned to Leith and burning the town retired to Berwick the 18th of May [w]. If Henry had reſolved to improve his advantages, he would have ſubdued all Scotland, conſidering the great conſternation of the Scots upon the invaſion. But two reaſons prevented him. The firſt, that he wanted his troops to ſend them to France, where he intended alſo to go in perſon. The ſecond, that his aim was only to let the Scots ſee what they were to expect, if they did not ſpeedily reſolve to execute the treaty for their queen's marriage, and he ſcarce doubted but this method would ſucceed. Mean while, it muſt have been thought very ſtrange, that he ſhould court the young queen of Scotland for the prince his ſon in ſo extraordinary a manner, and the world was

1544.

War with Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert.

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert.

u May 4, Buchanan, l. 15. They ſet out from London in March. Hollinſh, p. 961.

w See an account of the villages they plundered and burnt, in Hall, fol. 258; and Hollingſh. p. 963.

1544. of opinion, either he had done too much, or did not do enough.

The earl of Lenox ſides with Henry. Buchanan. Stow.

Though Henry had withdrawn his army out of Scotland, he had not however relinquiſhed his project of harraſſing the Scots till they ſhould agree to the marriage. To this end he improved an opportunity that offered, to give the regent and the cardinal freſh diſturbances. The earl of Lenox, as I ſaid, having quitted the court, was retired to Dunbarton, the governor whereof was devoted to him, but found himſelf greatly embaraſſed. His friends in France had informed him, that the king was exceedingly incenſed againſt him, and accuſed him of having laviſhed away the money ſent him to maintain the war againſt the Engliſh. This was in effect what had been hinted to Francis by the queen dowager, the regent, and the cardinal, who were ſeconded by the cardinal of Lorrain and the duke of Guiſe, and in this manner the French hiſtorians repreſent it. The earl, willing to clear himſelf, had ſent a man into France to acquaint the king with all that had paſſed in Scotland ſince his arrival, and with the preſent ſituation of affairs. But the king, prepoſſeſſed by the cardinal of Lorrain, refuſed to give the meſſenger audience, nay, was going to order him to priſon. The earl ſeeing himſelf thus forſaken, both by the king of France and thoſe who had at firſt joined him in Scotland, ſent to the king of England to know whether he would take him into his ſervice, with the earl of Glencarn his intimate friend. Henry received the overture more favourably than the two lords durſt have expected. He promiſed them his protection on certain conditions, which he would ſettle with them, if they would ſend ſome truſty perſon to England. Whereupon the earl of Glencarn came himſelf to Carliſle with the biſhop of Cathneſs, brother of the earl of Lenox, and two others. In a few days after their arrival, they concluded with the king's commiſſioners * a treaty, wherein the earl of Lenox and Glencarn promiſed,

Act. Pub. XV. p. 19.

Conventions between Henry and the earl of Lenox. Ib. p. 22. May 17.

I. That they would cauſe the pure word of God to be preached in their territories.

II. That they ſhould hinder to the utmoſt of their power, the young queen from being carried out of Scotland, and do their endeavour to deliver her into the hands of the king of England.

* Thomas lord Wharton warden of the Weſt Marches, and ſir Robert Bowes maſter of the requeſts. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 23.

III. That

III. That they would aſſiſt the king with all their forces, to procure him [y] the direction of the government of Scotland, and the title of protector of the realm. 1544.

IV. That the biſhop of Caithneſs and Hugh Cunningham ſhould be given in hoſtage to the king of England.

The king promiſed on his part:

1. That his army ſhould not oppreſs their lands.

2. That he would conſtitute the earl of Lenox regent of the kingdom, provided he would do nothing without his expreſs conſent.

3. That he would give him out of the revenues of the crown, what ſhould be reaſonable to ſupport the dignity of regent.

4. That in caſe the young queen ſhould die, he would ſupport the earl of Lenox in obtaining the crown againſt the pretenſions of the earl of Arran.

5. That he would give the earl of Glencarn a yearly penſion of a thouſand crowns.

6. That he would conſent, that Margaret Douglaſs his niece ſhould eſpouſe the earl of Lenox, provided ſhe were willing.

The treaty was ſigned at Carliſle the 17th of May, whilſt the Engliſh army was quitting Scotland and retiring to Berwick.

Some days after, the earl of Lenox came to the court of England, where the foregoing treaty was confirmed the 26th of June, with the following additional articles: Other conventions. Act. Pub. XV. p. 29. Herbert.

That the earl of Lenox ſhould ſurrender to the king the caſtle of Dunbritton and the iſle of Bute.

That if he married Margaret Douglaſs, he ſhould aſſign her an honourable dower.

That the king engaged on his part, to aid him with five hundred men, to give him a penſion of ſeventeen hundred marks [z] for himſelf, and one of a hundred marks for George Striveling, governour of Dunbritton.

In conſequence of this treaty the earl of Lenox came to Dunbritton with thirteen ſhips and about ſix hundred men.

y The poſſeſſion of Jedburgh, Kelſo, Roxburgh, Hume caſtle, the Hermitage, the Mers, and Teviotdale. Ibid. p. 24.

z Which made ſix thouſand eight hundred Scottiſh marks. Rymer, p. 31.

1544. Upon his arrival, he went to the caſtle with a few followers, to try to perſuade the governor [a] to deliver the place to the king of England. But the governor preferring his duty to his affection for the earl, refuſed to admit the Engliſh. This attempt failing, Lenox ravaged the iſles of Arran and Bute, where he met with no oppoſition. Then he made a deſcent upon Kintyre, and after plundering ſome villages ſailed to Briſtol, where he expected the king's return, who was now in France.

The earl of Lenox cannot ſurrender Dunbritton to the king. Buchanan. Herbert.

In the mean while, the earl of Arran and cardinal Beaton proſecuted with the utmoſt rigour the earl of Lenox's friends, and confiſcated their eſtates. But a freſh invaſion of the Engliſh, who, though few in number, took Jedborrough, Kelſoe, and Coldingham, cauſed them to ceaſe theſe proceedings, and raiſe an army to enable them to repulſe their enemies. The Scotch army amounting to eight thouſand men, being ready to march, the queen dowager, the regent, and the cardinal, led them to Coldingham, where the Engliſh, when they retired, had left a garriſon. But whilſt they were employed in the ſiege, the regent having advice that the Engliſh were marched from Berwick to relieve the town, was ſeized with ſuch a panick, that ſpeedily mounting his horſe he fled all alone to Dunbar. This haſty flight threw the whole army into ſuch a conſternation, that there was no hindering the ſoldiers from diſbanding. The earl of Angus alone reſolved to ſtay with a few men and carry off the artillery, which was going to be deſerted. The Scots being diſperſed, the Engliſh ravaged without mercy, Teviot, Merch, and Lauderdale, compelling the inhabitants to ſwear allegiance to the king of England. Buchanan adds, that the earl of Angus reviving the regent's courage, they aſſembled ſome troops, and cauſing the Engliſh to fall into an ambuſh, ſlew eight hundred [b] of their men and took a thouſand priſoners. But there is nothing like this in the Engliſh hiſtories.

Another Engliſh invaſion in Scotland. Buchanan.

Whilſt the king of England was acting againſt Scotland, till all was ready to begin the war in France, the emperor was at Spire, where he had called a diet to try to obtain ſome aſſiſtance from the princes of Germany. The proteſtants at firſt ſcrupled very much to aſſiſt him, whilſt he left them expoſed to the inſults of their enemies. But the moment they obtained a decree that they ſhould not be diſturbed in the exerciſe of their religion, they granted whatever was

Diet of Spire favourable to the proteſtants. Sleidan.

[a] His own lieutenant.

[b] Two hundred. Buchanan, l. 15.

required,

required. This was all they desired, and it was deemed a signal favour to grant it, even with such limitations and ambiguous clauses, as would one day render it fruitless. So the diet broke up about the end of May to the mutual satisfaction of the states of the empire. The pope alone was offended at the decree in favour of the protestants, and to hinder them from long enjoying the toleration granted till the council should meet, he fixed the opening of the council of Trent to the 25th of March 1545. 1544.

The opening of the council of Trent fixed to March 25, 1545.

Whilst the emperor was at Spire, he ordered Luxemburg to be invested, which surrendered about the end of May. Then, he headed his army in person to begin the execution of the projects concerted with Henry. Since the conclusion of the treaty in February last year, whereby they were each to bring into the field but twenty five thousand men, they had agreed to increase the number of their troops, to invade France with two armies, which together were to make above a hundred thousand men, and to join them about Paris. The emperor's first exploits, till the king of England's arrival, were the taking of Commercy and Ligny in le Barrois. After that he entered Champagne, and besieged St. Didier the 8th of July. This place, though weak, held out above six weeks, and then was taken by a false intelligence carried to the governor.

The emperor takes Luxemburg. Bellai. The designs of the emperor and Henry.

The emperor besieges St. Didier.

The war with Scotland having prevented Henry from being ready so soon as he had promised, it was about Whitsuntide before he embarked part of his army for Calais, under the conduct of the duke of Norfolk [c]. As for himself, he still remained in England with the rest of his troops till the middle of July [d]. When the duke of Norfolk was beyond sea, he joined the count de Bure, who commanded ten thousand men of the emperor's troops, and they jointly besieged the town of Montreuil. This was probably with the emperor's consent, who at the same time laid siege to St. Didier. He was in hopes that place would detain him but few days, and then he should march to Paris, whilst Henry was advancing to join him. Had this project been executed according to agreement, Paris and all the country as far as the

The duke of Norfolk joins the count de Bure. Act. Pub. XV. p. 40. Hall. Stow.

They besiege Montreuil. Herbert.

[c] Who was accompanied by John lord Russel, captain of the vanguard. Rymer, tom. XV. p. 43; and Henry Howard earl of Surrey marshal, John Vere earl of Oxford, the lord Grey of Wilton, lord Ferrers of Chartley, lord Mountjoy, sir Francis Bryan, &c. Herbert, p. 244.

[d] Before his departure, he appointed queen Catherine regent of the kingdom; and named for her assistants, the archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor Wriothesly, the earl of Hertford, the bishop of Westminster, and sir William Petre. Rymer, tom. XV. p. 39.

1544. Loire would have been in great danger, ſince Francis had not above forty thouſand men. But the emperor was preposterouſly bent upon the ſiege of St. Didier, which detained him above ſix weeks. In the mean time, Henry arriving at Calais [e] with the reſt of his army, found that the emperor's deſign was to leave him to march alone to Paris and keep the king of France employed, whilſt he purſued his affairs in Champagne. So, perceiving that inſtead of marching to the rendezvous, the emperor was employed in a ſiege, he ordered likewiſe Boulogne to be inveſted, and came himſelf to the ſiege the 26th of July. By this means their project was ſuſpended, whilſt they ſeparately amuſed themſelves with the taking of towns. This error proved the ſafety of France. From thenceforward theſe two princes mutually charging one another with non-performance of agreements, had no longer any confidence in each other. And therefore the emperor by indirect means cauſed a peace to be offered to Francis, whilſt Henry more openly granted a ſafe conduct for French ambaſſadors to come and treat with him at a league from his camp.

The ſiege of St. Didier breaks the meaſures of the two confederate monarchs. Henry arrives at Calais. Suſpects the emperor, and beſieges Boulogne. Act. Pub. XV. p. 53, &c. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

The emperor privately, and Henry openly, offer peace to Francis.

Mean while the emperor, having at laſt taken St. Didier about the middle of Auguſt, ſent to Henry to march towards Paris, as was agreed. Henry anſwered, that ſince he had given the emperor time to take St. Didier, it was but reaſonable the emperor ſhould ſtay till he had taken Boulogne, which could not be long. After the taking of St. Didier, the emperor advanced to Chateau-Thierri, and filled Paris with terror and confuſion. But Henry's anſwer convincing him, it would be very difficult to execute their projects during the reſt of the campaign, he renewed his private negotiation with Francis, which had been ſuſpended. Shortly after, he concluded with France a ſeparate peace, ſigned at Crepy the 19th of September, not only without including Henry, but even without acquainting him for fear of prevention.

The emperor takes St. Didier, calls upon Henry to march to Paris. Henry chooſes rather to take Boulogne. Act. Pub. XV. p. 50. Herbert. Treaty of Crepy between the emperor and France. Bellai. Herbert. Mezerai.

Henry was not much ſurprized at the emperor's proceedings. He ought not to have expected leſs from ſuch a friend, who was reconciled to him only in order to do his own buſineſs. It is certain, Charles V. no more than Maximilian

Henry complains of the emperor in vain.

[e] July 14. Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk was captain of the middle-ward, and had with him Edward Seymour earl of Hertford lord chamberlain, Henry Fitzalan earl of Arundel the marſhal, ſir John Gage comptroller of his houſhold, and ſir Anthony Brown maſter of the horſe, &c. Hall. The ſhip wherein the king was conveyed over had ſails of cloth of gold. Herbert, p. 245.

and

and Ferdinand his paternal and maternal grandfathers, never pretended much to ſincerity, nor was integrity his principal virtue. Henry complained of his breach of faith. But it was eaſy to alledge ſundry reaſons, little capable however of balancing the oath he had taken to conclude neither peace nor truce without the conſent of his ally. But theſe oaths are generally ſo ill kept in moſt leagues, that they ſeem to be conſidered only as a ſort of form, not much to be relied upon. Happily for Henry, Boulogne had capitulated the 14th of September before the treaty of Crepy was ſigned [f]. 1544. Act Pub. XV. p. 56. Boulogne ſurrenders by capitulation.

The emperor thought himſelf very politick in eaſing himſelf of the burden of the war, and leaving Francis and Henry embroiled. Indeed, it was a great advantage, had it not been acquired by breach of faith. Immediately after the concluſion of the treaty, he ſent orders to the count de Bure to raiſe the ſiege of Montreuil, which obliged Henry alſo to recall the duke of Norfolk. In the ſituation of Henry's affairs, he had nothing to do but retire for fear the dauphin, who was advancing by long marches, ſhould oblige him to fight with great diſadvantage or retreat with precipitation. Beſides that the dauphin was at the head of forty thouſand men, he would have found the Engliſh army much leſſened, as well by their loſſes at two ſieges as by the numerous garriſon they were forced to leave at Boulogne. So, having well ſtored that place and left admiral Dudley governor, Henry departed for England the 30th of September, whilſt his troops were returning to Calais. The ſiege of Montreuil is raiſed. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingſh. The dauphin marches againſt Henry, who retires to Calais. Stow. Herbert. Hollingſh.

The dauphin came a few days after [g], but did not think proper to purſue the Engliſh, who were too far before him, and too near Calais for him to expect to overtake them. He contented himſelf therefore with trying to ſurprize Boulogne, the breaches whereof the Engliſh had not time to repair. He was very like to have ſucceeded in his attempt. The French were now maſters of the lower town, where all the Engliſh ordnance lay, when a ſally from the upper town compelled them to retreat in diſorder. Marſhal Montluc in his commentaries ſpeaks of this action, in a different manner from the Engliſh hiſtorians, though he agrees with them The dauphin fails in his attempt to ſurpriſe Boulogne. Bellai. Act. Pub. XV. p. 57. Herbert. Hall. Comment. of Montluc. Herbert.

f. The reader may ſee a very full account of the ſiege of Boulogne, in a journal of it, extant in Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 52, &c. and Herbert, p. 245. Compl. Hiſt.

g. October 7. Rymer, tom. XV. p. 57.

1544. that the French were repulſed. Some days after [h], a conference was held at Calais, to try to procure a peace between the two kings. But the aim of the French being to perſuade the Engliſh to reſtore Boulogne upon the bare hopes of a peace, it is not ſtrange, the conference ſhould be fruitleſs.

Conference for a peace fruitleſs. Act. Pub. XV. p. 57. Herbert.

Henry at his return to England took great care to put in a poſture of defence the places on the Thames, and on the ſouthern coaſt [i], imagining Francis would not fail to invade him the next year. At the ſame time he ſent into Scotland the earl of Lenox who took Dumfreys.

Henry fortifies his maritime places. Herbert.

This year, moſt part of the colleges, collegiate churches, and hoſpitals were ſurrendered to the king [k] by acts and deeds, ſeemingly voluntary, but which were no more ſo than thoſe ſigned by the abbots and priors, when they reſigned their monaſteries [l].

Colleges and hoſpitals reſigned to the king. Act. Pub. XV. p. 65, &c.

1545. In the beginning of the year 1545, the marſhal de Biez encamped near Boulogne, in order to raiſe a fort at Portet [m] to command the harbour of Boulogne. But the earl of Hertford who had ſucceeded Dudley, ſallying out with a body of troops, diſlodged the marſhal from his poſt, and forced him to defer his project till another time.

Preparations of France againſt England, Bellai. Mezerai. Herbert. Hall, Stow. Hall. Burnet. Herbert.

Mean while Francis was making great preparations againſt England, in hopes of retaking Boulogne, and even Guiſnes and Calais, in order to expel the Engliſh entirely out of France, to that end he equipped in the ſeveral ports of France one hundred and fifty great ſhips, and ſixty ſmaller ones [n], with ten hired of the Genoeſe. Moreover, he had ordered five and twenty gallies to be brought from the Le-

[h] October 12. The Engliſh commiſſioners were the earl of Hertford, and ſir William Paget. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 57.

[i] Gravеſend, Tilbury, Dover, Portſmouth, &c. Herbert, p. 249.

[k] There were in the kingdom ſeveral colleges, chapels, chantries, hoſpitals, and fraternities, conſiſting of ſecular prieſts, who enjoyed penſions for ſaying maſs for the Souls of thoſe who endowed them. Now the belief of purgatory being loſt indifferent by the doctrine ſet out by the biſhops, and the trade of redeeming ſouls being condemned, it was thought needleſs to keep up ſo many endowments to no purpoſe. Thoſe prieſts were generally ill affected to the king's proceedings, ſince their trade was ſo much leſſened by them. Therefore many were dealt with to make reſignation; and twenty four of them did ſurrender this year. Burnet, tom. I. p. 338.

[l] Alſo this year, king Henry reformed the publick offices, and put out a form of proceſſion, with a litany in Engliſh. Burnet, tom. III. p. 164.

[m] A little creek of the ſea, half a mile from Boulogne. The marſhal encamped there January 26, with fourteen thouſand men. The earl of Hertford diſlodged him, though he had only four thouſand ſeven hundred men. Herbert, p. 249.

[n] Our king ſet out about a hundred. Theſe ſhips on both ſides were only merchantmen hired for this war. Burnet, tom. I. p. 332.

vant,

vant, in imitation of Lewis XII. who, on the like occaſion, had ſent for four from thence. At the ſame time, he prepared to raiſe an army of forty thouſand men, with whom he intended to join twelve thouſand landſquenets levied in Germany. His deſign was to attack Boulogne by land, and ſo block it up by ſea, that it ſhould be impoſſible for the Engliſh to relieve it. To execute this project, he ſent a re inforcement to the marſhal de Biez, ordering him to build at Portet the fort he had been forced to leave unfiniſhed, being unwilling to approach Boulogne before the fort was in a ſtate of defence. The marſhal putting him in hopes, the work would be finiſhed by the middle of Auguſt, he came about the end of June to Havre de Grace, to give orders for an expedition by ſea. His gallies and ſhips arriving ſhortly after, he commanded the fleet to ſail towards England. But in ſeeing it depart, he had the vexation to behold one of the largeſt, called the Grand Carracon, burnt before his face, ſhe having taken fire whilſt the anchor was weighing. 1545.

Admiral Annebaut who commanded the fleet, arrived the 18th of July, at the Iſle of Wight, in ſight of Portſmouth, where lay the Engliſh fleet of ſixty ſhips only. Notwithſtanding the diſproportion between the two fleets, the Engliſh approached the French; but after a ſlight ſkirmiſh retired behind the ſands, with deſign to draw the enemies after them. The French admiral conſulting how they might be attacked, was told it was impoſſible, becauſe the channel which led to the place where they lay was ſo narrow, that hardly could four ſhips ſail abreaſt. That beſides, there was no venturing among the ſands without pilots. Theſe difficulties obliged the admiral to content himſelf with provoking the Engliſh to fight by means of the gallies, in order to draw them from their poſt. At firſt the gallies, favoured by a great calm, annoyed the Engliſh ſhips. But a land-breeze ariſing, deprived them of their advantage, and cauſed them to row off, for fear of being run down by the large Ships. The Engliſh did not purſue them very far, their deſign being to draw the enemies among the ſands, with which they were unacquainted. Expedition of the French fleet. Bellai. Hall. Stow.

At laſt, the French ſeeing the Engliſh would not loſe the advantage of their poſt, landed in three places in the Iſle of Wight. But all this ended only in burning ſome villages. It was moved in a council of war, to fortify and keep the iſland. But it was judged impracticable, chiefly by reaſon of the time which ſuch a project would neceſſarily require. The admiral therefore was ſatisfied with ordering a deſcent on the Deſcent of the French on the Iſle of Wight, and in England. Hall. Herbert. Stow.

1545. the coaſt of Suſſex [o] imagining the king, who was at Portſmouth, would ſend out his fleet to aſſiſt the country. But he was miſtaken. The Engliſh fleet ſtill lay behind the ſands, and the deſcents which the French made in three ſeveral places, gained them no conſiderable advantage, becauſe the coaſts were well guarded. In the mean while, the Engliſh fleet daily increaſing, conſiſted now of a hundred ſail. So,

The French fleet retires. Annebaut ſeeing little hopes of making great progreſs, retired towards France, after having watered at the Iſle of Wight, not without loſing ſome ſoldiers and officers.

It is driven upon the coaſt of England. A ſhort engagement. Some days after, a ſouth wind blew the French back towards the coaſt of England, and put their fleet in confuſion, which the Engliſh reſolved to improve, if the wind continued favourable. And indeed, the two fleets engaged for two hours. But as the wind was very changeable, each endeavoured to gain it, without engaging however too far. At laſt, they parted without much loſs on either ſide; and thus ended the greateſt effort France had ever made at ſea.

The deſign of beſieging Boulogne and Guiſnes miſcarries by de Biez's fault. Herbert. The attempt to fight the Engliſh fleet, or to ravage the coaſt, was not however the principal motive of this powerful armament. The taking of Boulogne was the king of France's chief end, and the fleet was properly intended only to block up that place by ſea. But as the landſquenets were not yet arrived, and the fort marſhal de Biez was building not finiſhed, Francis was vexed to ſee the time proper for executing his deſigns inſenſibly ſlide away. At length, hearing the landſquenets were on the borders, he ſent to view the fort, which, contrary to his expectation, and marſhal de Biez's promiſe, was yet very far from being finiſhed. Beſides, it was built in a different place from what was appointed, and did not command the harbour. The marſhal alledged, if it had been built at Portet, the garriſon would have wanted water. But he affirmed, the fort he was raiſing at Outreau would be finiſhed in eight days. Whereupon the king ſent him his whole army, of which he gave him the command, and remained himſelf at Chateau-Montier about ten leagues from Boulogne.

The marſhal de Biez lay encamped near the fort till it was finiſhed, his deſign being to throw in ten thouſand men to awe the garriſon of Boulogne, whilſt he beſieged Guiſnes. But the engineer had ſo ill contrived his work, that after much time ſpent in it, he was forced almoſt to begin again. This occaſioned a delay, which broke all the meaſures tha[t]

[o] New Brightelmſton, and New Haven. Stow, p. 589.

were

were taken. Mean while, the king haſtened the work the more, as he knew that ten thouſand landſquenets, and four thouſand horſe, raiſed for the ſervice of England were marching for Picardy. In ſhort the marſhal perceiving the ſeaſon would be too far advanced before his fort could be put in a ſtate of defence, pretended to have certain advice that the king of England deſigned to land a ſtrong army at Calais, to relieve Boulogne by land; this is at leaſt what du Bellai imputes to him in his memoirs. However, the marſhal leaving the fort unfiniſhed, encamped on mount Lambert, to be ready to oppoſe the ſuccours. But the Engliſh appeared not. As for the landſquenets ſent for by Henry from Germany, they returned home, becauſe they received not on the borders the money, they were made to expect. Mean while, the French army continued encamped, without undertaking the ſiege either of Guiſnes or Boulogne, though Francis had made ſo great an effort for that purpoſe. 1545. Herbert. p. 250.

In the mean time, the duke of Orleans died at Chateau-Montier, to the great grief of the king his father, who, by his death, ſaw the peace with the emperor very much ſhaken, ſince it was properly founded upon that prince's life, as will quickly appear. Death of the duke of Orleans. Mezerai.

The French army being encamped on mount Lambert, within cannon ſhot of Boulogne, there were ſkirmiſhes every day in the ſpace between the mount and the town. In one of theſe conflicts, the duke d'Aumale, known afterwards by the name of the duke of Guiſe, was wounded with a lance, which entering at the corner of his eye, came out behind his head. The wound, though deemed mortal by all, was however cured by the great ſkill of Ambroſe Paré, the king's ſurgeon, who was even forced to draw out with pincers, the head of the launce which remained in the wound. The ſcar in the duke's face, gained him the ſirname of Balafre [or Gaſhed.] A terrible wound cured by Ambroſe Paré. Bellai.

The ſeaſon was now ſo advanced, that the ſiege of Boulogne was not practicable. So Francis was forced to be contented, with ordering the marſhal de Biez, to ravage Terre d'Oye, belonging to the king of England. But the ſudden rains made the country ſo watery, that the marſhal was ſoon obliged to retire with his army. Indeed the inhabitants were great ſufferers, becauſe the garriſon of Calais, which ſhould have protected them, was unable to reſiſt ſo numerous forces. On the other hand, *Briſſac, afterwards marſhal of France, defeated a body of two thouſand Engliſh. The French army ravage Terre d'Oye. Herbert.

Theſe

1545. These were all the damages Henry ſuſtained during the campaign, from an army of above two hundred thouſand men, which had put his enemy to a prodigious expence. In all likelihood, this expence, and the ill ſucceſs of the campaign, contributed moſt to the peace which was ſoon after concluded.

Francis's motives to make peace with Henry.

Beſides that France was exhauſted, Francis had ſtill another motive to make peace with England. He was apprehenſive of being ſoon compelled to renew the war with the emperor. By the treaty of Crepi, it was agreed, that the duke of Orleans ſhould marry one of the daughters, either of the emperor, or of the king of the Romans, and on account of the marriage, ſhould have the duchy of Milan, or the earldom of Flanders. In conſideration of ſo advantageous a ſettlement for the duke his ſon, Francis had reſigned above twenty places, which he held in Piedmont or Montferrat, and relinquiſhed the intereſts of his brother-in-law the king of Navarre. So, the hopes of the advantages this marriage was to procure, vaniſhing by the death of his ſon, Francis was to find ſome other way to obtain them, or break a treaty now become uſeleſs. For this reaſon, being deſirous to know the emperor's intentions, he ſent admiral Annebaut to Antwerp, to offer him to renew the treaty of peace upon other conditions, ſince the death of the duke of Orleans had rendered thoſe of the treaty of Crepi of no effect. But the emperor plainly intimated, that by the death of that prince, he believed himſelf freed from his engagement, when he told the ambaſſador, he would not attack the king of France, if he was not firſt attacked. Francis eaſily judged by this anſwer, he ſhould infallibly have a war with the emperor. This, added to the little progreſs he had made during the laſt campaign, made him deſirous of a peace with England. But as he was unwilling to ſue for it, he applied to the princes of the Smalcaldick league, who offered to become mediators. This mediation ſeemed the leſs precarious, as the proteſtants themſelves were highly concerned to procure a peace between the two kings. They ſaw themſelves upon the brink of being attacked by the emperor ſince he had made peace with France, and knew moreover, he was negotiating a truce with the Turks. Nothing therefore could be more for their advantage, than a good underſtanding between France and England, that both kings might be able to protect them. They ſent therefore to France, Chriſtopher de Veninger, John Bruno of Nidepont, and John Sturmius; and to England, Lewis Bambach, and

Herbert.

He got the proteſtant princes to negotiate for him; Sleidan. l. 16.

who ſend ambaſſadors to France and England.

and John Sleidan, to perform the office of mediators between the two kings, in the name of the league. These ambaſſadors meeting the plenipotentiaries of France and England between Ardres and Guiſnes [p], preſently found it was not eaſy to make peace. Francis inſiſted that Henry ſhould reſtore Boulogne, and Scotland be included in the peace. But Henry abſolutely rejected both theſe articles. Whereupon a truce only was negotiated, but with no better ſucceſs, becauſe Henry would never agree, that the Scots ſhould be compriſed in the treaty. This appears in the ſecret inſtructions ſent to ſir William Paget one of the Engliſh ambaſſadors [q], and inſerted in the collection of the publick acts. We find alſo in his inſtructions, that ſir Wiliam Paget attempted to bribe Bruno, one of the German mediators, with the offer of a conſiderable penſion, and in all appearance, the mediator hearkened to his propoſals. Mean while, to obtain the better terms, Henry feigned a deſire to be reconciled with the emperor, and even ſent in embaſſy to him, the biſhops of Wincheſter and Weſtminſter. But this was only to give a jealouſy to Francis.

1545. Sleidan. Herbert. Burnet. Difficulties of a peace, and of a truce. Act. Pub. XV. p. 82, 83.

Cranmer took the advantage of Gardiner's abſence to advance the reformation, which he knew that prelate would oppoſe with all his power. Some vacant biſhopricks were, by his means, given to perſons who favoured the reformation, and he had thereby among the biſhops a much ſtronger party than ever [r]. Nay, he found means afterwards to obtain the king's conſent to ſome alterations advantageous to religion. But Gardiner, who was then at Bruges with the emperor, having notice of it, ſent the king word, that the pope and the emperor being joined in a league againſt the proteſtants of Germany, the leaſt innovation in England, with reſpect to religion, would be apt to induce them to give the king of France all the ſatisfaction he could deſire, to engage him in their league, in order to act all together againſt him. This cauſed Cranmer to find more difficulty than he expected.

Cranmer procures biſhopricks for his friends. Burnet. Fox. Herbert. Gardiner breaks his meaſures.

In Auguſt this year Cranmer loſt a good ſupport by the death of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, who had always

Death of the duke of Suffolk.

[p] In November. Herbert, p. 251.

[q] The other Ambaſſadors were, Cuthbert, biſhop of Durham, and Dr. Tregonel. Hall, fol. 260.

[r] Lee, archbiſhop of York dying, Robert Holgate, biſhop of Landaff, was promoted to that ſee, Kitchen being made biſhop of Landaff, who turned with every change. Heath was tranſlated from Rocheſter to Worceſter, and Henry Holbeach was made biſhop of Rocheſter. Day, a moderate man, upon Sampſon's tranſlation to Litchfield and Coventry, was made biſhop of Chicheſter. Burnet, tom. I. p. 333.

1545. continued in the height of favour *. He was Cranmer's friend, and would have willingly agreed to a farther reformation. But he was too much a courtier, to attempt directly to oppoſe the king's will. However, as Henry was not always in the ſame diſpoſition, with regard to religion, this lord did the reformed good ſervice, when he ſaw the king in a favourable ſituation.

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Continuation of the war with Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Hollingſh.

The war with Scotland was faintly continued on both ſides. Henry's deſign was only to terrify the Scots, and induce them to execute the treaty concerning their queen's marriage. On the other hand, the Scots had no thoughts of invading England. Nevertheleſs, Francis, who, as was obſerved, had formed vaſt projects againſt England, ſent betimes to the regent an ambaſſador, called la Broſſe, to aſſure him of his protection, and a powerful aid, which was inſtantly to depart. Beſides that a diverſion in Scotland could not but be advantageous to him, he was alſo excited by the Lorrain princes, who was deſirous to ſupport the queen their ſiſter. So, cauſing the Seigneur de Lorge, count of Mongommeri, to embark with five thouſand men, he ordered him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the Scots to make a powerful diverſion on the frontiers of England. Mongommeri arriving in Scotland the ſecond of July, joined his troops with the Scots, and both making together fifteen toouſand men, advanced towards the Tweed. For ſome days ſeveral parties paſſed the river, and did ſome damage to the Engliſh. But the French general could never perſuade the Scots to venture with the whole army beyond the Tweed. On the contrary, upon news that the earl of Hertford was advancing at the head of twelve thouſand men, they haſtily retired, and preſently after diſbanded as uſual. This is all that paſſed in Scotland worth notice during the campaign of 1545.

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The parliament grants the king a ſubſidy, and the lands of the colleges, &c. Herbert.

The parliament of England meeting the twenty third of November, the convocation continued for two years the ſubſidy given the king for ſix ſhillings in the pound. At the ſame time, the parliament ſuppreſſed by an act, all the colleges and hoſpitals, and gave their lands to the king. The motive, or rather pretence of this ſuppreſſion was, the abuſe

* He died Auguſt 24, and lies buried in St. George's chapel at Windſor, by the door of the choir near the place where Henry VI. is interred. He had four wives. His third was Mary daughter of Henry VII. and widow of Lewis XII. of France. He had a ſon by her, who died before him, and two daughters. His two other ſons by his laſt wife, died without iſſue, 5 Edward VI. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 300.

of

of theſe foundations. The parliament deſigned it alſo to- 1545.
wards the expence of the king's wars with France and Scot-
land. But this not ſufficing, the commons granted him Burnet. Hall. Stow.
moreover a large ſum [t], and as they were aſſembled only
for that purpoſe, they were diſmiſſed the 24th of Decem-
ber. Before the ſeſſion ended, the king came to the houſe The king's ſpeech to the parliament. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert.
of lords in great ſolemnity, and made a fine ſpeech, ſaying,
among other things, that never had prince a greater af-
fection for his people, or was more beloved than himſelf.
He added many ſuch expreſſions, which, though very far
for the moſt part from the truth, were however received by
the people with loud acclamations [u].

During this year, the German proteſtants began to feel Affairs of Germany. Sleidan.
the effects of the emperor's late peace with France, and of
the truce he was going to conclude with the Turk. Hitherto
they had been uſed a little gently. But the emperor coming
to Worms, where the diet of the empire was held, plainly
declared to them, he could not any way diſpenſe with their
ſubmitting to the council, which was to meet at Trent.
This convinced them, there was in reality a deſign to re-
duce them by force, and the more, as a certain rumour was
ſpread of a league between the pope and the emperor, which
could not but be againſt them. Their ſuſpicions were far-
ther confirmed by a ſermon preached by a certain Franciſcan
before the emperor, to whom he repreſented in very ſtrong
terms that he could not diſcharge the duty of a good emperor,
unleſs he laboured to the utmoſt of his power to extirpate
the Lutherans. They knew alſo, the emperor had writ to
the king of Poland to excite him againſt them. Moreover,
he ſummoned the archbiſhop of Cologne to appear before
him within thirty days, becauſe he had embraced the refor-
mation, and tried to introduce it into his dioceſe. All this
ſhowed plainly what they were to expect. Nevertheleſs, as
the emperor had not yet concluded the truce with the Turk,
and as his affairs were not quite ready, he ordered that a new
diet ſhould be held at Ratiſbon the following January. But
the better to amuſe the proteſtants, he decreed that the di-
vines of both parties ſhould come to Ratiſbon a month be-

[t] Four ſhillings in the pound of lands, and two ſhillings and eight pence of goods to be paid in two years. Hall, fol. 260.

[u] The moſt remarkable acts made in this parliament were theſe: 1. That the cuſtos rotulorum in each county ſhall be appointed by a bill ſigned with the king's hand; and that the ſaid cuſtos ſhall appoint the clerk of the peace. 2. That no higher intereſt, than ten pounds per cent. for a year, ſhall be paid. 3. An act for the payment of tithes in London. See Statut. 37 Hen. VIII.

1545. fore the diet, and hold a free conference that ſomething might be afterwards ſettled in matters of religion. The Roman catholicks did not like the conference, and the proteſtants were ſtill leſs pleaſed with it, becauſe they foreſaw that the ſtiffneſs of the divines of both ſides, on the points which would be the ſubjects of their conference, would give the emperor and the diet a pretence to refer the deciſion to the council of Trent. The diet breaking up the 18th of Auguſt, the emperor returned to the Low Countries. Some time after, he received advice that the truce with the Turks was concluded. He then ſaw himſelf at full liberty to make war upon the proteſtants, and under that pretence to ſet about the execution of his project to become maſter of the empire.

Remark on the council. Sleidan. Herbert.

It was properly at the inſtance of the proteſtants only, that the council was to meet: but it was very far from being ſuch a council as they had required. They expected it to be held in Germany in an unſuſpected place, and it was convened at Trent, a city belonging to the king of the Romans, whom they juſtly conſidered as their enemy. Their deſign was to combat the papal authority, and it was the pope who was to preſide by his legates. They intended to ſhow that the Romiſh clergy had corrupted religion both in doctrine and diſcipline, and it was the Romiſh clergy who were to aſſiſt as judges. Nay, it was uncertain whether they ſhould be allowed to produce their reaſons. Mean while, it was pretended, that out of great condeſcenſion, a council was called for their ſakes, and at their ſollicitation. It is therefore no wonder, they ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to ſuch a council, which they as much feared, as they deſired one free and impartial. So the emperor and the proteſtants acted directly contrary to their firſt proceedings. The proteſtants rejected a council, after deſiring it with great earneſtneſs, and the emperor, after amuſing them many years on that account, preſſed with all his power the meeting of the council of Trent, the authority whereof he intended to make uſe of to oppreſs them. The pope would have been glad to have had no council at all, but finding he was too far engaged with the emperor to recede, had fixed the opening to the 15th of March. After that, he put it off, becauſe on that day there were too few biſhops at Trent. But he had a much ſtronger reaſon. He was very glad to wait the event of the diet of Worms, in hopes that vigorous reſolutions would be taken there againſt the proteſtants, which would engage both parties in an open war, and furniſh him with a pretence,

pretence, either to delay the opening of the council, or to remove it to some town in Italy. But the emperor, who had now formed his plan of making use of the council's authority to proceed against the protestants, caused the pope at last to order it to be opened at Trent the 13th of December. That day the legates (meeting in the cathedral) declared, the council was assembled for three causes, to destroy heresy, to reform discipline, and to settle a lasting peace between christian princes. This first session was properly held only for the opening of the council. There were so few prelates at Trent, that it would have been ridiculous for so small a number of persons to pretend to make decrees upon the articles for which the council was called. 1545. Opening of the council of Trent. F. Paul. Vargas. Herbert.

The protestants seeing a council opened quite different from what they had required, easily perceived no good was to be expected from it. They had the more reason to fear it, as the kings of France and England being at war with each other, there was no hopes of assistance from them. Mean while, though the German mediators had not succeeded in their negotiation, the peace between France and England was not more remote. The reason was, both kings were equally concerned to end a war, which only did them damage, without a possibility for either to expect any considerable advantage. The war continued however during the winter of the year 1546. The earl of Surrey, son of the duke of Norfolk, who commanded at Boulogne, having intelligence that the French were conducting a convoy to the fort of Outreau, sallied out* with part of the garrison to intercept it. But he succeeded so ill, that instead of taking the convoy, he was himself defeated and forced to retreat in great disorder. This news extremely troubled the king, who was not wont to receive the like. Whether he thought it owing to the earl's imprudence, or suspected him of some hidden design, he recalled him immediately, and sent the lord Gray to command in his room. A few days after, he ordered the earl of Hertford to depart with about ten thousand men, for fear the French should seize some post, and cut off the communication between Boulogne and Calais. And indeed that was their design. But the earl of Hertford, preventing them by two days only, posted himself at Ambleville, where he ran up two forts which secured the communication. The French having missed their aim, encamp- 1546. Henry and Francis wish for a peace. Act. Pub. XV. p. 80. Stow. p. 591. Hollingsh. Herbert. Hall. Herbert.

* January 7. Sir Thomas Poynings, with several others, were slain. Stow. p. 591.

1546. ed on mount Lambert; and as the two armies were not far from each other, there were ſkirmiſhes every day, but which decided nothing. It was equally the intereſt of both kings to run no hazard for fear of breaking off the negotiation of the peace, which was treating between Ardres and Guiſnes.

Reaſons of both kings for a peace.

Francis wiſhed for a peace, becauſe his Exchequer was drained by his great and continual expence, from the beginning of his reign, and particularly by the naval armament of the former campaign. Beſides, as he was entering into a war with the emperor, he wanted ſuch a friend as the king of England. In fine, he perceived that, after his fruitleſs efforts to retake Boulogne, it would be very difficult to recover that place by force. Henry was no leſs deſirous of peace for ſeveral reaſons. He was grown ſo fat and corpulent, that it was a trouble for him to move. Nay, he had occaſion for an engine with pullies to lift him up and down ſtairs. This made him extremely uneaſy, and gave him a diſtaſte for buſineſs, ſo that he attended to affairs with ſome reluctance. In the next place he had no farther thoughts of making conqueſts in Picardy. His ſole aim was to procure what was due to him before Boulogne ſhould be reſtored; which was of little uſe to him, ſince Calais could ſerve all his purpoſes. But he had ſtill a more urgent motive to renew his old friendſhip with Francis. He ſaw the emperor with the pope's aſſiſtance upon the point of making war on the proteſtants, and much queſtioned their ability to withſtand him. In this belief, he was afraid the emperor, after ſubduing Germany, would turn his arms againſt England, with all the forces of the empire, Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries. He could uſe the pretence of executing the pope's ſentence, and even cauſe a like ſentence to be paſſed by the council of Trent. It was therefore not at all advantageous to Henry to be in war with France. It was rather his intereſt to have Francis's friendſhip, as it was alſo very advantageous to Francis to be ſecure of Henry's aſſiſtance, in caſe the emperor turned his arms againſt France.

Burnet.

Difficulties of the peace.

The obſtacles to the concluſion of the peace conſiſted in Henry's demand of what was due to him, and in Francis's want of money to content him. Beſides, Francis inſiſted upon Boulogne and upon Scotland's being included in the treaty. Theſe difficulties would have been ſufficient to hinder the concluſion of the peace, if more urgent motives had not induced the two kings to ſeek expedients to ſurmount them. Henry conſented at laſt to the article concerning Scotland, and as to the reſt, a way was found to ſatisfy

both,

both. Henry was to keep Boulogne till he was paid, and Francis promiſed to diſcharge the debt in eight years. Every thing being thus ſettled, the peace was ſigned the 7th of June [x]. The treaty ran: 1546.

That the king of France ſhall pay regularly the penſion, due by the treaty of Moore of the 30th of Auguſt 1525, confirmed by ſeveral ſubſequent treaties. As alſo the penſion of ſalt contained in a treaty of the 25th of April 1527, valued afterwards at ten thouſand crowns a year. But as Henry pretends the ſaid penſion given in lieu of the ſalt is to be perpetual, and as Francis maintains, on the contrary, that it is to ceaſe at Henry's death, it is agreed that the diſpute ſhall be amicably decided by umpires; and if the penſion ſhall be found to be perpetual, Francis ſhall pay it to Henry and his ſucceſſors for ever. Treaty of peace between France and England. Act. Pub. XV. p. 95. June 7. Hall. Stow. Herbert. p. 255.

Moreover Francis ſhall pay to the king of England, on the feaſt of St. Michael 1554, or within a fortnight after, the ſum of two millions of crowns de ſoleil, as well for the arrears of the penſion of the ten thouſand crowns, as for Henry's expence in the ſiege of Boulogne, undertaken ſolely to procure his money, and in keeping and maintaining that place.

As to the article of the five hundred thouſand crowns, which Henry preſented to Francis on condition he punctually obſerved the treaties, as the two kings differ in point of fact, it is agreed, the diſpute ſhall be decided by commiſſioners appointed on both ſides within ſuch a time, or by four impartial lawyers, in caſe the commiſſioners end not the affair.

It is further agreed, that the king of England ſhall keep Boulogne with its territories, the limits whereof are ſettled by the treaty, till he receive whatever is due to him.

That when all the ſums ſhall be paid, Boulogne ſhall be reſtored to the king of France, and nothing that is faſtened to the ground ſhall be impaired or carried away.

That from the date hereof to the ſurrender of Boulogne, neither of the two princes ſhall raiſe any fort or new fortification within the territory of Boulogne, but thoſe already begun may be finiſhed.

[x] The Engliſh plenipotentiaries were, John Dudley viſcount Liſle baron Malpas and Sommerey, ſir William Paget the king's ſecretary, and Dr. Wotton dean of Canterbury and York. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 93.

1546. The emperor was included by both parties in the peace. As for Scotland, Henry agreed, it ſhould be included, on condition the Scots gave him no freſh cauſe to make war upon them; and in caſe they did, they were to be deemed included no otherwiſe than according to the treaty of the 5th of April 1515.

Henry's advantages in this treaty.

Henry could hardly expect greater advantages than thoſe he received from this peace, which ſeemed to ſecure him not only the payment of what was due to him, but alſo the yearly and perpetual penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns. But the moſt ſolemn treaties are not always ſufficient ſecurity for the performance of what ſovereigns promiſe. It will appear in the following reigns, that Francis's ſucceſſor not only broke the treaty with reſpect to Boulogne, and the ſums for which his father was bound, but that even the penſion was never charged in the treaties he made with England.

The peace proclaimed at London. Hall. Stow.

The peace was very ſolemnly proclaimed at London the 13th of June with a general proceſſion, wherein were carried all the richeſt ſilver croſſes, and the fineſt copes worn, for the greater pomp. But this was the laſt time theſe things appeared in publick. Shortly after, Henry called them in together with the church plate into his treaſury and wardrobe, without giving any other reaſon than his will and pleaſure.

Henry calls in all the church plate. Stow.

Charges of the late war. Herbert. p. 256.

It is ſaid, the late war with France coſt Henry five hundred eighty ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and eighteen pounds ſterling, and the charges of keeping Boulogne eight years amounted to ſeven hundred fifty five thouſand eight hundred thirty three pounds. So large a ſum which was not to be repaid under eight years, had conſumed whatever had been granted by the parliament, and received from the chapels, colleges, and hoſpitals. So, he was forced in the beginning of the year to lay a tax upon his ſubjects under the name of benevolence [y], as appears in the collection of the publick acts.

Act. Pub. XV. p. 84. Strype.

Henry ſtands godfather to the dauphin's daughter. Hollingſh.

The peace reſtored between the two kings, the good underſtanding which had been interrupted ſome years, rather by the artifices of the emperor and his party in England, than for any juſt cauſe. Catherine de Medici, dauphineſs of France, being at this time delivered of a princeſs, and Henry

[y] This benevolence amounted to ſeventy thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty three pounds. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 399.

deſiring

deſiring to ſtand godfather [z], he called her Elizabeth. Preſently after, the two kings ſent ambaſſadors to each other to receive the oaths concerning the peace, and choſe for theſe embaſſies their two high admirals [a]. It is ſaid, that whilſt admiral Annebaut was at London, he began a negotiation about religion, and that the two kings intended to aboliſh the maſs in their dominions [b]. As for Henry, very likely, if he had lived, he would have advanced the reformation: nay, it is certain, that on account of this negotiation, he ordered Cranmer to ſet down in writing how ſuch a change might be effected, and to ſtrengthen all with arguments and paſſages from the ſcriptures. But this project ſoon vaniſhed into ſmoke. Probably, Francis had entered into the negotiation only becauſe he deſired to be in ſtrict union with Henry, and knew by experience that the bare propoſal of conforming himſelf to his ſentiments in point of religion, was a moſt effectual way to ſucceed. But it is not likely he really intended to admit of any reformation in his kingdom. And indeed, at this very time he was kindling the flames of perſecution all over France againſt the reformed, of whom fourteen this year were burnt at Meaux, and many others at Paris, and in other places, not to mention the maſſacre of Cabrieres and Merindol, for which none were puniſhed. The cardinals of Lorrain and Tournon his chief miniſters were too much incenſed againſt the proteſtants, for any man to believe, that ſo long as they were in favour, the king ever ſeriouſly thought of aboliſhing the maſs in France.

1546. Embaſſy from France. Hall. Stow. Project of aboliſhing the maſs. Burnet. T. I. p. 340. Herbert. Francis's deſign.

Before the peace between England and France was ſigned, the proteſtant princes of Germany ſeeing themſelves going to be attacked by the emperor, who had at laſt taken off the maſk ſince his peace with France and truce with the Turks, ſent to Henry prince Philip, brother [c] to the elector palatine, to deſire aſſiſtance. It appears in the king's letter to this prince, extant in the collection of the publick acts, that Henry had ſent to deſire him to come, and the lord Herbert aſſures, that Philip aimed at marrying the princeſs Mary. However, the king anſwered his demand of aid by ſeven propoſitions, containing the terms on which he was

The emperor prepares to attack the proteſtants. Sleidan. Negotiations of the proteſtants with Henry. Act. Pub. XV. p. 88. Herbert.

[z] Sir Thomas Cheiny, treaſurer of the houſe, and warden of the cinque ports, ſtood, as king Henry's proxy. Holingſh. p. 973.

[a] The Engliſh admiral, John lord Liſle, was accompanied by Cuthbert biſhop of Durham, and ſeveral other lords. The French ambaſſador landed at Greenwich, Auguſt 19. Hall, fol 262.

[b] The maſs was changed into a communion, and Cranmer was ordered to draw a form of it. Fox. Burnet, tom. I. p. 340.

[c] Lord Herbert ſays, nephew.

1546. willing to enter into a defenſive league with the proteſtants. But as his propoſitions tended only to render him head and ſole director of the league, they did not think proper to put themſelves blindly into his hands. They only told him, if he would depoſit ſomewhere in Germany a hundred thouſand crowns to ſerve for the defence of the league, they would preſer his alliance to that of Francis. But finding they offered no advantage for himſelf, he had no ſuch zeal for the Augſburg confeſſion (from which he was yet very remote) as to engage in its protection without reaping any benefit. The truth is, the proteſtants were perſuaded, he had no deſire to be really united with them, but intended only to encourage them for fear they ſhould ſubmit to the emperor, as alſo to hinder them from putting themſelves under the French king's protection, with whom he had not yet made peace. For the ſame reaſon it was, that under colour of continuing the negotiation, he kept the count palatine at his court, till he ſaw the peace with France was near a concluſion.

League between the pope and emperor againſt the proteſtants. Sleidan.

It was now ſome time ſince the pope and emperor had formed the project of a league againſt the proteſtants of Germany. They had agreed upon all the articles, but the emperor had thought proper to defer the ſigning, that he might ſay he did it merely in his own defence. At laſt, about the middle of June he ſent the cardinal of Trent to Rome, where the league was ſigned the 26th of the ſame month. The pope promiſed to find for ſix months twelve thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and two hundred thouſand crowns, for the war in Germany. Moreover, he gave the emperor a moiety of one year's revenue of the benefices in Spain, with power to alienate a hundred thouſand crowns-worth of church lands. This was a demonſtration that it was a religious war, though the emperor affected to publiſh the contrary.

The German war.

The emperor having notice that the pope's troops were beginning to march; that the count de Bure had forwarded his levies in the Low Countries, and duke Maurice of Saxony, whom he had engaged in his party, was ready to act when there ſhould be occaſion, aſſembled his army about Ratiſbon. His deſign was to meet the pope's troops, who were croſſing Tirol under the conduct of Octaviano Farneſe. At the ſame time to hinder this junction, the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe marched the ſame way with an army of forty thouſand men. Without entering into the particulars of this firſt campaign, I ſhall only ſay in general, that the

proteſtants,

proteſtants, though ſuperior in number, could not hinder the junction of the Italian troops nor of thoſe of the Low Countries with the emperor. The different tempers of the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe did not a little contribute towards their taking wrong meaſures. In ſhort, the campaign laſting till November, without either of the two armies deſiring to engage, the elector of Saxony received the ill news that the king of the Romans and duke Maurice were deſtroying his country with fire and ſword. This obliging him to march with part of the army to the relief of his ſubjects, the landgrave, grown too weak by this ſeparation, choſe likewiſe to retire into his dominions. Thus the emperor meeting with no more oppoſition, took Francfort, Ulm, and ſeveral other towns belonging to the league, which furniſhed him with the money he wanted for the maintenance of his army. 1546.

Whilſt the war was carrying on in Germany, the council languiſhed at Trent and proceeded very ſlowly. Beſides that the members were very few, they were wholly dependent on the legates, who durſt not themſelves undertake any thing without orders from Rome. But it was the pope's intereſt to prolong matters, becauſe he hoped, time would procure him at laſt ſome occaſion to diſſolve the council or remove it to Italy. Thus the council was but an empty name, made uſe of by the pope and the emperor for their own private views and to caſt a miſt before the eyes of the publick. Continuation of the council of Trent. F. Paul. Herbert.

Religion began alſo to cauſe troubles in Scotland, or at leaſt to produce the ſeeds thereof, by the deſpair to which thoſe that embraced the reformation were driven. Since cardinal Beaton and the earl of Arran had enjoyed the peace procured them by the king of France, they thought only of being revenged on their enemies. Religion furniſhed them with a pretence, becauſe the oppoſite faction almoſt wholly conſiſted of the reformed. In the courſe of this year 1546, they put to death ſeveral perſons for religion at Perth, St. Andrews, and other places [d]. The regent ſuffered himſelf to be ſo led by the cardinal, that he gloried in delivering to the flames thoſe whom he had formerly conſidered as his brethren. Among thoſe who were ſacrificed to the furious Perſecution in Scotland. Buchanan. Burnet.

[d] Some of the Scottiſh prieſts were ſo ignorant, that they maintained, the New Teſtament was lately written by Martin Luther, and therefore they deſired only the old. Buchanan, l. 15.

1546. paſſion of the cardinal, a miniſter [e], who ſuffered martyrdom at St. Andrews, was particularly remarkable. This man being condemned to the fire, the regent at the inſtance of one of his friends would have ſaved his life, and to that end ſent a note to the cardinal, deſiring him to ſuſpend the execution. But the barbarous prelate, without regarding the regent's requeſt, not only cauſed the ſentence to be executed, but would alſo feed his eyes with the ſad ſpectacle, ſitting in ſtate in a great window of his caſtle. It is ſaid, that, before he was delivered to the flames, the miniſter told the executioner, "That within few days the prelate who beheld him with "ſuch pride from yonder high place, ſhould lie in the ſame "as ignominiouſly as now he was ſeen proudly to reſt him-"ſelf." This prediction proved but too true for the cardinal. Preſently after he was murdered in his own palace, and his body thrown into the ſtreet, out of the very window from whence he looked on, while the miniſter was burning.

Wiſhart's martyrdom. Buchanan. Burnet.

His prediction about cardinal Beaton.

The cardinal is murdered. Buchanan.

The ſtate of religion in England.

As for England, religion was ſtill upon the ſame foot, as the king had been pleaſed to eſtabliſh it. The reformation had made ſome progreſs, but was far from being brought to perfection, and yet the reformed could not forbear hoping, the king himſelf would carry it much farther. In this belief, they thought it prudent not to provoke him, and that they effectually conſulted the welfare of their religion by remaining in ſilence and waiting for better times. This is the true reaſon why there were fewer perſons that ſuffered for religion in England than in France. It is not to be queſtioned that if there had not been hopes of a farther reformation, many people would have openly declared the opinions which theſe hopes induced them to conceal. For a like reaſon, thoſe who retained all the tenets of the old religion durſt not directly oppoſe the king, for fear their oppoſition ſhould carry him beyond the bounds he ſeemed to have preſcribed to himſelf. From hence ſprung a blind and univerſal compliance with the king's will, and the exceſſive power he had acquired over all his ſubjects, of which he made a very ill uſe. He had been troubled for ſome time with an old ſore in his leg, which was grown very painful. This, added to his great corpulency, which rendered him almoſt unable to ſtir, made

Henry is much troubled with a ſore leg and his corpulency.

[e] The author means Mr. George Wiſhart, deſcended of a noble family, who finiſhed his Studies in the univerſity of Cambridge, and returned to Scotland in 1544. See the ſtory of his death in Burnet, vol. I. p. 333; and Buchanan, l. 15.

him

him ſo froward and untractable, that none approached him without trembling. He had been always ſtern and ſevere, but was incomparably more ſo towards the end of his days than in the beginning. Flattery had ſo corrupted his judgment and ſenſe, that he deemed it an unpardonable crime to contradict his opinions, though he changed them himſelf very frequently. I have obſerved that he treated with admiral Annebaut of aboliſhing the maſs and changing it into a communion, after the manner of the proteſtants. And yet, ſhortly after, Shaxton, who had reſigned the biſhoprick of Saliſbury and been long a priſoner for refuſing to conform to the ſix articles, being accuſed afreſh of denying the real preſence in the ſacrament [f], the king was pleaſed to have him tried according to the rigour of the law, and he was condemned to be burnt. But this man, who had endured the hardſhips of a long impriſonment, could not behold with the ſame firmneſs the puniſhment prepared for him. The king having ſent the biſhops of London and Worceſter to perſuade him to recant, he was prevailed upon and abjuring his pretended hereſy, the king granted him his pardon. He became afterwards a cruel perſecutor of the reformed.

1546.

He grows cruel. Herbert. p. 263.

Shaxton is accuſed of denying the realpreſence. Burnet.

He is condemned to be burnt.

He abjures and is pardoned. Burnet. T. I. p. 340.

This example was not capable of moving Anne Aſkew, who was accuſed of the ſame crime and rigorouſly proſecuted, though ſhe had good friends at court, where ſhe was well known [g]. She firmly perſiſted, notwithſtanding all the promiſes to ſave her life in caſe ſhe would recant [h]. Some court ladies, touched with compaſſion for her, having ſent her ſome money when in priſon for her ſubſiſtence, were the occaſion of her being more cruelly tormented [i]. Chancellor Wriotheſly, great enemy to the earl of Hertford, hoping

Anne Aſkew burnt. Hall. Burnet. Strype.

[f] His words were, That Chriſt's natural body was not in the ſacrament, but that it was a ſign and memorial of his body that was crucified. Burnet, tom. I. p. 340.

[g] She was nobly deſcended (being ſiſter of ſir Francis Aſcue, or Aſcough, of Lincolnſhire) and educated beyond what was uſual in that age to thoſe of her ſex. But ſhe was unfortunately married to one Kyme, who being a violent papiſt, drove her out of his houſe, when he found ſhe favoured the reformation. Burnet, tom. I. p. 341.

[h] Upon her examination, being aſked by the lord mayor of London, whether the prieſts cannot make the body of Chriſt? ſhe wittily replied, I have read that God made man, but that man can make God, I never yet read. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 387.

[i] Being aſked what favour or encouragement ſhe had from any in the court, ſhe would confeſs nothing, but that one in livery had brought her ſome money, which he ſaid came from two ladies in the court. This made the chancellor put her to the rack. She had been oft at court, and was much favoured by many great ladies there; and it was believed the queen had ſhowed kindneſs to her. Burnet, p. 341.

1546. to draw ſomething out of the priſoner againſt that lord or his counteſs, cauſed her to be racked. Nay, it is ſaid, he would
Fox. be preſent himſelf, and obſerving the executioner was moved with pity to the priſoner, threw off his gown and taking upon him the honourable office drew the rack ſo ſeverely, that he almoſt tore her aſunder. But this is a fact that ſcarce ſeems credible. However, the woman's bones being put out of joint, ſhe was carried in a chair to the place of execution
Hall. Stow. and burnt with four men condemned for the ſame crime. But to add to their ſufferings, they were made to hear a ſermon preached by Shaxton their falſe brother, who upbraided them with obſtinacy in very ſevere and abuſive terms. All this was not capable of ſhaking their conſtancy, which endured to their laſt breath.

Deſigns againſt Cranmer and the queen. Burnet. T. I. p. 342, &c. The enemies of the reformation ſeeing the king incenſed againſt the ſacramentarians, thought it a favourable opportunity to ruin the queen and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom they conſidered as the grand protectors of the reformed. Among the ſupporters of the old religion, the chief were, chancellor Wriotheſly, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey his ſon, Bonner biſhop of London, Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter; and theſe had doubtleſs, among the courtiers and the king's ſervants, creatures who failed not to be ſerviceable on occaſion. But whatever project they formed, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was ſtill in their way, who having great influence over the king, commonly broke their meaſures. So to be entirely freed from this formidable adverſary, they reſolved to complain of him openly to the king and accuſe him of being the head and protector of the ſacramentarians, and of all in general who rejected the ſix articles. This reſolution was executed. The perſon who took upon him to ſpeak to the king told him, there were evident proofs ready of what was alledged againſt Cranmer, and if he was ſent to the Tower, ſo many witneſſes would appear againſt him that the king would himſelf be ſurprized. Henry was not ignorant that Cranmer was againſt the ſix articles in his mind, ſince he had himſelf frankly owned it. But he really loved him, and therefore would not expoſe him to a trial which muſt have been fatal to him. Beſides, he took it very ill that ſuch pains were taken to deſtroy a man, for whom he had ſo often and ſo openly declared. He, ever,

Cranmer is openly accuſed. Burnet.

* John Laſcelles a gentleman, (probably the ſame that accuſed Catherine Howard) Nicholas Otterden and —— Belenian two prieſts, and John Adlam a taylor. Hall, fol. 263. Stryge, tom. I. p. 388.

reſolving

reſolving to ſee how far the malice of his enemies would go; 1546.
he conſented that he ſhould be the next day called before the council and ſent to the Tower, if they ſaw cauſe. But in the night the king ſent for Cranmer, and telling him what had been reſolved, deſired to know how he meant to anſwer for himſelf. Cranmer thanked the king and prayed him, that ſince he was to be queſtioned for his religious opinions, judges might be aſſigned him who underſtood theſe matters. The king replied, he went the wrong way to ſave his life, for moſt certainly his enemies had witneſſes ready to convict him in ſuch manner, that the judges would be forced to condemn him; and therefore ſince he took ſo little care of himſelf, he would look to it. So he ordered him to deſire the council to uſe him as a privy counſellor, and as they would expect to be uſed in the like caſe, that is, that his accuſers might be brought face to face before he was ſent to the Tower; and if his requeſt was not granted, he was to appeal to the king. At the ſame time he pulled off his ring, and giving it to him, ſaid, if his appeal was rejected, he ſhould ſhow the council that token of his protection. Next morning Cranmer coming to the council door, was ſo long kept waiting in the lobby, that the king hearing of this diſreſpect, ſent word, that he ſhould be preſently brought in[1]. It happened as the king foreſaw, ſo that Cranmer was forced at laſt to produce the king's ring, which terribly mortified his enemies. Then they all roſe up and went and informed the king of what had paſſed, who told them, he thought he had a wiſer council than now he found they were, and laying his hand on his breaſt, ſwore, that he took the archbiſhop to be the moſt faithful ſubject he had. The duke of Norfolk willing to excuſe the council, ſaid, They meant the archbiſhop no harm, but only to vindicate his innocence by ſuch a trial as would have freed him from all aſperſions. But the king looking ſternly at him anſwered, "He would not ſuffer men "who were ſo dear to him, to be thus handled with impu- "nity. He knew the factions that were among them, and "their malice to one another, which he would either extin- "guiſh or very ſpeedily puniſh." Then he commanded them all to be reconciled to the archbiſhop. They immediately obeyed, though it was but in outward appearance. But

The king gives him a ſenſible mark of his affection.

The king mortifies the archbiſhop's enemies.

[1] Dr. Buts the king's phyſician, who loved Cranmer, went and told the king what a ſtrange thing he had ſeen: the primate of all England waiting at the council door among the footmen and ſervants. Whereupon the king ſent to the board to have him brought in immediately. Burnet, tom. I. p. 343.

for

1546. for Cranmer, he heartily forgave them, as he plainly ſhowed afterwards.

The queen is accuſed, who happily brings herſelf off. Herbert. Burnet.

It ſeems, ſo great a mortification ſhould have made theſe men more cautious. But their extreme deſire to ſucceed in their plots would not ſuffer them to deſiſt with regard to the queen. They perceived, if the king had oppoſed their accuſation of Cranmer, it was not to hinder the execution of the law of the ſix articles, but from a pure motive of affection for that prelate. That therefore their proceedings could not have diſpleaſed him as to the thing, but only in reſpect of the perſon. This made them think they ſhould find it eaſier to deſtroy the queen, becauſe the king would never willingly ſuffer that his own wife ſhould differ from him in matters of religion. Catherine Parr, who was then on the throne, had gained the king's affection by her extraordinary care of him, and by giving him daily freſh marks of her gratitude. She was a reformer in her heart, and even ſometimes took the liberty to have ſermons preached in her privy chamber before ſome of her ladies. It came to the king's ears, but he took no notice of it. Nay, he ſuffered her to diſpute with him upon religion, imagining ſhe did it only for inſtruction. But at laſt theſe diſputes having been carried too far, he expreſſed his diſpleaſure at them, and even began to look more coldly upon the queen than formerly. This made her enemies think it a fair opportunity to work her ruin, whilſt, ignorant of their deſigns, ſhe was ſeeking occaſions to inſpire the king with favourable thoughts of the reformation.

Burnet. The king firſt vented to Gardiner his diſpleaſure with the queen. He could not pitch upon a more partial man. Gardiner failed not to cheriſh the king's reſentment by aggravating the queen's obſtinacy, and her pains to inſtill her notions into the ladies who ſerved her. The chancellor, who was alſo let into the ſecret, confirmed what Gardiner had ſaid and hinted to the king, that the queen had encouraged Anne Aſkew in her obſtinacy, and even inſinuated that ſhe Herbert. was plotting againſt the ſtate. In ſhort, they went ſo far that articles were drawn againſt her and ſigned by the king. The chancellor putting up the paper careleſly in his pocket, it dropt from him and the perſon that found it carried it to the queen, who ſeeing the king's hand to ſuch a paper concluded herſelf loſt. However, being adviſed by one of her friends to go to the king and try to appeaſe him, ſhe came into his room with a ſettled countenance, as if ſhe knew nothing of what had paſſed. The king received her very kindly

kindly and began to talk of religion. She answered, these things were above her, and she ought to learn of him what she was to believe. "Not so, by St. Mary (said the king,) you are become a doctor, and able to instruct us." The queen feigning to be surprized at his manner of speaking to her, answered very mildly, "She saw with grief he was offended at the freedom she had sometimes taken to dispute with him in matters of religion, but she had done it innocently, with the sole view of diverting him, knowing what pleasure he took in talking of those things, which none understood better than himself; her chief aim had been, not only to make him forget his pain by such sort of discourses, but also to receive instruction herself, and indeed she had profited much; and if she had started objections, it was only to give him occasion to clear the difficulties, which were above a woman's understanding." And is it even so, said the king, then we are friends again. So he embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with very tender assurances of his constant love to her [m]. On the morrow, which was the day appointed for carrying the queen to the Tower, the king going to take the air in the garden sent for her, and presently after came in the chancellor with forty of the guard. But the king stept aside to him, and after a little discourse was heard to call him in an angry tone, knave, fool, and beast. Then he came again to the queen, who seeing him in a passion with the chancellor endeavoured to appease him. But the king told her, she had no reason to plead for him.

1546. Herbert. Burnet. Burnet.

The king begins to hate the enemies of the reformation. Burnet. Gardiner's disgrace.

These two attempts against the archbishop and the queen not only proved unsuccessful but also very prejudicial to the enemies of the reformation. From thence forward the king could not endure them, being satisfied their chief aim was to overthrow whatever he had established. Gardiner was turned out of favour immediately, and the king would not suffer him to be present in the council [n].

[m] Whether the king had really designed her ruin or not, is differently represented by the writers who lived next that time. Some, says the lord Herbert, believe it was not so much the king's intention to use the rigour of the law, as to deter her from reading forbidden books, p. 263.

[n] Lord Herbert says, though it appears by Gardiner's submission, extant in our records, that not long after he fell into the king's displeasure, yet whether on this occasion, or that he was a special friend to the duke of Norfolk, (who was now also in disgrace) or any other cause, is not there determined. However, the king excluded him out of the number of those whom he appointed his executors, and counsellors to his son Edward VI. Herbert, p. 263.

But

1546. But a greater ſtorm fell on the duke of Norfolk and his ſon the earl of Surrey. Henry almoſt choaked with fat and perceiving his leg viſibly to grow worſe, plainly ſaw he had not long to live. In this belief, he conſidered the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Surrey as two lords who could greatly embroil the prince his ſon during his minority. The duke of Norfolk was the head of the favourers of the pope and the old religion, though like a good courtier he had outwardly complied with all the king's innovations. Henry was contented with this external compliance, though he knew he was ever attached to the pope, whoſe party was ſtill very powerful in England, and that his ſon the earl of Surrey was in the ſame ſentiments. This ſufficed to inſpire him with a juſt fear, that after his death theſe two lords, aſſiſted by the pope, the emperor, and their friends, would labour to ſet the crown on the head of the princeſs Mary, and ſo what he had been at ſuch pains to eſtabliſh during his reign would be entirely overthrown. And indeed, he could not queſtion, if that party prevailed, they would deem his divorce with Catherine of Arragon null and void. In which caſe, Mary was his only lawful iſſue, and the prince his ſon a baſtard. He could hope for no remedy to this evil from the parliament, having learned by long experience, with how much eaſe that body conſiſting of ſo many members, was carried away with the prevailing party. He thought therefore, the beſt and ſhorteſt way to prevent theſe miſchiefs and free himſelf from his fears was, not to leave theſe two lords behind him, whom he believed capable of diſturbing his ſon's minority, and even of robbing him of the crown. For this ſole reaſon their ruin was reſolved, after which ſome pretence was to be found. And this is ſeldom wanting to thoſe who have the power in their hands. As ſoon as it was perceived, his affection for the father and ſon was grown cold, there were perſons ready to inſinuate, they had pernicious deſigns againſt the ſtate, and only waited his death to put them in execution; that the earl of Surrey had refuſed ſeveral good matches [p] ſince the loſs of his counteſs, and it was generally reported, he aſpired

The king ſolves to put the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Surrey to death. Herbert. Stow. Hollingſh. Burnet.

Herbert. Burnet.

[p] Their chief accuſers were ſome of their own family. The ducheſs, daughter of Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham, had, for above four years, been parted from the duke her huſband; his daughter, Mary ducheſs of Richmond, was grown an extreme enemy of her brother. From theſe

aſpired to the princeſs Mary: that it was not without ſome private reaſon he uſed the arms of St. Edward the confeſſor, though his father had taken them out of his eſcutcheon, but however the duke himſelf had left that quarter blank, in order to reſume them at a proper ſeaſon. Upon theſe general accuſations, the king ordered them to be arreſted, and ſent to the Tower [q]. After that, care was taken to let the publick know that they who had any thing to ſay againſt the priſoners ſhould be graciouſly heard, and the king would pardon all perſons concerned in any plot with them, who would come and make a diſcovery [r]. 1546.

They are ſent to the Tower. Herbert. Stow. Burnet.

Some time before this affair was begun, the king reſtored the two univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge to all their eſtates, rents, and privileges, though by the act of parliament which gave the lands of the colleges to the king, they were to be ſuppreſſed. It might be thought very ſtrange, the parliament ſhould not diſtinguiſh the two univerſities from the reſt of the colleges, conſidering their antiquity, and the advantages the kingdom had thence received and daily did receive, if it had not been now frequently ſeen, that they had long acted ſolely by the direction of the court. It is probable, the king remained long doubtful, whether he ſhould diſſolve or preſerve the two univerſities, ſince having received their humble petitions the beginning of the year, he made them wait for his anſwer till October. Nay, it

The two univerſities are preſerved. Herbert. Burnet.

have allied himſelf to the Seymour family, by engaging his ſon to marry the earl of Hertford's daughter, which his ſon would not conſent to, and the ducheſs of Richmond his daughter, to ſir Thomas Seymour. Herbert, p. 263, 264.

[q] December 12. Stow, p. 592.

[r] This year, in the latter end of March, the publick ſtews which had long been allowed by the ſtate, were ſuppreſſed. Stow, p. 591. They were a continued row of houſes along the Thames ſide in Southwark, eighteen in number, and diſtinguiſhed by ſigns. In the reign of Henry II. there were ſeveral regulations made concerning theſe houſes, to be ſeen in Stow's ſurvey of London, book IV. p. 7. Camden thinks they were called ſtews, from the fiſh-ponds near them, for the fatting and cleanſing pike and tench. Camden in Surrey.——April 27, William Foxley fell aſleep, and could not be waked by any means, till he had ſlept fourteen days and fifteen nights. The king's phyſicians, as well as the king himſelf, examined him, but the cauſe of his ſleeping thus could not be known. He was potter to the mint in the Tower. When he awoke he thought he had ſlept but one night. He lived forty one years after, till 1587, Stow, p. 591. Hollingſh. p. 972.——Of much the ſame nature is what we find mentioned in Rymer's Fœd. There is, in vol. XIV. p. 447, a bull of Clement VII. for John Scot a layman in the dioceſe of Glaſcow in Scotland, who lived a hundred and ſix days without food.——This year, on Feb. 18, died the famous Martin Luther aged ſixty three years. Sleidan, I. 16.——In Henry VIII's reign (though the particular time is not mentioned) was inſtituted the government of the preſident of the north: Tunſtal biſhop of Durham was the firſt preſident.

1546. was talked at court for ſome time of making great alterations in their charters. But at laſt, the king reſolved to continue them upon the ſame foot they had all along been. Shortly after, on the 19th of December he founded Trinity college in Cambridge, which is one of the nobleſt foundations of that kind in Europe [s].

Act. Pub. XV. p. 106.

The king ſtrikes Gardiner out of his will. Burnet. T. I. p. 349.

Mean while, diligent ſearch was making by the king's order, after every thing that could ſerve to form an impeachment againſt the duke of Norfolk and the earl his ſon, the king, who found himſelf near his end, being abſolutely bent, they ſhould go out of the world before him. In this interval, he ordered his will, made before his late expedition into France, to be brought him, and peruſing it, cauſed Gardiner's name to be ſtruck out of the number of the counſellors appointed for the council of ſtate during Edward's minority. Sir Anthony Brown, who was preſent, would have ſpoke in the biſhop's behalf [t]. But the king anſwered, he knew Gardiner, and though he himſelf could govern him, yet none of thoſe who were to come after him would be able to do it.

Act. Pub. XV. p. 110.

This will, extant in the collection of the publick acts, is dated December the 30th, 1546, and the king's name is at the bottom, with thoſe of ten witneſſes. But it is hard to know for certain, whether it was ſigned with the king's own hand. This was afterwards queſtioned. Mr. Rymer, who collected the records, would have done well to have put the thing out of diſpute, and informed the world, whether he had the original in his hands, and if ſo, whether the king's name was his own hand writing. This he might have eaſily known, by comparing his name on the will with his uſual ſignings, of which doubtleſs he had ſeveral by by him [u]. The importance of this inquiry conſiſts, in that the

[s] It was founded out of three others, St. Michael's college, built by Harvey of Stanton, in Edward IId's days; King's-hall, founded by Edward III. and Fiſhwicke, or Fyſycke hoſtel. King Henry founded it for a maſter, and ſixty fellows and ſcholars, but it has been ſince augmented by ſeveral benefactions. Camden in Cambr.—— About the ſame time the king alſo founded Chriſt church hoſpital in London, and endowed it with five hundred marks. It was, before the ſuppreſſion, a convent of Franciſcans or grey friars, but the king beſtowed both the ground and buildings of the ſaid convent, as alſo the adjoining hoſpital of St. Bartholomew, on the city, for the relief of the poor. Stow, p. 598.

[t] Thinking it was only an omiſſion. Burnet, tom. I. p. 349.

[u] Some de[illegible] queen [illegible] firſt ran[illegible] chapter [illegible] to ſear[illegible] the re[illegible] found o[illegible] ſoft co[illegible] a braid

the act of parliament, impowering the king to ſettle the ſucceſſion, ordered, it ſhould be by letters patent under the great ſeal, or by his laſt will, ſigned with his own hand. Now it happened afterwards, that the line of Scotland, not being placed in the order which belonged to them, queſtioned the validity of the will, maintaining that Henry had not ſigned it with his own hand writing. Indeed it could be alledged againſt this pretenſion, that the will being dated a month before the king's death, there was no room to ſuppoſe, Henry was then unable to ſign it. On the other hand, it is not impoſſible, that, having ordered his will to be tranſcribed the 30th of December, he delayed to ſet his hand, and ſo was prevented by death. But there is moreover a ſtrong preſumption he did not ſign it with his own hand, namely, he was very probably unable to write ſeveral months before his death, doubtleſs, by reaſon his fingers were ſo ſwoln, that he could not hold his pen. This conjecture is confirmed by two papers in the collection of the publick acts, both prior to the will. The firſt is a power of the 31ſt of Auguſt 1546, given by Henry to three of his miniſters [w] to ſign in his name all the royal commiſſions, and acts of grace. The ſecond is a like power of the 16th of October following to ſome of his council to put the king's ſtamp to, and ſeal with his ſignet, all acts to which the king's hand was required [x]. The reaſon alledged for theſe powers was taken from the multiplicity of affairs, wherewith the king was overwhelmed. But as he had never leſs than at that time, it is extremely probable, this was only a cloke to hide his indiſpoſition. However, as this diſpute, which concerned only the royal family of Scotland, was ended by the acceſſion of that family to the throne of England, it is now of no conſequence. And therefore it ſuffices to mention wherein it conſiſted [y]. Here follows the manner wherein

1546.

Act. Pub. XV. p. 100.

Ib. p. 102.

Order of the ſucceſſion.

the writing of a mean and ſlovenly character. The will was ſigned at the top of the firſt, and the end of the laſt page, with the king's hand writing, as pretended, but the character was fairer than ever he could make, and the hand ſtiff, like a counterfeit hand. Upon comparing his name on the will, with his ſtamp and his uſual hand writing, it agreed with neither. See Acta Regia, p. 348. vol. III.

w Sir Anthony Denny, John Gate, eſq; and William Clere, gent. Rymer, tom. XV. p. 101.

x There is the like order before, dated October 12, 1545. Ibid. p. 81.

y Maitland ſecretary to the queen of Scotland, accounted the ableſt man of his nation at that time, in a letter to ſir William Cecil, afterwards lord Burleigh, ſays, "The king neither "ſigned the will, nor ordered the "ſtamp to be put to it. He had been "oft deſired to ſign it, but always put "it off: but when he ſaw his death "approaching, one William Clarke, "ſervant to Thomas Henneage, put "the ſtamp to it, and ſome gentle-

1546. wherein Henry settled the succession, pursuant to the power given him by act of parliament in the year 1543.

I. Prince Edward and all his posterity.

II. The children he might have by his present queen, or any other whom he should marry after her.

III. The princess mary and her issue, provided she married with the assent and consent of the executors of his last will and testament, or of the major part of those who should then be alive, given under their hands and seals. This consent of the executors was a condition so annexed to the right he granted Mary to succeed in her turn, that without it his intent was, she should entirely forfeit her title to the crown.

IV. The princess Elizabeth upon the same condition with Mary.

V. Frances Brandon, eldest daughter of his sister Mary and the duke of Suffolk.

VI. Eleanor Brandon, Frances's younger sister.

If all these persons should happen to die without heirs, or their issue come to fail, it was the king's will, that the crown should go to the next rightful heirs. By that he could mean only Mary the young queen of Scotland, grand-daughter of his eldest sister Margaret, who ought naturally to have preceded the children of the king's younger sister Mary.

Lastly, He added, that in case Mary performed not the condition required of her, the crown should devolve to Elizabeth, as if Mary had died without heirs.

In like manner, if Elizabeth neglected to perform the same condition, his intent was that the crown should go to Frances Brandon, as if Elizabeth had died without issue.

Executors. He appointed for executors of his last will thirteen lords, most of whom were privy counsellors, as the archbishop of Canterbury, chancellor Wriothesly, the earl of H[illegible]ord, young Edward's uncle, &c. T[illegible]tors [illegible]ere

" men that were waiting without, " were called in to sign as witnesses. " For this he appealed to the deposi- " tion of the lord Paget, and desired " the marquis of Winchester and Nor- " thampton, the earl of Pembroke, " sir William Petre, doctor Buts, &c. " might be examined, and their depo- " sitions entered in the chancery. He " also appealed to the original will,

" by [illegible] it " wa[illegible]ly; " an[illegible] to " the [illegible] no " for[illegible]et, vol. I. [illegible]

z T[illegible]ll, of wh[illegible]at were lo[illegible]h- bishop [illegible]or [illegible]

were alſo nominated for the prince his ſucceſſor's privy council, till he was eighteen years of age. Moreover, he named certain perſons who were to be called to the council upon extraordinary occaſions. 1546.

He ordered his executors to pay firſt all his debts, and then to make good all his grants to ſeveral particular perſons. Debts.

He made the prince his ſon heir to all his goods, plate, jewels, money, cannons, ammunition, ſhips, with all things belonging thereto, and charged him to be guided by the advice of thoſe who were appointed for his privy counſellors, till he had attained to eighteen years of age. Heir.

He gave till their marriage to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth a yearly penſion of three thouſand pounds ſterling, and to each a portion of ten thouſand pounds or more, if the executors thought proper. Legacies.

He left his queen a legacy of three thouſand pounds, either in jewels or plate, as ſhe pleaſed, and a thouſand pounds in ready money beſides her dower.

Laſtly, he gave five hundred marks to each of his executors who were lords, and to the others three hundred each.

The moſt extraordinary thing in this will was, the king's paſſing over in ſilence the poſterity of his eldeſt ſiſter Margaret, or at leaſt his placing them after the line of his youngeſt ſiſter Mary. Beſides, the clauſe in his will, which ſaid that after the poſterity of Eleanor Brandon the crown ſhould go to the next heir, muſt have been favourably explained for this firſt branch, ſince theſe general words were liable to ſundry interpretations. This was the effect of the power, the parliament had given the king to ſettle the ſucceſſion, or rather to unſettle and put it in a horrible confuſion, if divine providence had not taken more care of it than he. It is not poſſible to deviſe any other reaſon of his proceedings than his hatred of the Scots, and his fear that the kingdom of England would one day fall under the dominion of a prince or princeſs of that nation, which however all his precautions could not hinder. Remark on Henry's ſettlement of the ſucceſſion.

Whilſt the king was ordering his will to be tranſcribed, the duke of Norfolk's and the earl of Surrey's proceſs was 1547.

Wriothesley, earl of Hertford young Edward's uncle, lord St. John, lord Ruſſel, viſcount Lisle lord Privy Seal. The reſt were, ſir Anthony Brown, ſir Edward Montague, juſtice Brum-ley, ſir Edward North, ſir William Paget, ſir Anthony Denny, ſir William Harbard, ſir Edward Wootton, and doctor Wootton his brother.

1547. forming with great warmth. The king being reſolved to diſpatch theſe two lords, nothing was able to ſave them. The ſon was firſt brought to his trial at Guildhall [a], before the lord chancellor, the lord mayor, and other commiſſioners, and put upon an inqueſt of commoners, becauſe he was not a peer of the realm, the duke his father being alive. Several witneſſes were examined, whoſe depoſitions the lord Herbert has inſerted in his hiſtory. But there appears nothing ſufficient to convict him of high treaſon, of which he was accuſed. What was chiefly urged againſt him was his bearing St. Edward's arms, from whence it was inferred, he aſpired to the throne. However, the king being reſolved he ſhould die, he received ſentence of death, and was beheaded on Tower-hill the 19th of January [b].

The earl of Surrey is beheaded. Herbert. Stow. Burnet. Hollingſh. Herbert, p. 263, 264.

Mean while the duke of Norfolk uſed all ſorts of means to obtain the king's pardon. He knew him well enough to be ſenſible, that nothing but an entire ſubmiſſion was capable of appeaſing him. To that end, he wrote him a very humble and ſubmiſſive letter, declaring he could not call to mind he had ever offended him; and entreated him for God's ſake to let him know the cauſe of his diſgrace. He prayed likewiſe that his accuſers might be brought face to face before his majeſty, or at leaſt his council, that his cauſe might be maturely examined. He knew not, he ſaid, that he had offended any man, otherwiſe than in appearing very zealous againſt the ſacramentarians. But therein he had only complied with his majeſty's ſentiments and orders. He concluded with conjuring him to be ſatisfied with taking all or part of his lands and goods as he pleaſed, leaving him only a ſubſiſtence.

The duke of Norfolk tries in vain to obtain his pardon. Herbert, p. 265. Burnet.

[a] January 13. Herbert, p. 264.

[b] Henry Howard (eldeſt ſon of Thomas third duke of Norfolk, by Elizabeth daughter of Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham) died much pitied, being a man of great parts and high courage, with many other noble qualities. His ſentence was generally condemned as an act of high injuſtice and ſeverity, which loaded the Seymours with a popular odium that they could never overcome. Sir Richard Southwel depoſing, that he knew certain things of the earl, which touched his fidelity to the king; the earl vehemently affirmed himſelf a true man, and offered to fight in his ſhirt with his accuſer. As to the giving the arms of the confeſſor, he ſaid, he did it according to the opinion of the king's heralds. His ſiſter Mary, ducheſs of Richmond being examined, confeſſed that the earl her brother ſhould ſay, That

This letter produced a quite contrary effect to what the duke expected. By clearing himſelf, he accuſed the king of injuſtice, an offence which would not have been eaſily pardoned, though his deſtruction had not been reſolved. The duke, ſeeing the king unmoved, ſigned, the 12th of January, before the lord chancellor and ſeveral other privy counſellors, a writing wherein he confeſſed, "That on ſeveral occaſions he had been guilty of high treaſon, in concealing from the king that his ſon the earl of Surrey bore the arms of St. Edward the confeſſor, which did only belong to the king: that himſelf had born in the firſt quarter of his arms, ever ſince his father's death, the arms of England, with a difference of the labels of ſilver, which were the proper arms of the king's eldeſt ſon, and of no other. That he owned this to be high treaſon by the laws of the realm; and that he ſigned this ſubmiſſion without compulſion or advice, and threw himſelf entirely upon the king's mercy." 1547. Herbert, p. 265. Burnet.

Very probably the duke was induced of himſelf, or by the advice of his friends, to make this confeſſion, in the belief, he ſhould never obtain his pardon, unleſs he confeſſed himſelf guilty, that the king might have room to ſhow mercy. But it was all to no purpoſe. His ruin was reſolved, and the king was not wont to deſiſt from ſuch reſolutions when once they were taken. Mean while, as it was eaſy to ſee that the peers, who were the duke's proper judges, could not condemn him upon the evidences which were to be produced againſt him, the king thought he ſhould more eaſily compaſs his ends by an act of attainder. So the parliament meeting at this time, a bill of attainder was brought into the houſe of lords, and read three times, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of January, and paſſed. In all likelihood the duke's confeſſion under his own hand contributed very much to the paſſing of the bill. At leaſt it ſerved for an excuſe to thoſe who durſt not oppoſe it. The bill being ſent down to the commons was read thrice, and ſent up alſo paſſed on the 24th of January. According to the method too frequently practiſed in this reign, it contained only general accuſations, without ſpecifying any thing, except the duke's bearing the arms of England with three labels of ſilver. It was very ſtrange that his arms ſhould not have been taken notice of before, which he had borne ſo long in the ſight of the king himſelf and the whole court, which he had received from his anceſtors, and for which he had the opinion of the heralds. The bill having paſſed in both houſes, the lord chancellor, He is attainted in parliament. Burnet. Act. Pub. XV. p. 118.

1547. chancellor, the earl of Hertford, and ſome other lords were commiſſioned under the great ſeal to give the royal aſſent [c]. After that, a warrant was ſent to the lieutenant of the Tower, to cut off the duke's head the 29th of January. But happily for him the king died the night before, and the council did not think it adviſable to begin the new reign with the execution of one of the greateſt lords of the kingdom. It is to be obſerved, that during all the proceedings both of the court and the parliament againſt the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Surrey, the archbiſhop of Canterbury withdrew to Croydon, without ever appearing at court. As theſe two lords were juſtly deemed his moſt mortal enemies, he would not be accuſed of being concerned in what was tranſacting againſt them.

A warrant for his execution. He eſcapes narrowly.

Cranmer retires to Croydon during the duke's proceſs. Burnet.

The kings death approaches.

Whilſt theſe proceſſes were forming, the king was ſeized in his bed with an illneſs which brought him inſenſibly to his end. However, the conſideration of the account he was going to render to God, was not capable of moving him to uſe compaſſion towards two lords, of one of the moſt antient families in England, who had done him great ſervices, and hitherto were guilty of no crime which deſerved ſo ſevere a puniſhment. On this occaſion, prevailed, as on many others, paſſion and policy in the king's mind, over juſtice and mercy. He was bent at any rate, to ſacrifice theſe two lords to his ſon's ſafety, and to eſtabliſh, by their death, all the alterations he had made in religion, being perſuaded they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to deſtroy them. The ſequel plainly ſhowed, he was not miſtaken with regard to the duke of Norfolk who ſurvived him. This lord's life, preſerved by a ſort of miracle, was a demonſtration how vain are human precautions, when contrary to the decrees of God.

He is warned of his approaching end. Burnet.

The king's illneſs continually increaſed, and no man dared to warn him of his approaching end. Every one was afraid that a prince who was always approached with trembling, would look upon this charitable warning as a crime, and puniſh it according to an act of parliament, by which thoſe, who ſhould dare to foretel the king's death were adjudged traitors. But at laſt ſir Anthony Denny [illegible] counſellors, had the courage and [illegible] he had but a few hours to live. [illegible] expreſſed his great grief and horror [illegible] life. Whereupon, Denny aſked him

He ſhews ſigns of repentance Ibid.

[c] Which they did January 27. [illegible]

1547.

be ſent for, and he ſaid, if any, it ſhould be the archbiſhop of Canterbury. But Cranmer, being then at Croydon, could not come till the king was ſpeechleſs. He had but juſt time to deſire him to give ſome ſign of his dying in the faith of Chriſt. The king ſqueezed his hand, and preſently after expired in the night between the 28th and 29th of January 1546-7, in the fifty ſixth year of his age, having reigned thirty ſeven years and nine months. His death was kept private three days. Probably the council took time to conſult whether the duke of Norfolk ſhould be executed. At laſt, after three days, the lord chancellor ſignified to both houſes, that the king was dead and the parliament thereby diſſolved [d].

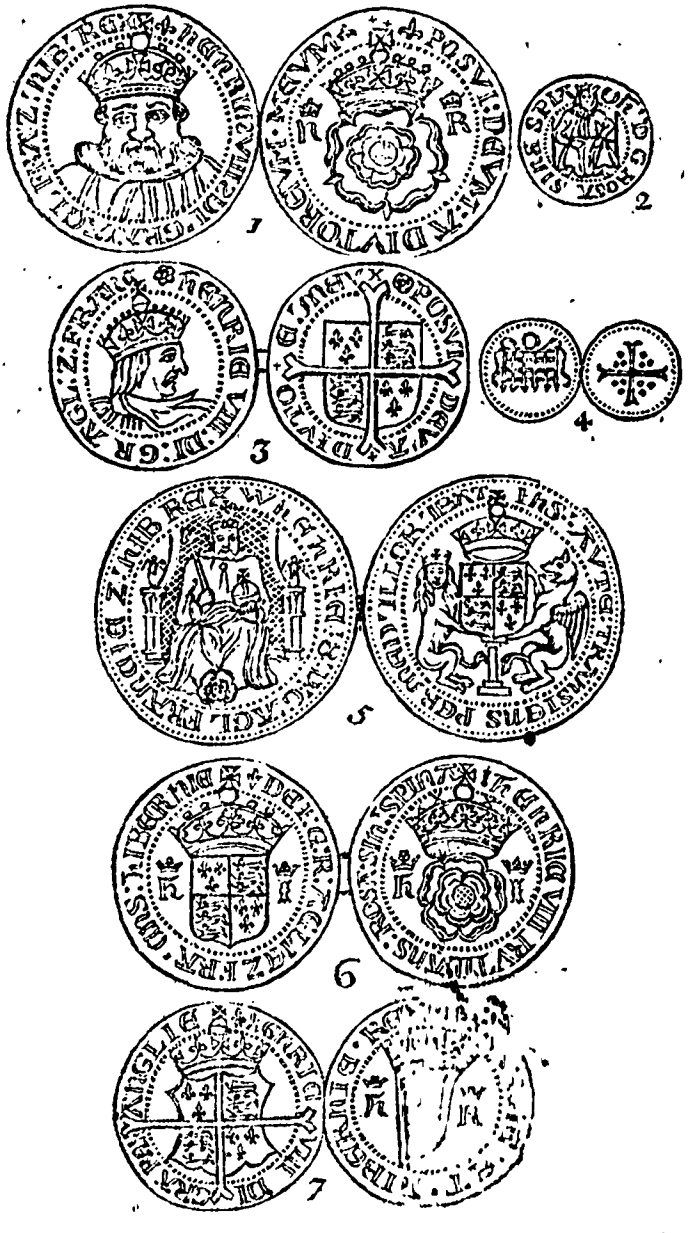
He ſends for Cranmer, and cannot ſpeak. He dies. Herbert. Burnet. His death is kept private. Burnet.

Two

[d] The reader may ſee Henty's character drawn at length by the lord Herbert. But as his life and actions ſufficiently make him known, I ſhall only add what biſhop Burnet ſays of him at the end of his firſt volume of the hiſtory of the reformation. King Henry VIIIth is rather to be reckoned among the great than the good princes. He exerciſed ſo much ſeverity on men of both perſuaſions, that the writers of both ſides have laid open his faults, and taxed his cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him, ſo none have taken ſo much care to ſet forth his good qualities, as his enemies have done to enlarge on his vices: I do not deny that he is to be numbered among the ill princes, yet I cannot rank him with the worſt.——King Henry's body lies buried at Windſor, under a moſt ſtately tomb, begun in copper and gilt, but not finiſhed. The reader may ſee the model of what it was intended to be, in Speed, p. 784.

By indentures of the 1ſt. and 2d. of [illegible] VIII. a pound weight of gold of the old ſtandard, was to be coined into twenty ſeven pounds by tale; viz. into twenty four ſovereigns, at [illegible] 6d. a piece, or forty eight rials at [illegible] 3d. a piece, or ſeventy two angels at 7s. 6d. a piece, or eighty George nobles at [illegible] 8d. a piece; or one hundred and forty four half angels at 3s. a piece, or one hundred and ſixty two forty penny-pieces at 2s. 4d. a piece; and a pound weight of gold of the fineneſs of twenty two carats only, was to be coined into one hundred crowns and a half of the double roſe, of two hundred and one half crowns, making by tale twenty five pounds two ſhillings and ſix pence; and a pound weight of ſilver of the old ſterling, was coined into one hundred and thirty five groats, or two hundred and ſeventy half groats, or five hundred and forty ſterlings, (or pence,) or one thouſand and eighty half pence, or two thouſand one hundred and ſixty farthings; ſo that every pound weight of ſterling ſilver was coined into forty five ſhillings by tale.——In the 34th. of this reign, a pound weight of gold of twenty three carats fine, and one carat allay, was coined into twenty eight pounds ſixteen ſhillings by tale; by which indenture there were coined ſovereigns at 20s. a piece, half ſovereigns at 10s. angels at 8s. and quarter angelets at 2s. a piece; and a pound weight of ſilver of ten ounces fine, and two ounces allay, was coined into forty eight ſhillings by tale, namely into teſtoons (which were 12d. a piece) groats, half groats, pence, half pence, and farthings.——In the 36th. of Henry VIII. a pound weight of gold of twenty two carats fine, and two carats allay, was coined into thirty pounds by tale; viz. into thirty ſovereigns at 20s. a piece, or ſixty half ſovereigns at 10s. a piece, or one hundred and twenty crowns at 5s. a piece, or two hundred and forty half crowns: and the king had two carats of fine gold for coinage, which yielded him fifty ſhillings. Silver was coined by the ſame indenture, of ſix ounces fine and ſix ounces allay, into forty eight ſhillings by tale. It was coined into teſtoons, groats, half groats, pence, half pence, and farthings.

things.——In the 37th. of this reign, a pound weight of gold of twenty carats fine, and four carats allay, was coined into thirty pounds by tale, as in the laſt; and the king had four carats which yielded him five pounds two ſhillings: and a pound weight of ſilver, of four ounces fine, and eight ounces allay was coined into forty eight ſhillings by tale, which raiſed the pound weight of fine gold to thirty ſix pounds; and the pound weight of fine ſilver to ſeven pounds four ſhillings.



The

The gold coins of Henry VIII. are ſovereigns, rials, half ſovereigns, angels, george nobles, half and quarter angels, forty penny pieces, crowns, and half crowns: and the ſilver coins, teſtoons, groats, half groats, ſterlings, half pence, farthings; to which may be added crown pieces of ſilver, which were firſt coined by this king. Henry's ſovereign has on one ſide HENRIC. 8. D. G. AGL FRANCIE Z HIB. REX. the king in his robes crowned upon his throne, with the ſcepter and ball. Reverſe, the arms of France and England quarterly, ſupported by a lion and a dragon, IHS. AVTE. TRANSIENS PER MED. ILLOR. IBAT. (fig. 5.) The angel of this king is like his father's; a half angel has this inſcription on the reverſe, CRVX. AVE. SPES. VNICA. The crown and half crown of gold, have on one ſide a large roſe and crown betwixt H. I. crowned, HENRIC. VIII. RVTILANS. ROSA SIN. SPINA. Reverſe, the arms of France and England quatered under a crown; and H. I. ——DEI. G. R. ANGLIE Z. FRA. DNS. HIBERNIE. (fig. 6.) As for the ſilver coins, there were two ſorts of teſtoons or ſhillings. That of fine ſilver exhibits the king half faced, whereof one has CIVITAS EBORACI. The other ſhilling called the broad faced ſhilling, of a baſer allay, has on one ſide HENRIC. VIII. DI. GRA. AGL. FRA. Z. HIB. REX. Reverſe, POSVI, &c. a roſe crowned, with H. R. likewiſe crowned. (fig. 1.) The groat has his head with the ſide face, HENRIC. VIII. DI. GR. AGL. Z. FRANC. Reverſe, the arms, POSVI, &c. (fig. 3.) Another has HENRIC. VIII. DI. GRA. REX. ANGLIE. Reverſe, FRANCIE. ET. HIBERNIE REX. a crowned harp between the letters H. and R. crowned (fig. 7.) Some coined by cardinal Wolſey at York, have a cardinal's hat under the arms. His pence and half pence give him ſeated on a throne, with (and ſometimes without) the globe and ſcepter. H. D. G. ROSA SINE SPIA. (fig. 2.) The farthing has on one ſide a portcullice (whereby it is diſtinguiſhed from half pence, which it was not before,) and a croſs and pellets on the other. (fig. 4.)

Two

TWO

DISSERTATIONS.

I. Of Queen ANNE of BULLEN.

II. Of the BIRTH of EDWARD the Sixth.

DISSERTATION I.

Of Queen ANNE *of* BULLEN[a].

THE life of this unfortunate lady, is a remarkable inſtance of the great inſtability of human affairs. She had a ſufficient ſhare of proſperity and adverſity. She was ſeen one day at the top of fortune's wheel, and the next at the very bottom of it. She had been raiſed by king Henry to the higheſt pitch of glory, to the wearing of a crown, and ſitting upon the throne; and by the ſame hand was ſunk as low afterwards, deprived of her good name and reputation, and brought at laſt, like a malefactor, to the block. As her caſe has been very differently reported by ſome writers, and very hardly and unfairly repreſented by others, I ſhall examine it with all the candor and impartiality I can, and endeavour to clear up, and vindicate the character of that unhappy princeſs. A piece of juſtice which cannot fairly be denied to one who firſt occaſioned, and zealouſly promoted, the reformation of our church, and alſo gave life to an excellent princeſs, who became the glory of her ſex, the envy of her neighbours, the honour of her nation, which ſhe more than once delivered from ruin and deſtruction. But before I enter into the merits of the cauſe, and conſider what was alledged againſt that queen, I beg leave to make a reflection or two upon the unhappy ſituation ſhe was in, when the ſtorm broke in ſo violently upon her. Firſt, though a ſudden elevation from a low eſtate to the higheſt pitch of power and greatneſs is generally apt to raiſe the envy of the world and to create enemies, ſhe lay the more open and expoſed to theſe, as ſhe was thought to be the occaſion of the king's breaking with the pope, and ſhaking off the yoke of Rome and the greateſt inſtrument and promoter of all the bold ſteps, that were taken by that prince, which could not but render her very odious to a formidable party, the whole body of the Roman catholicks, who, during her life, could never expect to ſee a reconciliation with the church of Rome, but might hope, after her death, to make up the quarrel, to heal the wound, and to cloſe up the breaches. But ſecondly, what bore the hardeſt upon

[a] Theſe two diſſertations were communicated by the ſame hand as thoſe at the end of vol. V.

her,

her, and was indeed the main occaſion of her ruin, was the paſſionate and violent temper of the king. No ſea in a full ſtorm was ever more boiſterous and tempeſtuous than he. Nothing could ſtem the tide of his rage and paſſion. He never ſtuck at any thing to gratify his luſt, and ſatisfy his deſires. He was then tired and ſurfeited with the queen, and reſolved to marry Anne Seymour, whom he had been in love with before, ſo muſt be ſure to get rid of his wife. Lord Herbert, and Rapin after him, impute his ſeverity to a fit of jealouſy, but with ſubmiſſion it is giving it too good a name. It was downright diſguiſe and ſurfeit, and a violent paſſion for another woman. Jealouſy (as is truly obſerved) is never without ſome mixture of love, but that Henry had not the leaſt grain of that left, plainly appeared by his haſty, precipitate, and indecent marriage with Anne Seymour, the very day queen Anne loſt her head upon the block. He had found a great deal of trouble and difficulty in breaking through his firſt marriage with queen Catherine, and was now reſolved to make quicker work of it, and to cut a knot he could not eaſily untie. It is true, that, in order to ſave appearances, he got a kind of divorce to paſs under the pretence of a contract, and pre-engagement on the queen's ſide, and prevailed with the biſhops, (who ſhamefully complied with every thing he required) to favour that abſurdity. I call it an abſurdity, becauſe it was ruining and in effect deſtroying all that had been done before. For if there had been, as was trumped up, a precontract between her and lord Percy, (though by the way he ſwore by his ſalvation and upon the ſacrament that it was entirely falſe;) if I ſay there had been ſuch a contract, then her marriage with the king was actually null and void, the proceedings againſt it of courſe muſt be ſo too, and ſhe could not without the utmoſt injuſtice be puniſhed for adultery. I come now to examine the charge that was brought againſt her. And here, to clear my way, I ſhall remove like ſo much dirt and rubbiſh the evidence, or, to ſpeak more properly, the invectives of the jeſuit Sanders. He is a writer of ſo low and profligate a character for veracity, that he is [illegible] by thoſe of his own communion, who [illegible] and out of countenance at his heat, [illegible] He does not think it enough to revile [illegible] racter of this princeſs, but makes a [illegible] He ſaith ſhe was lean viſaged, long[illegible], a yellow complexion, and had a wen [illegible] king Henry muſt have had a better [illegible]

See the letter of that lord at end of theſe papers.

a more elegans formarum ſpectator, "and could not, (as "Fuller, ſaith) have been drawn to ſo paſſionate a love, "without a ſtronger loadſtone." Beſides ſuch palpable falſehoods were eaſily confuted by the ſight of her pictures, which repreſent her very handſome, and by the paſſionate letters from the king to her, that are ſtill kept at Rome, by which it appears ſhe was a beautiful perſon, and that it was her beauty that ſtruck and charmed the monarch, and advanced her to the throne. The ſame writer aſſerts, that ſir Thomas Wyat aſſured the king he had himſelf firſt corrupted and debauched her. But the falſehood of this appears by a relation of his own ſon. For ſir Thomas was eſquire of the king's body, and always continued in that poſt, except when he was employed in embaſſies abroad. But if Sanders's ſtory had been true, he muſt have fallen under the king's jealouſy, or the queen's power, and would have withdrawn himſelf, or been produced as evidence againſt her at her trial. To proceed, it is ſaid there was a ſolemn tournament at Greenwich on May day, and that at this diverſion the queen dropt her handkerchief, which was taken up by a ſuppoſed favourite, who wiped his face with it [b]. The king, taking notice of this paſſage, immediately withdrew, to the great ſurprize of the queen, and the court. The next day, the earl of Rochford, the queen's brother, and one Henry Norris were committed to the Tower. But this alſo relies upon the bare report of Sanders, which I ſhould not have taken notice of, but that I find it related by Collier, without naming the author he took it from, or paſſing any cenſure upon it. Lord Herbert rejects it, as not being mentioned by any good hiſtorian. Rapin ſaith it relies wholly upon the credit of Sanders, ſo I look upon it to be a meer fiction and invention of that fabulous writer, or a ſilly imitation of the handkerchief plot in the Moor of Venice, which, by the way, is the only weak part, and blemiſh in that noble tragedy. Fuller's church hiſt, p. 206. Collier's eccl. hiſt.

But to come now to more material evidence. The queen was accuſed of committing inceſt with her own brother, the earl of Rochford. This is a heavy and grievous charge indeed. But how was it made out? for ſure there is ſome difference between proving and aſſerting. Why he was ſeen by her bed ſide, and ſtooping over the bed, while he

[b] Biſhop Burnet ſaith it proceeded from a letter which the king received at thoſe juſts, to inform him that the lady Wingfield one of the queen's ſervants had, upon her death bed, charged her upon oath, with ſome criminal affair.

was talking to her, doctor Howel ſaith, that he was then ſeen to kiſs her. Allowing the full of the allegation, allowing he did actually ſalute her, ſhall the kiſs of a brother, to a ſiſter be branded with the name of inceſt, and be conſtrued as a breach of conjugal fidelity? It is certain the earl denied the crime, and aſſerted the queen's innocence, and his own to his laſt dying breath. But the evidence that ſeemed to be the moſt material, and to bear the hardeſt upon her, was the depoſition of Smeaton the muſician, who confeſſed, (ſaith Burnet) that he had lain three times with the queen. But this was too haſtily aſſerted by that prelate. For there is not the leaſt word of it in the lord Herbert, who is a very exact writer, and could never have omitted ſo material a proof, upon which the whole iſſue of the matter ſeemed to turn. He ſpeaks indeed of a confeſſion made by the queen herſelf, in relation to Smeaton. It appears (ſaith he), by a letter from Cromwell to the king, that ſhe had confeſſed ſome particulars, but he ſaith they amounted to no more than ſome indiſcretions and unguarded expreſſions. However, let Smeaton's confeſſion be what it would, it is certain he never was produced face to face to the queen, and every body knows what ſtreſs is to be laid upon an unconfronted evidence [e]. But her enemies had taken care of that. They had condemned Smeaton before her, that he might not appear as a witneſs againſt her; and this, as Rapin judiciouſly obſerves, looks very favourably on the queen's ſide; ſince it is not to be thought her accuſer would have neglected ſo full a proof as this, if there had been the leaſt ground and foundation for it. This looks very ſuſpicious, and as if they were afraid to produce him before her face, leſt ſhe ſhould confound him, and oblige him to recant. But it is moſt likely it was only a feint and artifice of her enemies, who told her of this depoſition of Smeaton (as it appears they did by her reply), to ſee whether they could draw a confeſſion from her mouth. However the ſtratagem did not take. For ſhe anſwered reſolutely, "hath he not then cleared me?

[e] This is what ſhe heartily deſired; ſhe earneſtly begged of the king that ſhe might have a fair and legal trial, by which her innocence might be cleared, the king's ſuſpicion and conſcience ſatisfied, the ſlanders and ignominy of the world ſtopped, or her guilt openly declared. This appears by a very moving letter ſhe writ to the king when ſhe was in the Tower the day before ſhe died, which carries ſuch marks of the queen's innocence, and of her huſband's hardſhip and cruelty towards her, that I thought I could not better illuſtrate this matter than by annexing it to theſe papers, together with the lord Percy's ſolemn proteſtation of there never being any marriage contract between him and the queen.

N. B. Theſe two letters were publiſhed by Hern, anno 1717, at the end of Titus Livius Forojulienſis, from ſome original papers of Dr. Smith.

"I fear

"I fear his ſoul now is ſuffering for it, but as for Norris "and my brother, I doubt not but they are in the preſence of "the great King with whom I am to be to-morrow." So that this evidence of Smeaton, upon which ſo much ſtreſs was laid, and the iſſue of the whole affair ſeemed to turn, will be found, if duly weighed, to be mighty light in the balance, and to come very ſhort of a full proof and conviction. Collier ſaith, "her language was broken and diſturbed. She, "ſeemed to diſcover a mixture of aſſurance and confuſion "in her diſcourſe, for ſhe laughed one minute, and wept ano-"ther." But ſure that hiſtorian did not know, or at leaſt did not conſider the nature and effects of vapours and hyſterick fits in women, which are frequently brought upon them by meer grief and trouble. In theſe fits the patients are diſturbed and diſordered in their heads, they know not what they ſay or do, and often laugh and cry all in a breath. This I take to have been exactly her caſe. She was no doubt in the vapours occaſioned by her troubles. But from theſe no proof can fairly be drawn of her innocence or guilt. What I have ſaid on this ſubject will, I hope, ſuffice to clear that unhappy lady, and to ſhow ſhe was not guilty of the crimes laid to her charge, but was meerly ſacrificed to the violent paſſion, and cruel [d] and mercileſs prince, of a glutted and ſurfeited huſband, who was reſolved, coſt what it would, to get rid of his wife, and to marry another lady, whom he loved before. And this he was ſo ſtrongly bent upon, that till he could gain his end, he enjoyed no reſt or quiet, and had no taſte or reliſh for his pleaſures and diverſions. He went out with his hounds and breakfaſted under a great tree [e] in Epping foreſt, that very day ſhe was to be exe-

Burnet's hiſt. of the reformation. vol. 2.

Collier's eccleſ. hiſt. vol. 2. p. 116.

[d] Cruelty indeed was the reigning vice of that king, and the great ſtain and blemiſh of his reign. He took a kind of pleaſure in raiſing men from the meaneſt condition to the greateſt dignities, and ſinking them again to the bottom of miſery. He was one that never did his work by halves, but always went through it in cruelty, of which his reign affords a ſad and melancholy ſcene. For, beſides a great many private men, papiſts, and goſpellers, that ſuffered for their religion under him, he put to death 77 abbots, prieſts, priors, and monks, 18 barons and knights, 12 dukes and marquiſes, and one cardinal. Another he attainted, and would have uſed him in the ſame manner, but could not get him into his hands. He executed two of his queens, and was juſt going to cut off a third, for he had ſigned the warrant to ſend Catherine Parre to the Tower; ſo I think there is no ſtrain in what Raleigh ſaith of him, that if the world had loſt the character of a mercileſs and relentleſs prince, it might be truly found in him.

[e] This tree is called Henry the VIIIth's oak to this day, as I was informed by a gentleman living in that foreſt.

cuted in the Tower, from whence he had ordered notice to be given him by the firing of a gun, the minute her head was ſtruck off. He no ſooner heard the ſignal, than he cried out the buſineſs is done, the buſineſs is done, uncouple the hounds, and let us follow our ſport; and that very day at his return he married Jane Seymour, and took her to his bed. This ſingle circumſtance, were there no other in her favour, would be ſufficient for any impartial perſon to acquit Anne Bullen, and to ſhow her innocence. Rapin very juſtly obſerves that this lady's caſe became a party buſineſs, and an affair of religion. As ſhe was a principal occaſion, and a zealous promoter and favourer of the reformation, the proteſtants aſſerted her innocence, and extolled her to the ſkies. The papiſts, for the ſame reaſon, that they might caſt a blemiſh upon the proteſtant religion, and wound it through her ſides, blackened and reviled her to the utmoſt of their power. It was this bigoted zeal that whetted the pen of Sanders the jeſuit, and tinged it in deepeſt and rankeſt gall. But ſome writers of the ſame communion have been more candid, and have done more juſtice to her character. I ſhall mention but two, whoſe teſtimonies I dare oppoſe to all the calumnies of that virulent writer. The firſt is Metteren, who, in his juſtly eſteemed hiſtory of the Low Countries, ſpeaks of her in theſe terms: "When ſhe heard her ſentence, (ſaith he) "ſhe was not in the leaſt concerned and terrified, but lifted "up her hands to heaven, and ſaid, O Father, who art the "way, the truth, and the life, thou knoweſt well I have not "deſerved this death." This is the account this writer gives of her behaviour at her death, without inſinuating that there was the leaſt prevarication, falſehood, and hypocriſy in her carriage. The other author I ſhall produce is Thevet, a friar, who, in his hiſtory ſaith, that king Henry at his death owned and declared her innocence, and heartily repented of his injuſtice and cruelty towards her. Now the teſtimony of this writer is very material, and carries much weight along with it. For, beſides that he was a Franciſcan friar, he had been a conſiderable ſufferer himſelf for the ſake of Catherine, the divorced queen, and therefore can never be ſuſpected of any favour and partiality for queen Anne her rival, ſo that nothing but the force of truth could have drawn ſuch a confeſſion from his pen.

Letter

Letter of queen ANNE BULLEN *to king* HENRY VIII.

C. O. A Copy.

SIR,

YOUR grace's diſpleaſure, and my impriſonment are things ſo ſtrange to me, as what to write, or what to excuſe, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you ſend unto me (willing me to confeſs a truth, and ſo to obtain your favour) by ſuch a one whom you know to be my ancient profeſſed enemy: I no ſooner received this meſſage by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you ſay, confeſſing a truth indeed may procure my ſafety, I ſhall with all willingneſs and duty perform your command. But let not your grace ever imagine, that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not ſo much as a thought ever proceeded; and to ſpeak a truth, never a prince had a wife more loyal in all duty and true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Bullen, with which name and place I could willingly have contented myſelf, if God and your grace's pleaſure had ſo been pleaſed. Neither did I at any time ſo far forget myſelf in my exaltation or received queenſhip, but that I always looked for ſuch an alteration, as now I find. For the ground of my preferment being on no ſurer foundation than your grace's fancy, the leaſt alteration was fit and ſufficient (I know) to draw that fancy to ſome other ſubject. You have choſen me from a low eſtate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my deſert or deſire. If then you found me worthy of ſuch honour with your grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counſel of my enemies withdraw your princely favour from me. Neither let that ſtain, that unworthy ſtain of a diſloyal heart towards your grace ever caſt ſo foul a blot on your moſt dutiful wife, and the infant princeſs your daughter. Try me, good king; but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my ſworn enemies ſit as my accuſers and judges. Yea, let me receive an open trial. For my truth ſhall fear no open ſhame. Then ſhall you ſee either my innocency cleared, your ſuſpicion and conſcience ſatisfied, the ignominy and ſlander of the world ſtopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatſoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from open cenſure, and my offence being

ſo lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute a worthy puniſhment on me, as an unfaithful wife, but to follow your affection already ſettled on that party, for whoſe ſake I am now as I am; whoſe name I could ſome good while ſithence have pointed unto you, your grace being not ignorant of my ſuſpicion therein. But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous ſlander muſt bring you the joying of your deſired happineſs, then I deſire of God, that he will pardon your great ſin herein, and likewiſe my enemies, the inſtruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a ſtrait account for your unprincely and cruel uſage of me, at his general judgment ſeat, where both you and myſelf, whatſoever the world may think of me, my innocence ſhall be openly known, and ſufficiently cleared. My laſt and only requeſt ſhall be, that myſelf may only bear the burden of your grace's diſpleaſure, and that it may not touch the innocent ſouls of thoſe poor gentlemen, whom I underſtand are likewiſe in ſtrait priſonment for my ſake. If I have ever found favour in your ſight, if ever the name of Anne Bullen hath been pleaſing in your ears, let me obtain this laſt requeſt. And ſo I will leave to trouble your grace any farther, with my earneſt prayer to the Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful priſon in the Tower, the ſixth of May.

Your moſt loyal and ever faithful wife,

ANNE BULLEN.

The king ſending a meſſenger to queen Anne, being priſoner in the Tower, willing her to confeſs the truth, ſhe ſaid ſhe could confeſs no more, than ſhe had already ſpoken; and ſhe ſaid, ſhe muſt conceal nothing from the king, to whom ſhe did acknowledge herſelf ſo much bound for many favours, for raiſing her firſt from a mean woman to be a marqueſs; next to be his queen; and now ſeeing he could beſtow no further honour upon her on earth, for purpoſing to make her by martyrdom a ſaint in heaven.

Earl

Earl of Northumberland to secretary ——; denying that there was a contract between queen ANNE *and him.*

C. O. An Original.

Master Secretary,

THIS ſhall be to ſignify unto you, that I perceive by Sir Raynold Carnaby, that there is ſuppoſed a precontract to be between the queen and me; whereupon I was not only heretofore examined upon mine oath before the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, but alſo received the bleſſed ſacrament upon the ſame, before the duke of Norfolk and other the king's highneſs council learned in the ſpiritual law: aſſuring you, mr. ſecretary, by the ſaid oath and bleſſed body, which afore I received, and hereafter intend to receive, that the ſame may be to my damnation, if ever there was any contract or promiſe of marriage between her and me. At Newington Green, the 13th day of May, in the 28th year of the reign of our ſovereign lord king Henry the eighth.

Your aſſured,

H. NORTHUMBERLAND.

DISSERTATION II.

Of the birth of EDWARD VI.

MY laſt diſcourſe was upon the death of Anne of Bullen, the wife of Henry the VIIIth, whom I endeavour to vindicate of the crime of adultery that was laid to her charge. The ſubject of my preſent remarks ſhall be the birth of that king's only ſon, Edward the VIth. And here one could hardly think an affair of this nature, as the birth of a prince (eſpecially when there was not the leaſt doubt and conteſt about the legitimacy of it) ſhould afford much matter for a review——But as the nativity of Edward hath occaſioned controverſy among the writers, and given room to ſome of them to ſhow their ſpleen and malice, I ſhall examine the matter with all the fairneſs and impartiality I am able.—Now the main of the diſpute ſeems to turn upon theſe two points: 1ſt, The day on which king Edward was born; 2dly, The manner of his coming into the world. For the better clearing theſe matters, it will be neceſſary to conſider three things; 1ſt, The very day of the month on which he was born; 2dly, The preciſe time of his mother, queen Jane's death, and how long it happened after the birth of her ſon. This laſt particular may perhaps be thought a matter of ſmall conſequence, but it will appear to be material, as it may help to diſprove the third thing which I deſign to examine, I mean a ſtory related by ſome writers, that he was born by inciſion, and violently cut out of his mother's womb. As to the firſt of theſe, the very day of his nativity, the opinion of hiſtorians in general is, that he was born the 12th of [a] October, on the eve of the feaſt of Edward the martyr. It is probable his father laid hold

[a] Three days after, i. e. the 15 of October he was baptized with great ſplendor and ſolemnity, thoſe of the higheſt nobility, the biſhops, abbots, dignified clergy and chaplains, with abundance of knights and gentlemen being ſummoned to be preſent. The prince was carried from his lodgings to the chapel by the marchioneſs of Exeter, with a moſt glorious attendance. The two princeſſes, and the lady Mary and the lady Elizabeth were in the retinue and aſſiſted. The godfathers at the font were archbiſhop Cranmer, and Thomas duke of Norfolk, and the duke of Suffolk was godfather at his confirmation at the ſame time. After he

on this, as a happy omen, and ſo gave him the name of that ſaint. There is one writer indeed that differs from them in this, and places his birth on the 10th day of that month, and that for a reaſon beſt known to the perſon himſelf. I mean the jeſuit Sanders, who aſſerts in his book de Schiſmate Anglicano. But this author's character is ſuch, that when he deviates from other writers, we may take it for granted, it is either to lead the reader out of his way, or to vent his ſpleen, and to diſplay his malice. He was an inveterate enemy to the reformation, and to all the authors and promoters of it, and by conſequence to king Edward the VIth, who had ſo great a hand in that pious work. Had he been a catholick prince, and a favourer of the popiſh cauſe, Sanders, no doubt, would have laid hold of this circumſtance of his birth, would have enlarged upon it as a happy omen, that ſeemed to promiſe and foretel all the glories of his reign. But, as he was unwilling an heretical prince ſhould be ſo happy as to be born on the eve of that Engliſh king and ſaint, he made no ſcruple to haſten and advance his birth, and to make him come into the world two days before he really did. The next thing to be conſidered is the exact time of queen Jane Seymour's death, and how many days ſhe lived after the birth of the prince. And this Stow, Polydore Virgil, and the reſt of the writers have fixed, by a miſtake, on the 14th day of October, that is, two days after the nativity of Edward. In this they are followed by Mr. Rapin, which is the more ſtrange, becauſe he muſt have ſeen the remarks upon Hayward's life of this prince in doctor Kennet's edition of the Complete Hiſtory of England, which clear up that matter, and ſet it in a true light. Heyward indeed varies from thoſe writers, and ſets her death four days after her delivery; but this does not at all mend the matter; for it is certain, ſhe did not die till twelve days after the birth of the prince; and this appears from an authentick manuſcript of the ſolemnity of her funeral, as alſo from a journal of ſecretary Cecil.

Annotations on the life of Edward VI. in Kennet's edition.

I have been the more exact in ſettling this date of the queen's death, in order, 3dly, to diſprove a ſtory that has been related by ſome writers, that Edward was born by inciſion, and violently cut out of his mother's body. The firſt who mentions this is Heyward, who ſaith, "All reports conſtantly run, that he was not, by natural paſſage, "delivered into the world; but that his mother's body was "opened for his birth, and that ſhe died of the inciſion the "fourth day following." How theſe reports were firſt

Hayward's life of Edward the VI. Kennet's edit. 3. p. 278

ſpread,' and how juſtly grounded they are, will I hope appear in the ſequel of theſe papers. After this he ſaith, that the Romans thought ſuch births fortunate; and fancied, that thoſe proved commonly great men, that came into the world in that manner. For this he quotes Pliny, whoſe words are, Auſpicatiùs enectâ matre naſcuntur, ſicut Scipio Africanus prior natus; and that they were called Cæſones, and afterwards Cæſares. But, by the way, his obſervation and quotation out of Pliny are little to the purpoſe here. For whatever * conceits and ſuperſtitions the Romans had in relation to theſe violent births, it is certain there was no ſuch notion in England at that time; nor is there in the preſent age in which ſuch a birth, attended with the mother's death, is eſteemed a great misfortune and ſad calamity to the family it happens in; and I dare ſay, that the firſt inventors and ſpreaders of the ſtory had this very thing in their view, namely, to caſt a ſlur and blemiſh upon the birth of this prince as tragical and unfortunate. I make no doubt but the enemies to king Henry and the reformation were highly pleaſed with the report, looked on it as a judgment upon him for his hard uſage of the good catholick queen Catherine, and as a fatal curſe upon the two wives which he married after that divorce, the firſt of which died like a malefactor on a ſcaffold, and the laſt loſt her life by the ripping up of her womb.

This is the opinion of the judicious author of the remarks upon Edward's life, in doctor Kennet's edition. "No hiſ-
"torian (ſaith he) that wrote before Heyward, give any
"countenance to this, except it be Sanders, whoſe pen was
"not directed ſo much by truth, as malice, who frames a
"ſtory that when the queen was in extreme labour, and
"they aſked the king, whom he would have ſpared, the
"queen or his ſon? he anſwered, his ſon, becauſe he could

* The notion that the common people in England have of ſuch births, is, that children ſo born will be eminent phyſicians. And this is no new opinion, but may be traced as far as Virgil, who ſaith of Lycas, that he was cut out of his mother's womb, and conſecrated to Apollo.

Inde Lycham ferit, exectum matre peremptâ & tibi, Phœbe, ſacrum, Æn. l. X. v. 315.——Upon which place, Servius obſerves ſuch children were dedicated to Apollo, the god of phyſick, by whoſe help and aſſiſtance they owed their life. But I think it more probable this notion was derived from Æſculapius, who was himſelf thus taken out of his mother's body after her death, as is related by Pindar, 'who ſaith, that Apollo, having diſcovered the infidelity of his miſtreſs Coronis, and the affairs ſhe had with Iſchys, ſent his ſiſter Diana to put her to death: But ſhe, unwilling that the child ſhould periſh with the mother, came to the flames, which ſeparated of themſelves, and taking the babe out of the [illegible]

" eaſily find out other wives: but even he has not a " word of cutting out the young infant out of his mother's " body. So that I make no queſtion that this was at firſt " an idle fable, invented by papiſts, improved upon what " Sanders wrote, and the report ſoon became current among " that party, out of ill will to king Henry, to make him " appear cruel, and the prince his ſon to have been un- " luckily born." The truth is, this was a very good handle for a forgery. It was an eaſy tranſition from one fable to another. It was eaſy, I ſay, upon the firſt report, to graft the ſecond falſe and ſcandalous ſtory, I call it falſe and ſcandalous, becauſe none of the writers that lived neareſt that age, neither Stow, Hollingſhead, nor even Polydore Virgil, who lived at the very time of the prince's birth, take the leaſt notice of it. Neither is there a word about it in king Edward's journal, which gives a minute and exact account of all particulars relating to himſelf, from the year 1537, which was that of his birth, and ſo proceeds regularly from the year of his acceſſion to the crown in 1547, to the end of November 1552. Camden, indeed, in his Apparatus, or introduction to the reign of queen Elizabeth, makes mention of it. " Queen Jane " (ſaith he) fell in labour and preſently died, the prince " being fain to be cut out of her womb, and ſucceeding his " father after in the kingdom." But then he ſeems to retract it in his marginal note, where he ſaith only, that the queen died in childbirth of king Edward; and theſe are the very words of Polydore [f] Virgil, namely, that ſhe died in childbirth two days after the birth of the prince. The ſame is related by an old chronicle of Canterbury, publiſhed by Herne [g], in his preface to his accurate edition of Cambden's life and reign of queen Elizabeth. This antiquary aſſures us, that the ſame account of king Edward's birth is given by ſir Thomas Smith, in a dialogue concerning the then intended marriage of queen Elizabeth, which is not yet printed, but was communicated to him by Anſtis, king at arms. Fuller ſaith, in his Church Hiſtory, that there went a ſtrong tradition that king Edward, like Cæſar, was cut out of his mother's body; but he adds, that a perſon of great honour deriving her intelligence from ſuch as were preſent at her

[f] Mater vero in puerperio mortua eſt, biduo poſt partum, nam III idus Octobris peperit.—Edit. Gander 1557, p. 1743.

[g] The title is a breviate chronicle, containing all the kings from Brute to this day, and many notable acts gathered out of divers chronicles from William the conqueror, printed in Canterbury in St. Paul's pariſh, by John Mitchell.

labour,

labour, assured him of the contrary. Besides, the time of Jane Seymour's death, namely, twelve days after her delivery, renders the story extremely improbable. But lastly, what sets the matter beyond dispute, and which (were there no other proofs against it) is enough to sink the credit of this report, is a letter ———— from the queen herself to the council, giving them an account of her happy delivery; to which may be added a certificate of her illness, from her physicians and attendants, of the state of her health, a little before she died, which makes no manner of mention of this circumstance of opening the body, which they could not fairly have omitted, had it been true. These two original papers, the letter, and the certificate, are still extant in the Cotton library, from whence they have been published by Fuller and Herne. All this, I hope, may be sufficient to put the matter in a fair and clear light, to disprove the testimony of sir John Heyward, and to confute the story of king Edward's being cut of his mother's womb.

I could point at several other places in the life of king Edward written by this author, which are as liable to exception as this I have examined above, but not to detain the reader, nor to deviate too far from my subject, I shall confine myself to two facts only, wherein sir John Heyward has laid himself very open to censure, and reflection. The 1st concerning the quarrel between the protector and the admiral his brother, which proved, in the end, so fatal to them both. The 2d, relating to the death of the last of them, who lost his life upon a scaffold. As to the 1st, the difference between these two great men, Heyward imputes it to a jealousy between their two ladies, about precedency and taking place, which he saith the protector's wife refused to give to Catherine the queen dowager, who had married the admiral. His words are these "The lord Sudley had taken to wife Catherine "Parr, the queen dowager, last wife to king Henry the "VIIIth, a woman beautified with excellent virtues, especially with humility, the beauty of all other virtues. The "duke had taken to wife Anne Stanhope a woman for many "imperfections intolerable, but for pride monstruous. She "was exceedingly subtle and violent in accomplishing her "ends, for which she spurned over all respects both of con- "science and shame. This woman did bear such an invin- "cible hate, 1st, against the queen dowager, for light causes "and womens quarrels, especially for that she had the pre- "cedency of place before her, &c. [illegible] "into the duke's dull capacity (as he very [illegible]

" it) that his brother ſought to take away his life and to at-
" tain to his place, that the duke at length yielding himſelf
" to her, did deviſe his brother's deſtruction, and that being
" arreſted, and ſent to the Tower he was condemned by act
" of parliament a ſhort time after." But beſides the great improbability of the thing, beſides that the ducheſs muſt have been mad and out of her ſenſes or entirely ignorant of the cuſtoms of the nation, to think of taking place of a queen dowager of England, beſides this, I ſay, there is not a ſingle word of it in all the letters that paſſed about this grand affair. There [h] is not the leaſt mention of it either in Hollingſhead, Stow or the journal of Edward the VIth, which is very large about the matter of the admiral, and relates many particulars about it, that are of much leſs conſequence than this, ſo that Heyward could have no authority for his ſtory but that of the jeſuit Sanders, a writer of very low credit and ſad character for veracity, and who made it his whole buſineſs to aſperſe and revile king Edward, and his miniſters, and the duke of Somerſet eſpecially, who had ſo deep an hand in the reformation of the church. But a fair and impartial hiſtorian ſhould not have made uſe of thoſe ſcandalous memoirs, or if he did, ſhould have named his author, and let the matter reſt upon the credit of his voucher. It is certain Sanders was the 1ſt broacher of this fable, he relates it thus: " There aroſe a great conteſt between Catherine Parr and the " protector's wife, who ſhould have the precedence. And " the conteſt reſted not in the women, but paſſed to the " men, and when the emulation continually encreaſed, the " protector's wife would not let her huſband alone, till at " laſt it came to paſs, that the protector who, although he " ruled the king, yet was ruled by his wife muſt cut off his " brother, that nothing might be an hindrance to her " will." Theſe are the words of Sanders, who produces no authority for what he ſaith, I am apt to believe it is an old ſtory new vamped up, and that the jeſuit took his hint from the famous diſpute of the two ladies, daughters of Fabius Ambuſtus, in Livy, who, quarrelling about precedency and rank, occaſioned a difference, 1ſt, between their huſbands, then between the patricians and the plebeians, and raiſed ſuch a ſedition in the commonwealth, as wreſted from the nobles a ſhare in the places and employments in the ſtate. But as

h See Mr. Strype's annotat. on the life of Edward the VIth. Kennet's edition, p. 321.

i Sanders de ſchiſmate Anglicano.—See the annotations on the life of Edward the VIth. Kennet's edit. p. 301.

this is only a conjecture, let the original of the story be what it will, it certainly did not become a good Englishman and true protestant, as sir John Heyward was, to rake into the filth, and to glean the scandal of such a profligate writer, whom he knew to be made up of falsehood and lies and a sworn enemy to Edward and his ministers, and to the whole body of the reformers. The 2d thing I mentioned, as liable to censure and exception in this writer, relates to the death of the admiral, who, he does not scruple to say, suffered for pitiful and frivolous matters. But sure he must never have seen the act of parliament by which he was attainted, which plainly contains, not trivial and pitiful matters, but a very heavy charge of treason and rebellion. For, (as a judicious writer [k] has observed) "the admiral was certainly a very ill "man, turbulent and full of ambitious designs, from the "beginning of this king's reign, and his brother the duke "observing it, did often advise him, and earnestly dissuade "him from his dangerous courses, using all the fairest means "with him, pardoning all that was past; and that he might "meet with this brother's high mind, gratifying with pos-"sessions besides the high and honourable office of lord high "admiral. Yet he was continually practising after this, he "raised soldiers, and threatened he would make the blackest "parliament that ever was in England. He was suspected "to have poisoned his wife, the excellent queen dowager, "that, being single, he might make his addresses to the "princess Elizabeth, the king's sister, and one of the heirs "to the crown, so that in fine the parliament did judge these "things to be a traiterous aspiring to the crown." Mr. Rapin, in this part of his history (for what reasons I cannot tell) seems to agree with Heyward; at least he endeavours to extenuate the guilt of the lord Sudley, and to lay the whole weight and odium of his death upon the protector. "It is "pretty hard, saith he, to excuse the duke of Somerset for "prosecuting his brother even to death, for crimes com-"mitted against himself only. For it was never proved, "that lord had formed any evil design against the king "and state, as he himself protested to the last moment "of his life. But it is not the first time that facts commit-"ted against prime ministers have been construed [illegible] "tre[illegible] [illegible] this i[illegible]

k [illegible] edit. p[illegible]

ward, ſince he could not but have ſeen Burnet's account of the matter. This prelate clears up this affair, does juſtice to both ſides, and produces thirty three articles that were brought againſt the admiral, and theſe not conſiſting of trivial and frivolous matters, but of very heavy crimes that were laid to his charge. To three of theſe articles he replied indeed before the council, but, whether out of haughtineſs and pride, or a ſenſe of his guilt, he obſtinately refuſed anſwering to the reſt, and whoever reads this charge brought againſt that lord, will I believe agree that there was ground enough for the parliament to attaint him, and to adjudge him guilty of treaſonable aſpiring to the regency, and crown. As to the proteſtation which Rapin ſaith he made of his innocence to the laſt, his own acts and deeds, and the attainder of the parliament, do plainly prove the contrary. I do not deny but an unſatiable thirſt of power in the admiral, and a violent jealouſy of his brother whom he ſaw as much ſuperior in dignity and command, as he thought himſelf in ſenſe and parts above him, might be the firſt ſparks that kindled this great flame. But as a fire that is not ſtifled betimes will ſoon break out with greater violence, theſe paſſions of jealouſy and ambition did ſo rage in his breaſt that he was reſolved, coſt what it would, to gratify them; ſo this, from being a perſonal matter, ſoon became an affair of the ſtate, which he was reſolved to overturn, rather than not to compaſs his ends. Matters in ſhort were got to that paſs with him as to wiſh with Dejotarus in Tully, Perreant amici dummodo inimice intercidant, that his friends might periſh, ſo that his enemies might be deſtroyed with them. He did not care what became of the ſhip, and who were loſt and ſunk in it provided his brother did but periſh with the reſt. This drove him upon thoſe violent meaſures, and treaſonable practices as the levying ten thouſand men, and threatening the parliament with a more dreadful blow, than it had ever felt before. Now if ſuch dealings and threatenings do not amount to treaſon, and to treaſon of a very heinous kind I do not know what the law can ever call ſo. Burnet is more fair and candid in his account of this matter; he carefully weighs the merits of the cauſe, does full juſtice to the characters of the two brothers, and agrees upon the whole that the removal of ſuch a turbulent perſon as the admiral, was the only way to procure the peace and quiet of the ſtate. I ſhall ſet down his own words here, and with them will conclude theſe remarks. "The "buſineſs of the duke's brother, though it has a very ill ap- "pearance, and is made to look the worſe by the lame ac-

"count

"count our books give of it, ſeems to have been forced upon him. For the admiral was a man of moſt incurable ambition, and ſo enclined to raiſe diſturbances, that, after ſo many relapſes, and ſuch frequent reconcilements, he ſtill breaking out into new diſorders, it become almoſt neceſſary to put him out of the capacity of doing more miſchief." Burnet's preface to the ſecond part of the Hiſtory of the Reformation.

The END of the SIXTH VOLUME.

Directions concerning the Genealogical Tables.

HISTORY repreſents to us four things, which are eſſential to it: 1. The events: 2. The place where: 3. The time when they happened: 4. The perſons who were the actors. If therefore, in order to underſtand a hiſtory perfectly, it is neceſſary to have a knowledge of the country where the ſcene of the actions lies, by means of geography, and of the times wherein they were tranſacted by chronology; it is no leſs requiſite to know the perſons concerned, by the help of genealogies, which very often diſcover the motives and reaſons of things. Nay, genealogy has this great advantage above geography and chronology, that whereas theſe laſt preſent to the mind ſome particular actions only; the bare names in a genealogical table, form, if I may ſo ſay, an abſtract of all the remarkable events in thoſe perſons lives.

Nothing is more eaſy than to make genealogies; but it is very hard to draw them up in a clear and diſtinct manner, and to obſerve a fixed and conſtant method, which repreſents to the eye and mind what one looks after, without the leaſt trouble. This I have endeavoured to do, by means of the following rules, which it will be proper to lay before the reader.

1. The genealogical tables are divided by horizontal lines, marked, 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. On the firſt line is placed the name of the common ſtock, whoſe poſterity is ſet down on the other lines. Thus all that are placed on the ſame horizontal line, (or between the ſame figures) are at an equal diſtance, or in the ſame degree from the common original. Hence may be ſeen by the caſt of an eye, the number of generations from the common root, and the degrees of conſanguinity between the deſcendants. For inſtance, in the table of Woden's poſterity, Woden being the common ſtock of the Anglo Saxon kings, Hengiſt, firſt king of Kent, is placed on line (6), by which is meant that Hengiſt is the fifth deſcendant from Woden. Afterwards, in the genealogical table of the kings of Kent, Hengiſt is placed on a line marked (6), by which means one may immediately ſee how many degrees any one of Hengiſt's deſcendants were removed from Woden.

England ceaſing to be under the dominion of the Saxons by the conqueſt of the Normans, inſtead of Woden, William

the

the conqueror is made the common root of the Engliſh kings down to the preſent time. Accordingly, in the genealogy of William the conqueror, his name ſtands upon the line marked (1.) to denote his being the ſtock from whence all the others ſpring. For inſtance, Edward III. in this table, being on line (9.) in the table of his own poſterity, he is placed at the ſame number, to ſhew it is only a continuation of the genealogy of William the conqueror.

2. The ſons are always placed according to the order of their birth, from the left hand towards the right, by which means the eldeſt branches are diſtinguiſhed from the younger, at one view. The ſame order is not obſerved with regard to the daughters, who are placed in the void ſpaces, ſo as to prevent the lines from running out to too great a length. But however, the elder ſtands always on the left hand of the younger ſiſter.

3. The children of the ſame prince are placed ſo, that their father ſtands in the line over them, juſt in the middle, which ſaves a great deal of trouble and confuſion.

4. As the only end of theſe genealogical tables is to facilitate the reading of this hiſtory, ſeveral perſons who died young, or unmarried, or without iſſue, and the like, are omitted.

5. One of the chief things which render genealogies plain and uſeful, is to load them with as few words as poſſible. By which means the blank ſpaces will remain the larger between the names, than which nothing contributes more to make the tables clear and diſtinct. This is the reaſon the following abbreviations are made uſe of, as, e. for earl, d. for duke, k. for king, q. for queen, w. for wife, d. for died. The names written in Italian character, under thoſe that are part of the genealogy, denote the huſband or wives. For inſtance, { Sledda / Ricula of Kent. } This ſignifies that Sledda married Ricula princeſs of Kent. When two or more names are under another, with numbers before them, this means, 1ſt. wife, 2d. wife, 3d. wife, or huſband, &c.

6. Laſtly, Each king has a number annexed, to denote the order of ſucceſſion, and in what rank each ſucceeded to the crown. This is abſolutely neceſſary in the ſucceſſion to the throne of England, where the order of the branches was not always obſerved.

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